This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

https://books.google.com

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
3 1858 034 703 201

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

345

THE

ANDOVER REVIEW

A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY

VOL. IV.—JULY–DECEMBER.—1885

EDITORS

EGBERT C. SMYTH, J. W. CHURCHILL,
WILLIAM J. TUCKER, GEORGE HARRIS,
EDWARD Y. HINCKS,

Professors in Andover Theological Seminary

051
47393

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

PROFESSORS JOHN P. GULLIVER, JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR,
GEORGE F. MOORE, AND FRANK E. WOODRUFF,
Their Colleagues in the Faculty

BOSTON
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
New York: 11 East Seventeenth Street
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
1885

Digitized by Google

Copyright, 1885,
By HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO.

All rights reserved.

The Riverside Press, Cambridge:
Electrotyped and Printed by H. O. Houghton & Co.

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

		PAGE
Becket of Mr. Froude and of Lord Tennyson, The	*Rev. Newell Woolsey Wells*	113
Charities, Public, Private Aid to	*D. McG. Means*	220
Children, Employment of, The	*John F. Crowell*	42
Commerce, Civilization, and Christianity in their Relations to Each Other	*W. Barrows, D. D.*	317
Country Town, Religious Problem of, The. IV.	*Rev. Samuel W. Dike*	193
Crime, Compulsory Education in	*E. A. Meredith, LL. D.*	125
David. A Libretto for Oratorio or Cantata	*E. P. Parker, D. D*	512
Education, The New	*Prof. George H. Palmer*	393
English Literary Study, Desirable Methods in	*Prof. T. W. Hunt*	430
Evolution and Theology	*Lyman Abbott, D. D.*	561
Freedman's Children at School, The	*Horace Bumstead, D. D.*	550
Germany, General View of the Religious Condition of, A	*J. H. W. Stuckenberg, D. D.*	333
Kurdistan and the Kurds	*Rev. Edwin M. Bliss*	16
Madison, James	*Henry Cabot Lodge*	230
Mormonism, Side Lights from	*Rev. W. Forbes Cooley*	32
Natural Law in the Formation of Character	*Rev. John Henry Dennison*	525
New England Company, The	*Hamilton Andrews Hill*	299
Newman, Cardinal, The Life of	*Rev. Francis B. Hornbrooke*	97
Question Restated, The	*Prof. George T. Ladd*	1
Radicalism, The Old and the New: Two Birmingham Leaders	*Rev. Edward C. Towne*	545
Roman Martyr, A	*R. J. Nevin, D. D.*	208
"Théodicée" of Leibnitz, The. I., II., III. Criticism	*Prof. Henry A. P. Torrey* 289, 407,	493
Typical Novel, A	*Hamilton Wright Mabie*	417
Utah, Conquest of, The	*Rev. D. L. Leonard*	442

Editorial.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, The Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the, 355; Andover Review for 1886, The, 586; Christian Union and the Unity of the Church, 68; England's Injustice to Mr. Gladstone, 71; Missionary Idea, The Growth of the, 477; New Guinea, The Partition of, 264; Preacher of Righteousness, A, 581; Progressive Orthodoxy. III. The Atonement, 56; Progressive Orthodoxy. IV. Eschatology, 143; Progressive Orthodoxy. V. The Work of the Holy Spirit, 256; Progressive Orthodoxy. VI. The Christian, 345; Progressive Orthodoxy. VII. The Scriptures, 456; Progressive Orthodoxy. VIII. Conclusion. Christianity Absolute and Universal, 568; "The Relation of Congregational Churches to their Theological Seminaries," 247; Uncle Tom's Cabin: Is it a Novel? 363.

Theological and Religious Intelligence.

Contributions to the Statistics of Protestant Missions by *Dr. R. Grundemann*. Translated by *Rev. C. C. Starbuck* 367

Unity, The New Movement Toward. *Rev. Julius H. Ward* 376

Biblical and Historical Criticism.

Messianic Hope, Suggestions on the Rise and Development of the. *Prof. J. P. Peters* . 75

"The Disciple whom Jesus loved," with some Remarks on the Passages where these Words are used. *Theodore D. Woolsey, D. D., LL. D.* 163

Archæological Notes.

Calvary, The Site of. *Selah Merrill, D. D., LL. D.*, Consul at Jerusalem 483

El Fayoum Manuscripts, The, with a *Résumé* of the Discussion concerning the Alleged Gospel Fragment. *Prof. Woodruff* . . . 272

General Notes. *Prof. Taylor* 266

Digitized by Google

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Beers's Nathaniel Parker Willis. *Charles C. Starbuck* 599
Beet's Commentary on Galatians. *F. E. Woodruff* 281
Briggs's American Presbyterianism. *C. C. Starbuck* 385
Brown's Assyriology. *John Phelps Taylor* . 286
Chalmers and Gill's Work and Adventure in New Guinea. *Egbert C. Smyth* . . . 280
Cook's Sievers's An Old English Grammar. *Henry Johnson* 92
Cooley's Michigan. *W. H. Ryder* 489
Crosby's The New Testament. *Wm. J. Tucker* 284
De Schweinitz's The History of the Church known as The Unitas Fratrum. *J. Max Hark* 587
Dickinson's New Light on Mormonism. *C. C. Starbuck* 192
Douglas's China. *C. C. Starbuck* 191
Edersheim's Prophecy and History. *Edward Robie* 383
Folsom's The Four Gospels. Third Edition. *C. C. Starbuck* 286
Geikie's Old Testament Characters. *C. C. Starbuck* 286
Hamilton and Jones's Translation of Lotze's Microcosmus. *B. P. Bowne* 391
Harris's Three Pages of the Bryennios Manuscript. *Benj. B. Warfield* 593
Hebraica. *George F. Moore* 284
Hitchcock and Brown's Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων. *Benj. B. Warfield* 593
Hosmer's Samuel Adams. *Edward G. Porter* 93
Inspiration: A Clerical Symposium. *C. C. Starbuck* 190
Kedney's Hegel's Æsthetics. *Edwin H. Higley* 389
Kurtz's Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Neunte Auflage. *Egbert C. Smyth* . . . 285
Mansi's Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, The new edition of. *Chas. W. Bennett* 187
Mason's Personal Traits of British Authors. *C. C. Starbuck* 191
Naville's The Store City of Pithom. *L. Dickerman* 86
Noble's The Russian Revolt. *C. C. Starbuck* 490
Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. *F. E. Woodruff* . . . 185
Pearson's The Prophecy of Joel. *John P. Peters* 488
Riverside Parallel Bible, The. *Wm. J. Tucker* 284
Sabatier's Διδαχὴ τῶν ιβ' Ἀποστόλων. *Benj. B. Warfield* 593
Schaff's History of the Christian Church. Vol. IV. *Egbert C. Smyth* 285
Schaff's The Oldest Church Manual, called The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. *Benj. B. Warfield* 593
Scidmore's Alaska. *C. C. Starbuck* . . . 191
Smith's The Student's Ecclesiastical History. Part II. *Egbert C. Smyth* 285
Spence's The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. *Benj. B. Warfield* 593
Stalker's The Life of Jesus Christ. *John Phelps Taylor* 94
Stepniak's Russia under the Tzars. *C. C. Starbuck* 490
Upton's Money in Politics. *Wm. J. Tucker* . 95
Warren's Paradise Found. *John Phelps Taylor* 189
Wilson's Congressional Government. *Edward Y. Hincks* 277
Witteumeyer's (Mrs.) Women of the Reformation. *C. C Starbuck* 285

Digitized by Google

THE

ANDOVER REVIEW:

A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

VOL. IV. — JULY, 1885. — No. XIX.

THE QUESTION RESTATED.

In the discussion of difficult questions, especially if they make a strong appeal to natural human feeling or have become somewhat artificially connected with important human interests, nothing is more indispensable than to have such questions lucidly and definitely stated. To the eye of reason, as to the eye of sense, an image cannot be correctly interpreted unless it be first clearly formed. Even prejudiced persons are sometimes ready to pass judgment against their own favorite opinions when some new statement of the conclusions which these opinions involve reveals for the first time what is the real meaning of them. On the other hand, it is rarely possible to secure any approach toward an unprejudiced answer to a difficult question, from one who has never even stated for himself precisely *that* question to the exclusion of other questions that might be mistaken for it.

Reflections like those made above are particularly pertinent at the present time with reference to certain much mooted theological questions; and among them all perhaps to none more so than to the question of "the inspiration of the Bible." Even the common usage of the term "inspiration" both embodies and reveals the truth of which I am speaking. The very word has come to be restricted in theological circles so as to occasion much confusion, not to say some mischief and loss to the cause of right and safe thinking. Led on by this usage, new writers continue to argue as though the traditional term, together with the traditional assumption which it implies, must be made to comport with the newly discovered facts of physical, psychological, historical, and critical science. The result of such trials is in each case a so-called *theory* of inspiration; and by "theory of inspiration" is generally understood some subtle and occult way of explaining how the time-hon-

Copyright, 1885, by HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co.

Digitized by Google

ored assumption which has given currency to our usage may possibly be reconciled with the above mentioned classes of facts. For a brief time only, each modification of the one theory covered by the term secures a number of advocates. But others recognize and confess the failure of all such endeavors at modification. They therefore distrust or abjure every attempt to construct a so-called theory of inspiration. Finding their minds disturbed only the more seriously by every such attempt, they conclude that the only way to secure mental relief is to withdraw the attention both from the causes of disturbance and from the often recurring trials to remove them. But a thoroughly reasonable mind can scarcely remain satisfied either with any of the answers proposed or with the determination to cease seeking for an answer. Now there can be little doubt that one principal reason for the prevalent unsatisfactory treatment of this question of "inspiration" is to be found in the inadequate or mistaken statement of the nature of the question.

With a certain risk of being for the moment liable to misunderstanding, but with confidence that subsequent explanation on my part and reflection on the part of the reader will make clear my meaning, I will venture this assertion: The real question about the Bible can no longer be stated or discussed as a so-called theory of inspiration. The real question has now become much broader than any which can be covered by such a theory, as all such theories have heretofore been understood. And further, if we intend to continue to convey by our words only the ideas which have become historically attached to them, we must restate the question.

The inquiry which can be undertaken and more or less successfully answered, is the following: *What is the Bible?* And this is a far greater and more honorable inquiry than the one usually proposed under the traditional term. This one inquiry, however, includes a large number of subordinate questions; and among the latter is the question as to the nature, extent, and effect of that divine influence which, as Christians generally believe, was operative in the minds of the men who composed the various separate writings of the Bible. That is to say, the question of the inspiration of the writers of the Bible must be merged in the larger question, What is the Bible?

But another one of the subordinate questions which fall under the one main inquiry, What is the Bible, concerns the formation of the canon of the Old and New Testaments. No one human personality, however generously and infallibly inspired, was the

Digitized by Google

author of all portions of the Bible. Nor was any such personality divinely authorized to select just those ancient writings or fragments of writings which could be properly admitted into the class which it is now customary to regard as inspired. The Christian church, acting in the different divisions of its ancient domain, without a fully self-conscious purpose, and yet with commendable tact and insight, distinguished in the course of its development what books it would receive into the circle of its sacred Scriptures. But this process in the Christian church began with assuming certain writings to be sacred which the Jewish church had considered such. It was as members of this more ancient community that the Apostles and earliest trusted teachers of the Christian church accepted in substantially its present form the canon of the Old Testament. It is quite impossible, then, to speak of "inspiration" as belonging *to the Bible*, — that is, to a collection of several score of widely different writings, — without attributing such inspiration to the mind of the church that collected the writings. A single passage or book of Scripture might, indeed, be called inspired if its author were personally influenced by the Divine Spirit in such way as to affect his composition with the quality of such influence. But how can a large collection of such writings — that is, *the Bible* — be called inspired, unless the same Spirit had also some influence in determining the limits of the collection? In other words, a number of diverse compositions can in no sense be ascribed to one source unless some discrimination as to *what* composition shall enter the number be exercised by that source.

It is true that the individual Christian has it in his power to go through this collection of writings, and select such as make upon him the impression of being inspired, and to say that the term inspiration, in his judgment, applies to these selections alone. But this would only substitute an individual's judgment for the organic and historical judgment of the church. Such judgment would have only so much of worth as belongs to the judge regarded as competent or incompetent. And this is true whether the individual accept all the canonical books (Protestant or Roman Catholic) or reject some. Must it not be held, then, that the inspiration of the Bible depends in some sort upon the inspiration of the church regarded as fixing the canon or limits of the collection of writings called the Bible? Of course, the next question inevitably is, How shall we prove that inspiration of the church on which the inspiration of the Bible, regarded as a limited number of selected writings, in part at least depends?

Digitized by Google

But the two questions as to the inspiration of any particular part of Scripture, and as to the inspiration which we attribute to the Bible considered as a circumscribed whole, are themselves dependent upon answers to a great variety of other questions. They are both, together with these other questions, subordinate to one inquiry inclusive of them all. This inclusive inquiry is of course the one which I have already repeatedly stated; namely, What is the Bible? Plainly the answer to this question involves a vast number of considerations. Among such considerations are those furnished by the critical study of the text of the Bible. As it appears to readers of English only, the Bible is a certain form of English words printed upon paper, according to the so-called "authorized" or the so-called "revised" version. This form of English words is what two different sets of translators, working some centuries apart, have thought to be the meaning of the Hebrew Old Testament and of the Greek New Testament. What, then, is the Hebrew Old Testament? To this question the reply must be, It is for the most part the Massoretic text; or, in other words, it is that combination of the traditional way of writing the consonants and the traditional way of reading in the vowels, which was fixed on Talmudic authority during a process (quite uncritical) that lasted for several centuries. Back of this process, in trying to fix the text of the sacred Hebrew writings, we are carried more and more into regions of doubt and obscurity. As to the Greek New Testament, it is not necessary to speak of the studies by which, — on the basis of various manuscripts whose relative value is a matter of dispute, with a large number of minute and some important differences, and with only more or less of probability, but with good assurance concerning most matters of great importance, — we answer inquiries into the nature and origin of its text.

It is plain matter of fact, then, that the inquiry, What is the Bible? is in part a question as to certain ancient Hebrew and Greek texts, and that we have no means of bridging over completely the vast gap of the centuries which lies between us and the authors of Scripture, so as to reach the details of these texts. It is also plain matter of reasoning from such a fact that no ready-made theory of the inspiration of the Bible can contribute anything whatever toward the true answer to this question of texts. Diplomatic and historical criticism is alone competent to attempt the answer. On the other hand, no theory of inspiration can refuse, and at the same time maintain a claim to be intelligent and reasonable, to take full account of the answer of criticism.

Digitized by Google

And when I say "refuse," I do not mean to speak simply of such refusal as is avowed and theoretical, as was, for example, the most high and dry form of the post-Reformation dogma. I mean to speak also of such concealed and practical refusal as has characterized all the more modern attempts to revive with modifications that fainting and falling dogma. It is absolutely beyond the power of any similar theory of the inspiration of the Bible to tell us what the Bible is, so far as its text is concerned. Such theory has nothing to say about what the Biblical text *must* be, or *ought* to be. It is no teacher in such matters, and never can become one; it should go humbly to school to critical science to learn what the Biblical text *probably was*. In this regard a modified form of the dogma is not a whit more competent than the original form was.

What has just been shown to be true of the question of the text of the Bible is also true of the question of its alleged historical inaccuracies and discrepancies. One partial answer to the large inclusive question, What is the Bible? must always be, It is history. But what kind of history is the Bible? In reply to this further inquiry there are certain answers which any reader of Scripture may make without being in possession either of accurate critical knowledge or of correct theological dogma. The New Testament is the history of the life of Jesus and of the founding of the Christian church. The Old Testament is the history of the beginnings of things in human history and of the rise and growth and fall of the Jewish commonwealth. Any intelligent student of the world's past and of the transactions of other peoples and nations can see that the Biblical narrative is in several respects quite unique and of intense interest and large value. Any devout person can also see that much of this narrative is suffused with religious feeling. But only the Christian reader intuitively discerns the rare and priceless worth for his Christian faith and life of the history of his Lord and of the Apostles; only such a reader feels his religious needs met in what the Old Testament communicates to him of the stages and transactions of that preparatory historical revelation upon which this Lord and these Apostles so largely builded.

But other questions besides the foregoing arise in connection with the question, What is the Bible in so far as it is historical? Is the Bible, like all other history, dependent for its accuracy upon contemporaneous records of its alleged facts? Is there any need of critical sifting with a view to discover and compare the sources

Digitized by Google

of its history? Do elements of uncertain traditions enter into any of its historical books or historical passages? Did the writers themselves in each case attempt carefully to distinguish between two partially conflicting oral traditions or written records of the same event? and did they, having made such distinction, select and arrange the most authentic elements of each tradition so as to form one consistent account? Or did they not, rather, in many cases act after the prevalent custom of historians in their day, and leave the conflicting oral traditions or written records standing unreconciled side by side? Are there not apparent discrepancies between the statements of different Biblical authors; or between the statements of Biblical authors and other contemporaneous records; or even between different statements of the same Biblical author? If there are such apparent discrepancies, are they real discrepancies? Do the writers of sacred history make any claim or give any evidence of knowing any other method of arriving at an accurate knowledge of historical truth than the method of either recalling carefully what they had themselves seen and heard, or of taking such oral or written testimony as they could best obtain from others?

The questions raised above, and other similar ones, are subordinate inquiries entering into the one larger inquiry, What is the Bible? But they are questions which it belongs solely to historical criticism to deal with, and, if possible, to answer. The correct answer to any of them requires an equipment of historical *sense*, historical training, historical apparatus, historical information. With this answer the ready-made theological theory of the inspiration of the Bible has nothing whatever, primarily and directly, to do. On the contrary, no such theory can be framed with the hope to keep it a long time standing, unless it humbly and patiently learn what historical science has to say upon these questions. A theological dogma dictating how these questions *must* be, or *ought* to be, answered is a worthless impertinence; historical science is obligated to do what it best can to discover how they *probably are* to be answered.

That there is a demand and a place for another kind of *sense* than the historical in understanding and using the sacred narratives, I should by no means wish to be understood to deny. This kind of sense, however, is spiritual insight into the real meaning and immense value of the facts which historical science discriminates and establishes. Of course I am not alluding to that unjustifiable allegorizing of the sacred history which was for centuries the

Digitized by Google

strong support of every attempt to reconcile its inspiration with its apparent inaccuracies and discrepancies. The Biblical revelation is historical; it is, indeed, most significantly this. It is specifically and preëminently the making of God known as the Redeemer of men through Christ, *in history*. The unlearned Christian believer can discern this fact; the learned theologian has the task of stating and defending this truth. But neither of the two can affirm, on the ground of untrained Christian feeling or of adherence to accepted theological symbols, anything worthy of a moment's consideration regarding the sources, the method, the accuracy, the inerrancy of any of the Biblical histories. For all these latter things are historically discerned; they all concern questions of fact, on just such probable evidence as belongs to the very nature of human history.

It needs but little reflection for any educated and unprejudiced mind to appreciate the reasons on which we can rest the foregoing perfectly invulnerable declarations. We are separated by centuries from the time when the historical statements of the Bible were first committed to writing; in many cases the original act of committing these past facts to writing was itself separated by many centuries from the facts themselves. The chain that connects us with that remote but precious past is in all such inquiries a chain of purely historical evidences. This is true, even if we appeal to the authority of the tradition of the church; for this tradition is itself an historical affair. It is also true if we appeal to so-called Christian consciousness as the organic experience of the body of Christian believers with respect to the great truths of the Christian faith and life. For this experience testifies to Christ inasmuch as it is a consciousness of present communion with Him as the risen Lord; but in so far as it is immediate and personal it reaches only the present; and in so far as it is organic it is of the nature of an historical witness. When, then, the rough hand of dogmatism grasps this chain of historical evidences (as flexible but also as strong as a fine chain of wrought gold) it is almost certain either to smirch or to snarl what it grasps. I say the hand of "dogmatism," for the trained theologian of to-day knows that, in order to be *trained* as a theologian, he must either be himself an expert in historical studies, or else be acquainted with his obligations to those who are thus expert.

But an improved way of making a theory of the inspiration of the Bible dominate historical criticism, and force into its framework of dogma the more uncompromising historical facts, is some-

Digitized by Google

times proposed. This improved theory aims to make *Logic* the handmaid of Theology in order to show History and Criticism what conclusions they ought to draw. It is to be applied especially to the very old and time-honored work of "harmonistics." Logic is to show the philologist, the historian, the exegete, the critic, how his task of examining patiently the records, in order to find out exactly what the facts were upon which the apparent discrepancies of the sacred historians are founded, may be summarily accomplished. This logic is called "inductive;" for no other logic than the inductive can, of course, serve the purposes of applied science, whether physical or historical; and we must, by all means, be scientific in these days of scientific development. But in reality the logic called inductive is, so far as it is applicable at all to help out the theory in whose service it is engaged, not inductive at all, but solely and strictly deductive from the theory itself. Its reasoning is made superficially valid in the following way. Major premise: On general and sufficient grounds we arrive at the conclusion that the Biblical historians are worthy of our confidence both as respects their perfect honesty and their general accuracy. Minor premise: All particular cases of apparent discrepancy among these historians come under the above-mentioned general rule. Therefore these cases *must be* interpreted as cases of only apparent, and not real, discrepancies; and we are at liberty, and even bound, to show how the discrepancies are all to be reconciled and the perfect accuracy and inerrancy of the historians are to be saved.

Against such an application of inductive logic to the case of the Biblical histories in the effort to make a certain theory of the inspiration of the Bible agree with the facts which Biblical historical science discloses, these two conclusive objections may be opposed. In the first place, the argument, so far as it is inductive at all, is an imperfect and worthless induction. No trained historian would for a moment think of making or permitting any such use of so-called logic. In the second place, the argument, so far as it is logical, is deductive. It is only another form of saying over again the same thing that has always been said for every form of the post-Reformation dogma — said, and found wanting, over and over again. In brief: *the argument so far as it is inductive is not logical, and so far as it is logical is not inductive.* It does not really help in the reëstablishment of even a modified form of that theory of inspiration which it is intended to serve. And with respect to the true answer of the great and

Digitized by Google

pressing inquiry, What is the Bible? or, What is the true doctrine of sacred Scripture? it contributes nothing at all.

I have said that the modified form in which such a theory of inspiration proposes to disregard the results of historical science already attained toward answering the one great and inclusive question as to the origin and nature of sacred Scripture is not a perfect induction. To make good my objection to such an argument I have only to appeal to the universal and well-recognized principles of all historical inquiry. The major premise of the above-mentioned argument is indeed tolerably satisfactory. We do on sufficient grounds conclude that "the Biblical historians are worthy of our confidence both as respects their honesty and their general accuracy." But the conclusion itself is one that historical inquiries alone are competent to reach; and whether there are any exceptions to the accuracy or even honesty of these writers is also a subject for the same kind of inquiries. On the contrary, it is not a subject for dogmatizing in the name of logic. Moreover, the same inquiries have to be continued in perfect good faith throughout, in order to discover how far the rule of "general" accuracy extends. And neither so-called "logic" nor dogma can establish any rule upon the matter in disregard of the very fact of a great number of apparent exceptions to this "general" accuracy. That is to say, no rule extending to several score of different writings and to thousands of different facts can be constituted as an induction without taking the exceptions first into the account; it can never be established in disregard of *some* of the very facts, all of which it is bound to provide for. But the minor premise also of this argument is an imperfect induction; for the very inquiry which historical science raises with regard to the particular cases of apparent discrepancy is just this: Do they come under such a general rule? Do they not rather show that general accuracy is perfectly compatible with more or less of inaccuracy and of real discrepancy in matters of detail? The conclusion of an "inductive" argument the premises of which almost avowedly disregard facts is of course utterly unwarranted. Neither inerrancy nor the possibility of reconciling all apparent discrepancies is the proper conclusion of historical proof establishing the general good faith and trustworthiness of an author of annals or history. The conclusion is simply as to his general good faith and trustworthiness; simply this and nothing more. In other words, no amount of logic can really make any thing more or other out of an author's historical credibility than what critical and historical inquiry

Digitized by Google

makes. The conclusion from confidence in the good faith and general trustworthiness of an author to his absolute inerrancy can never be made valid by any twist of logic or necessity of theology.

But, on the other hand, the conclusion from the apparent mistakes in memory, the apparent inaccuracies and gaps in the information of an author of history, to his general want of good faith and of trustworthiness, may be the result of either a valid or an invalid induction. When two honest and intelligent eye and ear witnesses differ with respect to many of the details in their narrative, we are not obliged either to give the lie to one of the two or else to show how both may be absolutely accurate in their narration. We simply say, two honest and intelligent witnesses when meaning to tell the exact truth, even about what they have themselves seen and heard, usually differ; and yet we do not despair because of their differences of arriving at substantial historical truth. But when witnesses are telling not what they have themselves seen and heard, but what is the tradition or recorded statement of facts from a remote or nearer past as derived from various sources, they invariably differ. Biblical science has to discover whether the Biblical histories are exceptions to this otherwise universal rule. It must make up its mind; that is, form its induction in view of all the facts, without torture, concealment, or prevarication concerning any of them. And in the process of this induction as conducted by fair and competent students of history dogmatic conclusions under the guise of inductive logic cannot be permitted to interfere.

For, as has already been said, the reasoning which here appears under the guise of induction is really deduction from a preconceived theological theory. Logic in Biblical hermeneutics and history is almost always deductive. Properly speaking, it is not logic at all in the sense intended. It is really dogma telling exegesis what the Bible must mean; telling historical inquiry that the histories of the Bible must be assumed to harmonize throughout, and how they can be forced to seem to harmonize. The world of scholars is very familiar with all this; the world of the common people is learning about it. It is the same spirit of "harmonizing" which long ago proposed the theory that all our Lord's ancestors from David downwards had two names; or that the inscriptions over his cross were written in several different languages so as to correspond verbatim to the Greek translations given in the four Evangelists. This so-called "logic," I repeat, is not exegesis

Digitized by Google

trying to answer, by fair induction, the question, What is the Bible? It is not historical research applying itself diligently to the answer of the same question. It is not fine, intelligent Christian feeling striving to justify its valid, but somewhat misplaced, confidence in the precious records of the past time when the kingdom of its Lord and of his Christ was founded. It is not even the doctrine of the church catholic, aiming at the unity of Christian consciousness, nor is it the claim of the Bible itself. It is only dogma, — in the guise of logic, perhaps, but not so disguised as to deceive any one familiar with the time-worn form, — dogma trying to force an induction by deduction from its own unverified assumptions.

The point has been reached, however, where attention needs to be recalled to the main subject under discussion. The inquiry which demands all the resources of broad, rich Christian scholarship, and of candid and profound Christian reflection, is the inquiry into the origin and nature of those sacred Scriptures which are the records of our holy religion. In other words, it is the question, What is the Bible? This is a question at which many workmen may well labor in common zeal of endeavor and substantial concord upon the important truths of Christianity. But there are still not a few who insist upon restricting this inquiry, in the supposed interests of the Bible. The question which is proposed by such is often stated in terms that tend to confuse it with the larger and more comprehensive question. Confusion arises, because the inquiry as to a tenable theory of the inspiration of the Bible is substituted, without its real significance being understood, for the inquiry into a true doctrine of sacred Scripture. The result of such a substitution is what might be expected. All the effort of inquiry is directed toward making some such slight modification in the traditional theory as shall seem to adapt it a little better to some of the facts of modern Biblical study. But it is still understood that *some* theory of inspiration must be framed which will make the entire Bible, in every chapter and verse, the result of just the same kind of divine infallible activity. The Bible, that is, must all be accounted for by its phenomena being without exception deductively related alike to one and the same kind of inspiration. Now because such a theory was actually framed in substantial coherence by the theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, — by Hollaz and Gerhard, and Calovius and Buddeus, and Benner and Buchner, and Carpzov and Quenstedt, — it might seem that their theory could be modified so as to remain substantially the same and yet comport with the answer to the other and larger

Digitized by Google

question, What is the Bible? For the entire procedure of these stalwart theologians was based upon the assumption that the two inquiries, What is the orthodox theory of the inspiration of the Bible? and, What is the Bible? are one and the same inquiry. But, as every body who understands the history of their efforts knows, these post-Reformation theologians did not intend to admit that any serious account should be taken of adverse facts in framing their theory. For that very reason their conclusion was a perfectly consistent and inflexible "theory of inspiration." It told men what the Bible is by telling them what the Bible must be in order to accord with a satisfactory theory of inspiration. Its advocates had no intention of leaving any room for deciding the inquiry, What is the Bible? by an appeal to history, to criticism, to the facts and statements of the Bible itself. Nor was room left for ethical or Christian consciousness to exercise its function in approving or testing with the freedom imparted by the spirit of Christ any portion of Scripture.

The statement of the question and its accepted settlement among the post-Reformation theologians excites admiration for its heroic thoroughness. The question, What is the Bible? so far as its text is concerned, was with these "logicians" a question, not for textual criticism, but for the "theory of inspiration" to answer. This theory assumed once for all that the *ipsissima verba* of the entire Bible were from the Holy Ghost. But in order to be of any value it was compelled also to assert the infallibility and inspiration of the pointing of the Hebrew text. For, of course, what and where are these *ipsissima verba* except the *text*, and *in the text?* Hence the following conclusions of that logic in which such dogmatists excel: "It is impious and profane audacity," said Calovius, "to change a single point in the Word of God (that is, the canonical writings), and to substitute a smooth breathing for a rough one, or a rough for a smooth." The "Formula Consensus Helvetica" declared the consonants and vowel-points alike theopneustic, and condemned the studies of those who subject the readings of the received text to a critical examination.[1] It is true that voices were raised in behalf of a freer view; and that not all, even of these theologians, were ready to go to the lengths of extreme orthodoxy and to make the origin of the Hebrew vowel-points contemporaneous with Moses or even with Adam. We are not, however, considering the truth or untruth of the older dogmatic as contrasted with

[1] For a detailed statement of the post-Reformation theory of inspiration see "The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture," vol. ii., pp. 175–215.

Digitized by Google

the newer critical views of the sacred text; we are, rather, calling attention to the fact that the very raising of the question in this form, What theory of the inspiration of the Bible shall we adopt as a supposed necessity of faith? — has from the beginning been opposed to the answer which Biblical scholarship is trying to discover for the larger question, What is the Bible?

It might naturally be supposed that the method of procedure which the theory of so-called verbal inspiration felt itself compelled to employ has been abandoned with the theory itself. Such a supposition, however, would be in the teeth of a daily experience. Certainly there are now, in the light of modern textual criticism, very few advocates of the theory of verbal inspiration. Occasionally some one bolder than his comrades, even in the more conservative circles of theology, openly opposes this now venerable theory. But it is not with this special form of a theory that fault is to be found. A theory of verbal inspiration has much to commend it. Fault is rather to be found with the entire method of dealing with the Biblical question which this theory adopted, and which all theories of the class to which this theory belongs uniformly adopt. That such method is by no means abandoned, witness the writings of Dean Burgon and his sympathizers; witness the prevalent tenderness with respect to all attempts to discover the best Biblical text; witness the constant but covert introduction of dogma into the efforts to decide which is in each case the *best* text. The conclusions of the theory of verbal inspiration I believe to be partially right; the method I know to be wholly wrong. But how many of the same "logicians" who are ready to abandon the right conclusions of the theory when those conclusions are reached in another and right way, are most persistent in clinging by its inadequate and misleading method!

The same method which the theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries employed with respect to the text of the Bible they also employed with respect to its historical statements. These statements were shown to be absolutely free from all slips of memory, inaccuracies of names or dates, and discrepancies in every kind of details, by strict deduction from the accepted theory of inspiration. In other words, the answer to the narrower inquiry after a theory of inspiration was made to dominate the broader inquiry into the origin and nature of sacred Scripture, with respect now to history as well as with respect to text. What little historical science then existed was, when applied to the Bible, put under bans not to find anything adverse to the theory of these

Digitized by Google

logicians. Wonderful attempts at accounting for its apparent historical discrepancies, so as at all hazards to save the theory, — attempts which put to shame the ingenuity in allegorizing of the church Fathers, — were after a time the inevitable result. But steadily did historical criticism, working with certain vagaries of judgment (for example, in the Tübingen School), but on the whole with much of that good sense and tact which the trained historian shows, win its way into the confidence of Biblical scholars. More and more did it take upon itself the sole responsibility for the answer to the question, What, so far as the origin and nature and trustworthiness of its separate historical writings are concerned, must the Bible be held to be? The theory of inspiration — in all important respects, and especially with respect to its method, the same as of old — has stoutly contested the results of historical research whenever these results did not come out into full accord with the theory itself. Its attitude is to-day substantially unchanged. It still proposes, as far as possible, to settle what the nature of the Biblical histories must be, instead of candidly accepting from students of Biblical history the evidence as to what those histories, *as histories*, probably are. And the few more recent attempts at so-called harmony, which are guided by the same principle as that which ruled in the earlier dogmatics, have omitted none of the most objectionable features of the older attempts, while they quite lack that elevation of tone and thorough consistency and courage of conviction which these older attempts displayed.

The same course of remarks which has thus far been applied to the Biblical text and to the historical statements of the Bible might be extended to all the classes of phenomena with which Biblical study has to deal. As regards the authorship and style of the Biblical books, the relations of their contents to the physical and psychological sciences, the interpretation of the claims of the Bible for itself, and even its ethical maxims, the larger general inquiry, What is the Bible? must be raised and answered without dictation from any modified form of a theory of inspiration.

But it will be asked, Are not the two inquiries under discussion one and the same? When the candid student inquires as to a theory of the inspiration of the Bible, does he not virtually ask to be told what the Bible is? Doubtless the two inquiries have been proposed as though they were equivalent. But this is the very fact the embarrassment and mischief of which it is in part the purpose of this article to bring to view. That the two inquiries

Digitized by Google

are regarded as equivalent is without doubt a source of continued error and repeated discouragement; but it is also a traditional result of the dogmatics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The early Christian church had no theory of the inspiration of the Bible, in the meaning attaching itself to those words since the establishment of the post-Reformation dogma. The early church had indeed the germs of a true doctrine of sacred Scripture; it unquestionably regarded the writings of the Old Testament and of the Apostles as inspired. But it regarded not a few other writings also as inspired. The more important fact is, however, that it regarded the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments (when after several centuries a canon of such Scriptures had been formed) as the sacred and authoritative records of its holy religion. Of course, then, these records were inspired: that fact, we may say, to the minds of the men of that time needed no proof. Some of the writers of the early church show, in a germinal way, a tendency toward a certain theory of inspiration, that is, of the nature of that divine influence which comes upon all inspired men. But a theory of inspiration, as a special divine influence limited to precisely so many writings and provided in order to secure an infallible Bible, is not to be found advocated by the early Christian church. Nor does the Bible itself afford any encouragement whatever to such a theory. It first grew into elaborate form under the polemical exigencies of the post-Reformation era. We inherit its fruits, both good and evil. Its very nature requires that each subordinate answer to the question, What is the Bible? shall be given in strict accord with, if not strictly deduced from, its own answer to the question, What is the inspiration of the Bible? Now no attempt at modifying the answer given by post-Reformation dogmatics to this latter question can ever succeed in contributing anything of permanent value toward answering the former question. An improved answer to this latter question can come only as one subordinate but important result of our answer to the former question.

To state our conclusion once more, in a somewhat different way: The Christian church, through its own workmen, the body of Christian Biblical scholars, is earnestly inquiring after a true and, because true, a tenable doctrine of sacred Scripture. It is striving, by use of all the helps at hand, to satisfy the inquiry, What is the Bible? It is greatly embarrassed and hindered because so many minds insist that the answer to this larger inquiry shall be determined beforehand in accordance with some modified form of

Digitized by Google

the traditional answer to a much narrower question. It is not a theory of the inspiration of the Bible, even in such form as to account for the facts, which is the primary object of search. The Bible did not originate in subordination to a theory of inspiration. It was not originally revered, trusted, and obeyed, on the ground of the tenable nature of any such theory. Its authority is not now dependent upon, or even intimately connected with, the prevalence of any such theory. But every such theory is wholly dependent upon its being a part of the true answer to that one inclusive question, *What is this Bible* which Christians from time immemorial have, without theory, revered, trusted, and obeyed? The method and means for answering so vast and noble a question must be discussed at another time.

George T. Ladd.

New Haven, Conn.

KURDISTAN AND THE KURDS.

The early traditions of Persia tell of a king of such exceeding cruelty that as a punishment two serpents were sent to make their home, one in each shoulder, and prey upon his flesh. This proved, however, instead of a lesson to repentance, an occasion for still greater crime. Reasoning that it made little difference to the serpents whose flesh they fed upon, the king had, every morning, two of his subjects killed, and their bodies presented to his tormentors till they so gorged themselves as to leave him in peace. The victims were drawn by lot from among the most vigorous young men of the kingdom, regardless of rank or influence. Terror soon, however, devised a partial remedy. By heavy bribes the king's attendants were induced, every morning, to spare one of the two thus drawn, and substitute a sheep when the serpents should have so far satisfied their appetite as to be careless of taste. Those who were thus freed fled to the mountains of Demavend, organized themselves into a tribe, and, gathering to their numbers the disaffected from every region round about, became in their turn a terror and scourge.

Such, according to their own annals, is the origin of the Kurdish race, which is gradually coming into notice as a prominent element in the solution of national as well as political problems in Western Asia.

Digitized by Google

There has been as yet but little research into their history or language, and their geography must be learned piecemeal from that of surrounding and interwoven peoples. The Kurds themselves have been looked upon as little more than bands of outlawed mountaineers whose sole business was murder and pillage. Early in the present century Mr. Rich, British resident at Bagdad, made quite a tour through southern Kurdistan, and found many indications of a most interesting people. Others since have had a like experience, and it is becoming evident that a comparatively small number of tribes have given character to a great race.

The term Kurdistan is used in several senses. The most common European acceptance makes it cover the mountainous region from Ararat to near Bagdad, — lying mostly in Turkey, but including a narrow strip of Persia.

In the Turkish use it embraces the provinces or vilayets of Erzroom, Van, Bitlis, Hakkiari, and Diarbekir. This is coincident with the extent of the British consulate general of Kurdistan.

Persian Kurdistan is composed of two provinces, one south of Lake Oroomiah, including the city of Sihna; the other, Luristan, extending to the borders of Shiraz.

Kurdish Kurdistan, the country claimed by the Kurdish history, — the "Shereef Na'ameh," — is far more extensive than even these two combined. Its boundary lines run as follows: —

Starting from Kars, — now the southwest province of the Caucasus, — they pass through the Passen Plain to Erzroom, then to Erzingan and the edge of the Sivas Plain, — the high tableland of Central Asia Minor, — then south, skirting the Taurus and crossing the range at Albistan; leaving Marash, Aintab, and Aleppo on the west, but taking in Birijik, on the Euphrates, and Oorfa, they make a detour easterly to include the Sinjar Hills, — Djebel Sinjar, — and cross the Tigris at Mosul, — ancient Nineveh; from Mosul they run southeast, following the range of Djebel Hamreen across the Persian boundary to Dizful, then on to near Shiraz, the southern limit. The northerly course from Shiraz is very direct to Ararat and Kars, skirting Ispahan and including Zinjan, but following the western rather than the eastern borders of Lake Oroomiah and the plains to the north.

These large boundaries will appear more significant if we glance at some of the districts included by them. Commencing again at the north, we have the greater part of Armenia, — noticeably the plains of Alashgerd, Mush, and Harpoot. On the east lies the

Digitized by Google

Nestorian country; then comes northern Mesopotamia, the plain of Arbela, and a long section of old Persia. To the west, also, we find that wherever mountain ranges extend there the Kurds claim their home, and little by little, overawing the inhabitants of the contiguous plains, are making themselves the strongest element in the population.

To many, if not to most, even of those best acquainted with the Turkish and Persian empires, this may seem a very large section for Kurdistan. If, however, we take the term as denoting that region where the Kurds are at present the ruling class, not merely by force and influence, but by actual proportion of population, it is by no means too large. There are, of course, districts where Armenians, Nestorians, and Syrians form a large element, but there are none except the Armenian plain of Harpoot, the Nestorian country of Tiyari, Tekhoma, and Bass, and the Syrian province of Midyat where they are in a clear majority. Everywhere else they are outnumbered by the Kurds, and it might easily be claimed that these boundaries are too narrow rather than too broad. The western line running south from Sivas might be contested, for there are many Kurdish settlements along the ranges of the Taurus and the Anti-Taurus. So to the north. Along the Russian border, and even as far as Erivan, Kurds, in no small numbers, are to be found mingling with Georgians and Lazes, and gaining stronger and stronger footholds constantly.

The Dersim region, west of Erzroom, nearly the whole of the Turco-Persian frontier from Kars to Shiraz, and large sections on either side are *entirely* Kurdish.

The question immediately and naturally comes, What has become of Armenia and the Armenians?

The answer is found in the constant succession of war, famine, pestilence, and oppression. The Armenians have left their own country for other parts of Turkey and Russia. A colony of over twelve thousand were taken by the Persian Shah, Abbass, from the single plain of Alashgerd, and transported to found the city of Julfa, near Ispahan. They already outnumber the Georgians in their own province of the Caucasus, and furnish the mercantile life for the greater part of western Asia Minor. In Armenia proper, except that portion under Russian rule around Erivan and Etchmiadzine, there are comparatively few remaining, the plain of Harpoot being the only district where they can claim any majority. The Kurds have come in to take their places, and, except historically, Armenia has been displaced by Kurdistan.

Digitized by Google

NATURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRY.

It is mountainous. The Kurds do not take kindly to plain life, and they have chosen for their home a region surpassed in interest by few sections of the world's surface. The highlands of Armenia, where the Euphrates and the Tigris have their source, furnish the starting-point for two great mountain ranges, — the Taurus, running westward through northern Syria and southern Asia Minor; and the Zagros, with its various sections extending southward until they lose themselves in the plains of southeastern Persia. In general the region has been not inaptly described as "a congregation of rugged ravines covered with jungle, but interspersed with fertile plains." In much of it, however, the "jungle" is entirely wanting. The Dersim region is rugged and bare, with high passes, rocky defiles, and little vegetation except the stunted scrub-oak. So, too, about Lake Van the country is high and forbidding, its lofty ranges culminating in Siphan Dagh, a volcanic peak rising some twelve thousand feet. There are, however, beautiful valleys, and in spring, when a rich growth of wild flowers carpets the very rocks, the scenery is of the loveliest. Southward it becomes more grand, and, except in the lack of glaciers, is not inferior to any part of Switzerland. Here, on the Persian border, are the lofty summits of Jelu, crowned with snow for nearly the whole year, the rocky passes of Bass and Tiyari, with miniature pastures and sparkling cascades. Farther west the Tigris, flowing sluggishly through the plain of Diarbekir, gathers its strength for the conflict with Bohtan and Jebel Tour, which seem to vie with each other in their efforts to close its passage with mighty cliffs, but when conquered open up vistas of greensward and luxuriant foliage, as if they would enchant where they could not compel. I shall never forget one evening when, drifting down the Tigris from Diarbekir to Mosul, after a day of turmoil, tossed up and down and to and fro in the whirlpools and eddies of the angry river with the heavy clouds hanging black over us and the lowering crags frowning down upon us, just at sunset the skies cleared, and our raft swung around to its moorings in a sheltered nook where there was enough brush for a camp-fire and a level space to rest upon the grass. Glad to be upon the solid ground, we sauntered along up the bank till we reached a bend in the river. On the right and left the cliffs loomed up, in prison silence save for the muttered roar of the waters against their sides. Before us lay a mountain valley, with patches of green and wooded

Digitized by Google

slopes extending far away to the base of a lofty peak, from whose snowy top flashed back to us the last rays of the setting sun. Then as the twilight deepened the moon rose, flashing its silver light upon every leaf and twig, and cresting the foam of the rapids. Throwing ourselves upon the grass, we enjoyed the scene, and our thoughts went back to the Ten Thousand wearily toiling up this same pass, probably by the very foot-path that we could just see winding along the opposite bank; and as we looked at our Kurdish boatmen below, it required no great effort to imagine them the lineal descendants of those Carduchi who, clinging to the rocks like mountain goats, rolled great stones down upon the ranks of the unfortunate Greeks. So, again, following the course of the Zab from its source among the mountain peaks of Hakkiari down the valley of Amadiyeh, fertile enough for the Garden of Eden, one comes to the gorges and ladder of the Rowandiz, a tributary taking its name from the city perched upon its cliffs. Entering from the west through a gateway of arching trees, we came to a gorge which called to mind the stories of the famous cañons of the West. We could see our path zigzagging along the face of the rock, up, up, up, for a height of fifteen hundred to two thousand feet; and when we arrived at the summit we could scarcely realize whence we had come. Farther south are the Goodroon Mountains, not unlike the French Jura; then the mountains become hills around Suleimanieh and Sihna, until the gardens of Shiraz mark the limit of the mountaineer's home. From Kars to Dizful it is grand. The Taurus offers less fine scenery than the Zagros, but it is by no means tame.

The products of the northern part are very meagre, little else than an inferior quality of wheat or millet being raised. The soil, except in the more inaccessible portions of Hakkiari and the Dersim country, is fertile, but the Kurds prefer grazing to agriculture, and raise only what grain will grow with the least possible labor. Wherever there are Armenians, Nestorians, or Syrians, the gardens of Van, the vineyards of Midyat, and the fields of Amadiyeh and Oroomiah show what may be produced. Farther south the Kurds themselves labor more, and wheat, barley, cotton, rice, and tobacco are raised in large quantities.

The Taurus and northern Zagros were probably covered with forest in the time of Xenophon, but centuries of misuse have left them bare, and many places which once must have been fertile are now utterly barren. The southern Zagros is, however, much more wooded, and there is a large export of timber, cut princi-

Digitized by Google

pally from the *tchinar* or plane-tree. Poplars grow to a great size, one seen by Mr. Rich measuring sixteen feet girth. This region also furnishes great quantities of the walnut knots used for furniture trimmings. The fruits are chiefly grapes and melons in many varieties and of fine quality. Among the more inaccessible places the pie-plant, or rhubarb, is much cultivated, and is esteemed quite a delicacy. The most unique product is doubtless the manna, which is found abundantly along the western slopes of the Zagros. It is gathered most freely from rocks and stones and from the leaves of the scrub-oak after cool nights in June, when the deposit is so large at times that the Kurds say that it rains manna. The mineral resources are as yet almost unknown. There is a large and valuable vein of copper between Harpoot and Diarbekir, near the sources of the Tigris, which is the only one worked, or about which there is any information.

THE KURDS.

In giving any account of the Kurds themselves, one fact must always be recognized: We are speaking of a race which is a collection of tribes rather than a homogeneous people. In general the race characteristics are sufficiently well marked, so that there is no hesitancy in asserting a race unity; yet there are cases where the lines are by no means easily drawn. Thus the great tribe of the Lurs, occupying Luristan in Persia, south of Kirmanshah and east of Bagdad, is claimed by the Kurds themselves, while the Persians as stoutly deny the claim. So, again, there is little doubt that the Moslems in eastern Turkey are almost universally Kurds, though many of those in Erzroom, Diarbekir, and even as far west as Sivas, claim to be Ottoman Turks. It is even a question whether many of the Armenians and most of the mountain Nestorians are not, in race, Kurds. It is as yet impossible to decide all these questions, and it will be sufficiently accurate for the present purpose if we adopt the claim of the Kurds themselves; that is, the entire Moslem population of the country whose boundaries have been given above.

In general we find these all with certain distinctive characteristics, and a clearer idea will be gained if we classify them according to race, religion, government, and mode of life. These mingle somewhat, so that the lines of separation are more or less vague; but in the main the distinctions are pretty clear.[1]

[1] I am indebted for this classification and most of the facts connected with it chiefly to three sources: —

Digitized by Google

1. *Race.* The Kurdish authorities divide the Kurdish race into four great sections, marked by differing ethnological and linguistic characteristics: The Kermanj, Goran, Lur, and, according to Keffee Effendi, Wend; or, according to the "Shereef Na'ameh," Guelhore. The *Kermanj* are the most prominent, and occupy the major part of what we have spoken of as Kurdistan, in the ordinary acceptance of the term; that is, the region from Ararat to Kerkuk, including both the Turkish and Persian sections. The *Goran* are scarcely less numerous, though not as powerful as the Kermanj, and are found chiefly in Persia, between Sihna and Ispahan. A number of tribes near Suleimanieh, the Dersim Kurds west of Erzroom, as well as scattered tribes throughout Turkey, are Goran.

Of the *Lur* I can learn very little except that they occupy Luristan. Of the *Wend*, too, little is known except that their headquarters are in Afghanistan, and that they furnish the wildest and fiercest of the tribes that roam through Southern Kurdistan, extending their raids occasionally as far north and west as Oorfa.

The ethnological and linguistic characteristics of these divisions it is by no means easy to determine without more extensive and accurate information than is at present accessible. They are unquestionably of Indo-European origin. One traveler speaks of the "roundness of their features, much more approaching European than Asiatic physiognomy, particularly when contrasted with

First: The exceedingly able and valuable report to the British government by Major Henry Trotter, R. E. C. B., British consul for Kurdistan, and published in the Parliamentary Blue Book about 1880. Second: Information from Keffee Effendi, a Kurd of the Jaff tribe near Suleimanieh. He was one of the most remarkable men it was ever my privilege to meet. A thorough scholar in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, as well as his own Kurdish, he had also a very wide knowledge — though he knew no European language — of other countries, their history, geography, and general characteristics. With a capacity for patient research he combined a quick perception, evenly balanced judgment, and conscientious faithfulness, very unusual in an Oriental. As a young man he was employed by the famous Sheikh Obeidullah to travel through Central Kurdistan and gather facts about the different tribes. Subsequently, in Mosul, he became interested in Christianity, and came on to Constantinople, where he was employed as a scribe on the Committee for the Revision of the Turkish Scriptures. He became, as we believe, a true Christian, and was eagerly planning for the translation of the Bible into his own language when he was struck down by typhoid fever, in the spring of 1883, a great loss to his associates and especially to his people. Third: The *Shereef Na'ameh*, or Kurdish history, by the Prince of Bitlis, published in St. Petersburg in French. This I have not had the time or opportunity to consult as much as I could wish.

Digitized by Google

the long and prominent features of the Arabs. The complexion, too, is as fair as that of Englishmen, though in all the eyes and hair are dark." Too little, however, is known to warrant any assertion in general, still less as to the particular traits of these subdivisions. The language is better known, though as yet very imperfectly. It is especially akin to the old Persian and to the Armenian. It is said that there is scarcely a word marked in Oriental dictionaries as old Persian that is not in actual use among the Kurds to-day; and where Kurds and Armenians come in close contact, as in the Dersim country and in the region of Sest, east of Diarbekir, the similarity is very noticeable. It is claimed by many that for writing Kurdish the Armenian alphabet is much better adapted than the Arabic or Persian, which are commonly used. The number of dialects is almost equal to the number of tribes, yet there are general characteristics which belong distinctively to these four great sections, though it is difficult to define them exactly. The Kermanj is rough, with a considerable admixture of Turkish and Arabic. It has harsh gutterals and uncouth, minute syllabification, making its pronunciation very difficult. The Goran, or Zaza, as it is sometimes called, is purer and smoother, with a more flowing pronunciation, somewhat like the Persian. The Jaff tribe, Kermanj by origin, but spreading over a considerable country occupied chiefly by the Goran race, furnishes a sort of connecting link between these two sections; and the Lur in a similar manner connects the Goran and the Wend. In addition to these marked races there are the *Yezidees*, claimed by the Kurdish authorities as Kurds, yet not classed by them under any one of these heads. Their origin is very doubtful, and they do not form a community large enough, numerically, to exert very much influence. They are found chiefly in the Sinjar district, west of Mosul, and in the Baasheika district, east of Mosul. There are also scattered communities all through eastern Turkey. The Kurds also claim the Gypsies as a kindred race, and they are found in some numbers, principally in the southern sections of Kurdistan.

2. *Religion.* The Kurds are, as a race, Mohammedans, and are divided about equally between Sunnis, or orthodox Moslems, and Shiahs, or followers of Ali. The Sunni Kurds, comprising the Kermanj and a large part of the Goran, and occupying the greater part of eastern Turkey and western Persia as far south as Kerkuk, are by far the best known and the most powerful. They belong to the Shaafi sect, and are very largely under the

Digitized by Google

influence of the Nakhshibendi dervishes, some of whom are chiefs of very powerful tribes. The most noted of these in recent years has been Sheikh Obeidullah, who has incited all the general disturbances in the mountains for some years past, and in 1880 led the great rebellion against Persia. The Shiah Kurds comprise the remainder of the Goran, the Lur, and the Wend, and are found mostly in Persia. They are scattered in comparatively small numbers throughout Asia Minor, especially in the Dersim country. In Turkey they are called Kuzzlebash, or red-heads, a term given in derision, and offensive to them, yet now so generally adopted as to have lost much of its original force. Its origin is obscure, but it is thought to have come from associating them with the Persian Shiahs, who use red dyes very freely for the hair and beard. West of Diarbekir there are Kuzzlebash Turks. As has already been said, they are in all probability Kurds rather than Turks.

As may be inferred from the great influence of the dervishes among them, the Kurds are intense in their religious, or, rather, in most cases, their superstitious, beliefs. Among no class of Moslems is the faith of Islam held more tenaciously, and nowhere have I seen such scrupulous observance of religious rites. In the city of Rowandiz, where I was for a Sabbath the guest of the most influential Kurd of the region, I saw the whole female population of the city assemble on the bank of the river, towards sundown, for their devotions. Rarely singly, generally in groups of three or six, they went through with the form of prayer as punctiliously as any priests. Noticing that I was interested in the sight, my host took occasion to speak in praise of the religious character of the Kurds in general, and of the women in particular. Of the religion of the Yezidees comparatively little is really known. It seems to contain elements of Christianity and Mohammedanism, with a large proportion of paganism. Their rites are observed in secrecy, and have, therefore, given occasion for the most outrageous charges, which, however, are absolutely rejected by Sir Henry Layard and others who have taken pains to learn as much as possible of this singular people.

3. *Government.* The form of government of the Kurds is essentially the same as that of almost all mountain peoples, — the patriarchal, tribal system. From a variety of circumstances, geographical, political, etc., it has come about that a somewhat marked line can be drawn between those who have preserved the tribal organization and those who have lost it.

Digitized by Google

The tribal Kurds resemble much the Highland clans of Scotland. As a rule the chieftainship is hereditary, and there are some families in which it has remained for a long time. Occasionally we find some one tribe, by its greater power, gathering under its protection a large number of smaller tribes, which become absorbed in it, not infrequently losing their own distinct tribal organization. Then if the ruling house, as has been often the case, becomes demoralized by contact with the Persian or Turkish governments or by internal feuds and jealousies, some hitherto unimportant family will come suddenly into power and seize the general authority, and in the universal break-up whole tribes seem to drop out, while new ones come into existence. Of this sort is the history of the family of Beni Ardilan, who once ruled the great province of Ardilan, in Persia, with Sihna for the capital. In some of the tribes there seems to be a strong democratic element. Mr. Rich speaks of one of the Khoshnav, north of Suleimanieh, where the opposition of a single member, even one of the poorest, was sufficient as a veto power. As a rule the chief is autocratic, but is practically held in check by the heads of the principal families. In one of the nomad Wend tribes of the south, the chieftainship is held by any one whose prowess enables him to seize and hold it.

The Kermanj and Wend are almost entirely tribal. The Goran and Lur are partly tribal and partly non-tribal, in what proportion it is very difficult to state.

The non-tribal Kurds are those that have no tribal organization, or, indeed, any organization at all. They are practically peasants, under the rule, or, rather, despotism, of the Turkish and Persian governors or, in some cases, of the more powerful tribal chiefs. Whether they were originally all tribal or not, it is impossible to say; but it seems certain that their numbers have been largely increased by the disintegrating forces spoken of above. They are found principally in Persia, though somewhat in the province of Suleimanieh, and scattered about Asia Minor. The Kurds of Rowandiz, Bitlis, Van, Suleimanieh, Sihna and other cities still have a tribal organization.

4. *Mode of life.* The Kurds are in general either nomad or sedentary; in particular, either pastoral or agricultural. The nomad Kurds are purely pastoral; the sedentary are pastoral and agricultural. There are a few tribes, chiefly Wend, who can hardly be said to belong to either of these classes. They subsist by plunder, have no flocks or herds, and live on horseback.

Digitized by Google

There are, however, very few such, and it is doubtful whether that is their permanent mode of life. In general all the Kurds keep their flocks and herds or till the ground.

The nomads are again divisible into two classes: the purely nomad, who have no fixed dwelling-place, and live in tents the year round, and the partially nomad, who live in villages during the winter, and go to distant pasturages for the summer. So, also, the sedentary Kurds may be divided into those who leave their villages for pasturages, — which, however, are not so remote that they lose oversight of their houses and fields, — and the permanent village and city Kurds, who do not change their residence the year round.

The first class, purely nomad, are chiefly Wend, and are found in the southern sections. The principal tribe is the Bakhtiari, a name which has become synonymous with robbery, and which rivals the fame of some of the Bedouin tribes of the desert. As to the Wend tribes in Afghanistan no information is accessible.

The second class, partially nomad, is more numerous, and comprises many of the tribes that winter on the north Mesopotamia plain or in the district of Kerkuk, and summer in Hakkiari or northeast of Van, in and near Kotur, Salmas, and Oroomiah. These are principally Kermanj, and are the tribes most noted for their outrages upon Armenian, Nestorian, and even Moslem villages. They furnished the greater part of Sheikh Obeidullah's army; and one of the most prominent, the Belbas tribe, from the plain of Lahijan, furnished in one of its chiefs his famous lieutenant, Hamza Agha, who was principally responsible for the fearful massacres of Miandab.

The third class, composed of those changing pasturage in summer, but not migrating to distant places, is on the whole the most influential, and includes the great majority of the tribal Kurds and many of the non-tribal, in every section of the country, both in Turkey and Persia. They comprise the majority of the Kermanj and nearly the whole of the Goran and the Lur, so far as can be judged. Among them are the Haideranli and Shekoik, near Salmas, the Shirmoo, Mamash, and Bana, of Lahijan, the Jaff, of Suleimanieh, and the Dersim Kurds.

The fourth class, as we may call the stationary Kurds, comprises few of the tribes, but the great majority of the non-tribal or peasant Kurds. Among them, however, are those of Bitlis, Rowandiz, Suleimanieh, and Kerkuk, many of whom are of high character and great influence, which is growing rather than decreasing.

Digitized by Google

The lines of separation between these different classes are by no means sharply drawn, and it is often impossible to distinguish them at all. The same tribes belong to one class at one time, and to another as circumstances change. In general the drift is from the first to the second, then to the third, and then to the fourth. The immense majority are still pastoral, but tillage of the soil is increasing, and giving permanency to those who would otherwise be wanderers.

As to the total number of the Kurds, it is difficult to form anything like a correct estimate. Major Millingen (an Englishman in the Turkish service) gives the only total that I have seen, namely, five millions. This seems very high. Keffee Effendi (referred to above) gives an enumeration of the Sunni, Kermanj, Goran, and Wend, who live south of Hakkiari, and makes the total 112,000 houses; about 560,000 persons. He, however, makes no mention of the Kermanj of Van, Bitlis, and north of Hakkiari, nor of the Shiah Kurds in any section. Taking that as a basis, it would seem that three millions, or perhaps three and a half millions, would cover the whole. Even this, however, partakes too much of the nature of a guess to be put forth very positively.

5. *General Characteristics.* Physically the Kurds are a fine race. Tall, powerful, athletic, they are capable of great endurance. Their features, however, are heavy and dull, except as the passions are aroused, when there is a gleam of ferocity such that no one who has seen it wonders at the terror they inspire among the more peaceful villagers of the plains. Among the chiefs, however, and quite commonly among some of the tribes, this general expression is conquered by intelligence, and then, seen at its best, the race partakes of no small degree of nobility. My host and his son, at Rowandiz, were of this class, and when, at their evening reception, the large room was filled with Kurds of every position in the country around, there were not a few of commanding appearance. Quite a different company was that gathered about the sheikh of Peshwa, in Persia, to whom I applied for a guard through his territory. Although they were sufficiently courteous to me, there was a low brutality in their heavy, glowering features that boded no good to the villagers who had recently refused to pay their tribute, and against whom the sheikh was just preparing to march. Their dress is bulky and clumsy, with unwieldy turban and long, tangling sleeves and fringes. It is, however, picturesque, and when richly ornamented is not unworthy of the description of an English traveler of fifty years ago: "On the head is a large shawl of

Digitized by Google

striped silk, red, white, and blue, with fringed ends, wound in most graceful manner around the red skull-cap. Its ample folds are confined with some embroidered band, and the long fringes hang down with rich, fantastic wildness. Their true Saracenic (?) features and bright black eyes gleam with peculiar lustre from under this head-tire. The body garments consist of an ample vest and gown, with wide sleeves, and over-jacket, often richly embroidered. Below are the 'shalwas' — Mameluke trousers. Around the waist, a girdle with monstrous silver clasps, and jeweled according to rank and taste. From this hang the powder horn and swords, and in it are stuck pistols and daggers. Over all is thrown a cloak, or abba, of camel's hair, — white, black, or brown, or striped, — clasped at the breast, and floating picturesquely behind. A small shield hangs from the left shoulder, and the hand carries a long, slender spear. This always; in war, a gun and case of javelins are added, which they use with great precision. They also wear armor; shirts of linked mail, or plate armor, consisting of four plates of inlaid and damasked steel, made to fit the back, breast, and sides."

In character there seems to be a marked difference between the northern and southern Kurds. The former do not vary much from those that Xenophon described. Brutal, ferocious, savage, to the last degree, it seems as if there were no crime too great for them to commit. Their hospitality is stained with treachery; their bravery is little more than brazen-faced cowardice. The murder of the German traveler, Schultze, who was decoyed from the road under pretext of showing him an ancient monument, and killed where there was no hope of rescue and little chance of revenge, is a fair sample of what they would do far oftener had they the opportunity. On a larger scale are the massacres of Beder Khan Beg, carried out under the advice of Sheikh Tahir, father of Sheikh Obeidullah, and repeated by the son at Bayazid and Miandab. The story is told of the sheikh of a castle near Rowandiz that, awakened at night by the crying of his child, he got up in a paroxysm of fury, snatched the little one from its bed, and flung it from the battlements clear across the ravine upon the rocks. When he came to himself remorse sought some vengeance, and for weeks he held a reign of terror, his most trusted retainers not daring to come near him. But instances need not be multiplied, for every book of travels in the East has them in abundance. It seems as if it would be a mercy to humanity to wipe them out from the face of the earth. There is, however, another

Digitized by Google

class. The Kurds of Rowandiz and Suleimanieh, the Jaff and Zend tribes, manifest some very different characteristics. They are intelligent, keeping informed on matters of general interest as well as on those that affect their own tribes. They are anxious for education, and are making considerable effort to obtain it. They are energetic, taking advantage of every means to increase their influence or better their condition. Thus they not infrequently attain high position. Said Pasha, former Ottoman ambassador to Berlin, and Bahri Pasha, governor of Pera, the European quarter of Constantinople, are Jaff Kurds. Emin Effendi, one of the most influential members of the Council of State, is chief of the Zend tribe that placed Kerim Khan on the throne of Persia. Keffee Effendi — already referred to — was a Jaff Kurd, and not a few of the prominent writers for the Turkish press at the present time are of the same race. Nor are these isolated cases merely, such as will occur among any people. From the observations of Mr. Rich in and near Suleimanieh, my own inquiries at Rowandiz, and the testimony of not a few well qualified to know, there seem to exist among these people some who are capable of great improvement and desirous to secure it. How large the number may be it would be difficult to say, but it is large enough to be able to take a very important part in the future of the country.

The military prowess of the Kurds is by no means of a high order. They have a great deal of dash, but very little endurance; plenty of bravado, but very little pluck. They have no organization, but rely chiefly upon the effect of a sudden appearance and rush to give them the victory. This was seen in Sheikh Obeidullah's rebellion. Wherever they could overwhelm by sheer force of numbers and momentum, they conquered; but when they came against the miserable fortifications of Oroomiah, manned by some weak-kneed Persian regulars, their advance was checked; and with the check came disintegration and defeat. There have been very few examples of military achievements of any note by Kurds. The Saladin of the Crusades was a Kurd, — not a Bedouin, as he is popularly supposed to have been, — and his conquests showed no slight military ability. Early in the present century Mehemet Beg, of Rowandiz, made himself master of the whole region around, and held a sway that has made his name famous. So among the Lurs there have been chiefs whose fame has survived them; but in general these have all been little more than brigand chieftains, leading a guerrilla warfare against their neighbors.

Digitized by Google

The Kurds are an active race, fond of horseback exercise and games. The opening and subsequent scenes of Scott's "Talisman" are Kurdish, and not unlike what may be witnessed to-day. As a rule they are bold and reckless rather than skillful riders, and their games are of the rudest. They are social in their nature and habits far more than either Turks or Persians, and their women seem to be on a much higher plane, and to receive more respect. They are not closely veiled, have more freedom, and exert more influence than those in the countries around them. It was pleasant to hear, in Rowandiz, the tribute that my host paid to their intelligence, virtue, and general high character. This, of course, is by no means universal; and, indeed, it is impossible to make any favorable statement in regard to the Kurds without making at the same time some qualifications.

Their customs are, in general, those of the Levant, modified by their manner of life and their country. They keep up the system of blood-feuds, and this alone is occasion for ceaseless conflict between tribes and families. It was one of these blood-feuds that was the immediate cause of the betrayal of Sheikh Obeidullah and his delivery to the Turkish authorities and consequent exile and death. The guide given me by the Sheikh of Peshwa tried very hard to secure his present before reaching the end of the journey. This was persistently refused him until we should arrive at the village to which we were going. At last, when we were within a half hour's ride of the place, he left, although he thus failed of his present. In all probability his tribe or family had a blood-feud with some Kurds beyond, and he did not dare to go alone. There is little to distinguish a Kurdish village from any other. Their winter huts are low mud hovels, their black tents ("the tents of Kedar"?) very like those of the Arab tribes. They frequently have, however, a considerable quantity of fine carpets, rugs, curtains, and general house or tent furniture. The removal of an encampment is an interesting sight, — the men upon their horses or mares, the women upon the donkeys or mules, while the children appear here and there, mixed up with the bedding and general tent furniture. There are the foals scampering about, while the inseparable dog keeps up a sharp, quick bark at everything in general, and any strangers in particular. Then come the flocks, with the shepherds leading, and the silent, but far more dangerous, shepherd dogs keeping a good watch that no lamb or kid strays and is lost. In the cities they adopt city life, and many of the distinctive Kurdish customs are lost.

Digitized by Google

The history of the Kurds is meagre, at least any history that is at all authentic. They first appear in Xenophon's "Anabasis" as the Carduchi, occupying the same country as at present, only somewhat more circumscribed, and are in general the same people. Then they drop out of sight, and with the exception of an occasional reference to their country we hear nothing more of them as Kurds until Saladin, a chief of the Kermanj tribe of Rouzbahan, from Tekrit, on the Tigris, appears as sultan of Egypt and Syria and the contestant with the Crusaders for the possession of Palestine. Again they disappear from notice until early in the present century, when Mehemet Beg created a quasi kingdom at Rowandiz, and both sultan and shah began to find them a somewhat uncertain and dangerous element on their borders. The impression left upon the Ten Thousand was that of a savage tribe of mountaineers, fiercely opposed to every encroachment on their domains, but neither numerous nor strong enough to be dignified by the name of nation. Saladin and his family seem to have been little but adventurers, who, by force of personal character and the devotion of a band of retainers, succeeded in overturning effete kingdoms in countries which had been so often conquered as to have almost acquired the habit of yielding to any one who, with any show of reason or of force, could make a claim to their allegiance. We find now a people, numbering not less than three millions, spread over a wide extent of territory, without the internal coherence of a nation indeed, but still with certain characteristics of language, features, and customs which mark them as one race. They have no history proper, for the "Shereef Na'ameh," referred to above, is little more than a collection of traditions, which yet have to be scrutinized and sifted with greatest care. It is, perhaps, more than a fictitious claim that makes the Medes and Parthians branches of this same race, yet that claim has still to be verified. The character of their language, the presence of a large Kurdish element in Afghanistan, traces of Kurdish tribes in Ghilan, south of the Caspian, all tend to show, in general, their origin and the course which they have taken. But these do not explain their present distribution and diversities. It is possible that in their own tradition, given above, we may find a clew to their origin, and in the history of certain tribes an explanation of their growth.

Mr. Rich, during his visit to Suleimanieh, in 1820, became much interested in the Jaff tribe, themselves not numbering more than six hundred houses, but by reason of their sturdiness and

Digitized by Google

bravery gathering under their banners portions of every tribe around, especially those that needed protection against Persian or Turkish despotism. Among those thus connected he enumerates several Wend tribal families and a portion of the famous Zend tribe driven from Persia at the time of the overthrow of Shah Kerim Khan. About 1870 Keffee Effendi, making an enumeration of this same tribe, his own, found them to number forty thousand houses. There is every reason to accept the accuracy of both these estimates. Yet the growth from six hundred houses to forty thousand in fifty years would be impossible except as some process of absorption has gone on akin to that which had begun in 1820.

So the first occupancy of the mountains of Kurdistan may have been by a tribe or tribes, from the north of India, perhaps driven from pleasanter settlements by the cruelty and oppression of certain rulers. Making of the inaccessible gorges and valleys of Bohtan and Hakkiari a general Cave of Adullam, they gathered to their numbers the turbulent and disaffected from every side. As they grew stronger, and the fertile plains of Persia and Mesopotamia enticed them from their mountain fastnesses, they spread forth only to carry back with them those who had joined their banners on the plains, whether voluntarily or under force. And gradually differences became blended or crystallized as the circumstances changed, and the Kurdish people, in its four great divisions and innumerable tribes and dialects, came into being, built upon the ruins of many kingdoms and even empires.

As yet, however, there is little but conjecture; positive assertion remains for future and more thorough investigation.

Edwin M. Bliss.

Bible House, Constantinople, Turkey.

SIDE LIGHTS FROM MORMONISM.

Probably the most remarkable, though certainly not the greatest, religious movement of the century is the birth and growth of Mormonism. It is sufficiently remarkable that a man of little education and no military prestige should convince great numbers of Anglo-Saxons that he was a prophet, and that a book of unusual dullness which he introduced was a revelation from God; but the case becomes truly astonishing when we learn the whole story. For

Digitized by Google

this would-be prophet arose in the nineteenth century and in the midst of the intelligent and throbbing life of the United States. He incorporated into his system polygamy and other barbarous principles and practices; and though repeatedly defeated and pushed to ridiculous expedients by mob violence, he was yet able to bind the bulk of his followers to him by a tie almost indissoluble. Those followers numbered thousands and even hundreds of thousands; and, rather than surrender their creed, they faced vast areas of wilderness and desert, and like Abraham went out not knowing whither they went. Add to this that they penetrated the unbroken solitudes of this Great Basin, and where formerly there had been only the sage and the thin, dry grass of the desert they made cultivated fields and growing towns to appear, and that for twenty summers the white-topped wagons of the slow ox-teams did not fail to be seen in long procession creeping across the plains and through the mountains, while for the last fifteen years the railroad has brought regularly, year after year, new colonies of humble adherents, — adherents who have crossed seas and plains and mountains, often leaving the land of their birth six thousand miles behind them, and who through every difficulty and at every sacrifice have pressed on to this Latter Day Zion, — and before the narrative is nearly finished the reader will probably consider it no exaggeration to call the phenomena of Mormonism astonishing.

It would be singular, indeed, if there were not many parts of so strange and yet so strong a system not only of interest, but full of instruction, likewise, to the thoughtful observer. Four points will probably impress themselves upon one coming into close contact with Mormonism and Mormon life; points which have no little bearing on questions now before the religious world.

1. In the first place there is an open Bible in Utah. In many minds this statement will doubtless excite surprise, perhaps incredulity. There is a widespread impression in religious circles that the Mormons are afraid of the Bible; that a very important feature of Christian activity here is the circulation of the Scriptures. There could hardly be a greater mistake. Little as we may enjoy the fact, it *is* a fact that Mormonism stands with an open Bible in its hand, and challenges refutation from the pages of inspiration. I have yet to see the first indication that the Latter Day Saints fear the circulation and reading of the Word of God. It is to be found, very generally, in the houses of the older and well-to-do Mormons, as also in the pulpits of the meeting-houses.

Digitized by Google

The "Saints" have been even known to coöperate with Christians in circulating the Scriptures. It is, indeed, true that the Latter Day Church does not use the Bible much, that its adherents allow the dust to gather on its covers; but it is also true that the same treatment is accorded, in even greater degree, to their other sacred books. The average "Saint" is more concerned with the utterances of the "living oracles," — that is, the "priesthood of Zion," — than with the *dicta* of any written word. Yet he is at the same time perfectly convinced that the Bible supports the Latter Day faith in every respect, and that it is only the blindness of sectarianism which prevents others from seeing the fact as plainly as he does. One good "sister" told the writer that for two years after she joined the Church her husband devoted himself to reading the Bible and Pilgrim's Progress, seeking for something against Mormonism with which to confront her, and that finding nothing he at length was himself baptized into the church. To-day he is among the most faithful of "the brethren." So strong, indeed, is this conviction that many men who have lost all faith in Mormonism, who hate it with all the virulence of those who realize that they have been grossly deluded, yet feel to-day, as they did formerly, that Mormonism is founded upon and supported by the Scriptures. They have been known to advise our missionaries to "keep clear of the Bible" if they wished to fight Mormonism, adding that "the Mormons have it all their own way in that book."

Does the reader wonder how support for such a colossal delusion can possibly be found in the King James Bible? A Latter Day Saint would probably state his case somewhat as follows: — "The words of Jesus are, 'Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' To be born of water, as you Christians admit, is equivalent to baptism. So it is clear, upon no less authority than that of Jesus himself, that a man *must* be baptized in order to be saved. But who is to baptize men into the kingdom of God? Any one? Men without authority from the Lord? By no means. Only those to whom the command to baptize is given in Matt. xxviii. 19, and, inferentially, in Mark xvi. 15, 16. How are we to know that certain men have authority to baptize? By their own assertion? Not at all; but by the credentials which Jesus predicts they will present when, in the 17th and 18th verses of that sixteenth chapter of Mark, he says, 'And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they

Digitized by Google

drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover.' We do not need to prove that you Christians have no authority to baptize, and so can lead no one into the kingdom of God; we are not obliged to show that the believers in your system do not cast out devils, nor speak with tongues, nor heal the sick miraculously, for you lay claim to no such powers. Hence your system is self-convicted of being from men and not from God. But as to the believers of the Latter Day Church, they can instance hundreds of cases in which just such signs as the Lord predicted have followed the preaching of the true gospel, and just such powers as He foretold have been exercised by those believing in that gospel. It is, therefore, the Latter Day Saints, and they alone, who have authority to baptize and power to usher men into the kingdom of God.

"You say it is absurd for us to believe in a new revelation from God in these latter days. The charge only shows your ignorance of the Bible. If you had but looked at Rev. xiv. 6, 7, you would have seen that it was prophesied that the true gospel should be sent to this earth again. It is not absurd for us to believe that an angel appeared to Joseph Smith, for the coming of that angel was foretold by the Apostle John nearly 1800 years before. As to our gathering in Zion, in these Rocky Mountains, it is simply in obedience to the command of God recorded in Rev. xviii. 4 and reiterated in these latter days, 'Come out of her [Babylon] my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins.' But polygamy, do you say, we Saints believe in polygamy! Yes, we do. You Christians are too 'civilized' for that, are you? What would you do with the patriarch Jacob in your modern civilization? It 's very plain that the old man whom the Almighty called 'a Prince of God,' and who was the father of the chosen people, would have but a cold welcome with his four wives among you super-righteous religionists! We believe in polygamy because it is honored throughout the Old Testament, and not a word said against it in the New; because heaven is spoken of as 'Abraham's bosom,' and Abraham was a polygamist; because David is called 'a man after God's own heart,' and he too was a polygamist."

I have endeavored in the foregoing paragraphs to present Mormon apologetics, both in matter and in spirit, as the reader may find them for himself in almost any issue of the "Deseret News," the foremost organ of the Mormon Church. It will be seen that while all the above positions may be assailed successfully, and generally from the pages of Scripture, yet there is not one of them

Digitized by Google

which has not a certain speciousness, on the surface of the Scripture text; not one of them which is beyond the field of fair discussion; while two or three of them have been held by able thinkers in Orthodox churches. Thus Mormonism confronts us, standing with an open Bible in its hand, and with a *primâ facie* case, in the minds of many half-educated men. Has this phenomenon a bearing on any question at issue among Christians to-day? It is believed that it has such a bearing.

A question of growing importance now before the religious world is that of the inerrancy of the Scriptures. Among the many satisfactory and exhaustive treatises on the inspiration of the Bible, there has been no adequate, general discussion of this minor question of inerrancy. Is Scripture without error, even in purely secular matters, such as points of profane history and science? Yes, certainly, reply the great majority of Christians. The Bible is true in every respect. No, say a small minority; the Bible is inerrant only in matters pertaining to salvation. In other directions Scripture is reliable, but not infallible. Probably few believers hear this latter statement for the first time without something of a shock. But on the other hand the school of thinkers who make it seems to be growing in numbers and influence, and, it must be confessed, counts among its members not a few names both great and dear in Christian annals.

The great consideration urged by what may be called the conservative party in sustaining the doctrine of inerrancy is that when the first breach in the absolute infallibility of sacred Scripture is made the authority of the whole is lost. Then, it is argued, it is left to every man to determine for himself which is the inspired and therefore authoritative portion of the Bible, and which part is of men. In that case, erring man has but to persuade himself, as he is only too ready to do, that some objectionable doctrine or precept is on the human and not the divine side of the Scriptures to release his conscience from the yoke of its authority. This, it is said, amounts to every man's making a Bible for himself. It is idle to deny the force of this argument. The human heart is desperately prone to error, is wonderfully eager to escape from the uncomfortable restraints of a law which it does not love and of doctrines which do not suit its fancy. It would be no exaggeration, probably, to affirm that with nine tenths of thoughtful believers this consideration is the determining one in making them strenuous for Biblical inerrancy. And it is on this argument that the Mormon phenomenon bears with especial, almost decisive, force.

Digitized by Google

It would seem to make evident that real as is the danger of fallen man's perverting the Bible to suit his own passions and fancies the doctrine of Scriptural inerrancy is no safeguard against it; that men may believe in the verbal infallibility of the Bible to the fullest extent, and yet persuade themselves and their fellows that it sanctions doctrines and practices which the best thought and piety of Christendom abhor. It would seem to tell us that the assumption involved in the doctrine of inerrancy — the assumption that God meant to keep men from all error in the matters treated of, and so far as they are treated of in the Scriptures — is incompatible with the Protestant position of an open Bible and private interpretation. For to shut out error in religious matters — error often of the grossest and most widespread character — it is not enough, so long as the human mind and heart remain as they are, to provide an infallible revelation; there must also be an infallible interpreter of that revelation, — and that is the Roman and not the Protestant position. Apparently, then, we are left to determine the question of Scriptural inerrancy according to the evidence of the Book itself, and free from anxiety as to possible dangers in diverging from the present conservative position.

2. A second noteworthy feature of Mormonism is the very general indorsement, among the common people, of the sweeping denunciations of Christian ethics by the priesthood; an indorsement founded usually on personal experience. The individual Mormon has his particular instances of Christian dereliction of duty, both in laymen and clergymen, to relate. Before he was led off into the vagaries of the Latter Day delusion he was first, by way of preparation, shocked and rendered religiously indifferent by the faulty lives of church members who yet stood high in the church's esteem; he grew into a cynical state of mind by watching those Christians who "prayed on their knees on the Sabbath, and preyed on their neighbors during the week," — those ministers who, especially in the state churches abroad, disgraced their calling and their Christian profession by the pronounced worldliness and even, in some cases, gross intemperance of their lives. He became in a vague, unformulated way skeptical of the reality of all religion, and entirely indifferent to its claims. Then there appeared on the scene a new figure, — a man, poor and uncultivated like himself, who preached, not for wages, as he believed the ministers did, but for love of the gospel and of men; who came "without purse and scrip," and who claimed to represent the true, original gospel; that gospel which the various Christian

Digitized by Google

churches had perverted and reconciled to the evil world, to which it was naturally, as taught by its great Author, implacably antagonized; a gospel which would make all men brethren again, and which announced to him that the "latter days" were here, and the coming of the Lord was at hand. Is it strange that the new system captivated his fancy and stirred to their depths those religious forces which had lain dormant in him so long? No more strange than the growth of weeds which the best soil will present when broken up by the plough and then left to the sowing of the winds. The preparatory work — the ploughing — has been done in the man's heart by training amid Christian institutions and instruction in the outlines of Christian truth; but, unsupported by Christian example and unenforced by the quickening power of the Divine Spirit, what has this training done for him except to show him the contrast between Christian precept and Christian practice?

This state of things forms the opportunity of Mormonism. It can do little or nothing where Christianity is unknown; it can do little or nothing where Christianity is a living, aggressive power in heart and life; its sphere lies — and it knows the fact full well — where the church exalts dogmas at the expense of duties, where she presents creeds in place of deeds. The imminent danger to a church thus slighting the ethical part of her mission has not, indeed, waited for this late day to be pointed out. Ecclesiastical history, on the large scale and on the small, is all too full of examples which bring the fact home to the church with peremptory force. But it is a fact which men so easily forget, a lesson they are so prone to overlook, that it needs constant iteration and constant emphasizing. Mormonism may be called, with scarcely any exaggeration, a frightful protest against formal, worldly Christianity.

3. The impartial visitor to these valleys who has formed his opinion of Mormonism, heretofore, entirely from anti-Mormon accounts of detestable deeds done in Utah — accounts too often well founded — has almost certainly a great surprise in store for him when he comes to enter Mormon homes, and to meet the Mormon people face to face in daily intercourse. He finds that the stories of dark deeds which have come to his ears, however well authenticated, do not correctly represent the rank and file of the Latter Day Saints. But more than this; he discovers that even the specimens of Mormon belief which have been repeated to him in the very words of church dignitaries do not give a correct impression of Mormon life. The average Mormon's moral tone is considerably above that of his creed; his life is a much better one than

Digitized by Google

would naturally be expected from his beliefs. And truly every lover of his fellow-men must rejoice that this allowance can be made, for Mormon theology is positively atrocious. Not content with degrading God to the puny moral stature of Joseph Smith and endowing the Almighty with the mental foibles and physical likeness and limitations of his creatures, making Him but a huge shadow of misshapen man on the mists of the night, it must needs go back to the exploded myths of twenty centuries ago, and exhume the reeking, offensive remains of polytheism; it must teach its blinded believers that there are hosts of gods; — is not אֱלֹהִים plural? — that these gods are both male and female; — does not Jesus speak of "our Father in heaven," and thereby imply *necessarily* the existence of our mother in heaven? — and that these divinities are living in a state of polygamy, and producing hosts of spiritual children for whom it is the lofty mission of Latter Day Saints, also living in polygamy, to provide bodies! If any one has discovered in the vocabulary of the English language an adjective adequate to express a devout Christian's estimate of this theology, as the full system is unfolded to him, the writer has yet to learn of it.

But not only are the Mormons in Utah better than their beliefs; they are a better class of men abroad than they are in Utah. It is the uniform testimony of apostate Mormons who now hate the system most bitterly that when they joined the church in "the old country" they thought the Mormons the best people on the face of the earth, and that it was not till they arrived "in Zion" that they were undeceived. How shall we explain these two phenomena? How is it that, in exact reverse of the usual state of things, a people is found better than its creed? How is it that, with the same creed, a God-fearing, law-abiding people in one hemisphere becomes a God-debasing, law-defying community in the other? The explanation of both these facts is doubtless to be found in the working of the same agency, — in the action of Christianity on Mormonism, to no inconsiderable extent in Utah, but in far greater degree outside of it, compelling the Mormon leaders to emphasize, to some extent at least, the better portions of their creed, forcing the "Saints" to return frequently to their Bibles, and to substantiate their position from the Scripture pages. Of course this aspect of affairs is full of hope for Utah. With the increase of genuine Christianity here, the Mormon Church will be forced to improve, and to discard many a barbarous element to which it now clings.

Digitized by Google

Turning now to the bearing of the foregoing on Christian discussion, we come upon the question, Can a church tolerate within its fold, in its pulpits or in any position of influence over others, men who do not hold to the substance, at least, of its creed? The decisive point as to the effect of a creed on the life seems to lie in the way in which it is apprehended. A dogma which is grasped by the intellect only and wins nothing but assent in one individual, thus lying entirely inert in him, may become a great power, a source of continual incitement, in another, simply because the affections of the latter have gone out to it and his enthusiasm has been kindled by it. Or, again, illustrating by the contrast between foreign Mormonism and the Rocky Mountain article, the same creed in every respect, made up of truth and error mixed, may be held by two different men; and in one, only the good elements being enshrined in his heart, that creed may be an elevating, almost a regenerating, force; while in the other, the good elements being merely assented to, the base features cherished and rejoiced in, it will be as a millstone dragging him down to spiritual death. It must be evident, if the above positions have been well taken, that two applicants for places of influence in a Christian church may offer precisely the same confession of faith, yet one of them be a man whom no church can afford to lose, and the other a dead weight in the Lord's army; and it would seem that while the church will not readily become too strenuous for truth and "sound doctrine," as these enter into the real inner life of the man, yet it may exaggerate the importance of the intellectual side of Christian belief; it may overestimate the value in the Christian minister, for example, of doctrines that are almost universally held as matters of assent only.

4. The last point to be noticed in this paper is the contrast, only too apparent, between Christian missions in Utah and Mormon missions in many parts of the United States and Europe. The contrast may be stated very briefly: The Mormons are successful; we are not. The addition of four or five hundred recruits to the numbers of the "Saints," from the East or from over the sea, is an event of comparatively frequent occurrence. On the other hand, while Christian ministers have been at work in the principal Mormon settlements for years, it is rare, indeed, that the true believers in a town cannot be counted on the fingers of the two hands. To what are we to attribute this disparity of results? To the strength of the Mormon system, prejudicing its adherents bitterly against us? Yes, undoubtedly, in part. But it should be

Digitized by Google

remembered that the Mormons meet bitter opposition and great prejudice in their missionary work. Moreover, there is quite a class in Utah, especially among those brought up in Mormonism, which is either opposed to "the church" or so far indifferent to it as to have little or no prejudice against Christian workers. Unpleasant as the idea may be, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that in this connection we have another instance where "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light." The explanation of the difference in results is found mainly, in the opinion of this writer, in the difference of the character of the missionaries. It may surprise the reader that Mormons should be considered superior in missionary qualifications to thoroughly educated Christian ministers; but a little reflection will convince him that it is quite possible that such may be the case. In estimating the usefulness of an implement its adaptedness is to be considered rather than its intrinsic value. The rifle is a nobler instrument than the shot-gun, but it is quite certain that the latter will far surpass the former as a means of killing sparrows and other small birds. Nor is it any disparagement to the great value and wonderful power of Krupp cannon to affirm that they are of no use in a cavalry charge. The thoroughly educated, scholarly minister, the man of culture and broad thinking, is often a kind of misplaced Krupp gun in this region and, it is to be feared, in other missionary districts as well. His ten years or more of higher intellectual training have divorced him largely from the life of the common people, have placed almost a gulf between him and the lower classes. His tastes, his interests, his modes of thought are entirely different from theirs. His sermons, despite his constant effort to the contrary, go over the heads of his auditors, while their lack of interest reacts on him to confuse and embarrass. His illustrations are drawn from a world unknown to them, and he has first to explain his illustration before he can show its application. He goes around among the people socially, and finds as he calls from house to house that he and they have exceedingly few topics of common interest. The subjects which interest them, and which they are capable of talking about, are of such a character that he has to spur himself up vigorously to take even a momentary interest in them.

As may be readily surmised, all this is quite different with the Mormon missionary. He goes out into the same stratum of society, but it is as a friend among equals. He knows little more than those he preaches to, and consequently his thoughts are not

Digitized by Google

in a different world. His illustrations are of an apt, homely type taken from the common life of the people, and go straight to the mark. The methods of thought and presentation which he has been accustomed to are just those most germane to the mental activity of his hearers, while socially he and they are on a common plane of interest and understanding. Is it absurd to claim that he is better fitted for the work in hand than his educated, classically trained competitor? Is it not rather apparent that on the average missionary field the great desideratum is not to secure weight of metal — to recall the military figure — sufficient to crush the antagonist, but to throw a charge, be it never so small, that shall succeed in hitting him? There is no difficulty in the crushing, so far as intellectual battle goes, if the hitting can only be accomplished. It is not a strong intellectual foe, marching upon us in great force and driving us into our strongest redoubts, which we have before us, but one carrying on a guerrilla warfare, hiding from open battle and firing upon us in the rear from behind stone walls and hedges. For such fighting it is not great weight and power which are requisite, but readiness and adaptation. And if lack of adaptation explains, in great measure, the paucity of results of Christian labor in Utah, the writer submits the query to his brethren whether the same explanation may not apply to other missionary fields where ignorance and low social development, rather than keen-witted and well-informed skepticism, are the obstacles to be overcome.

W. Forbes Cooley.

LEHI, UTAH.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN.

UNTIL quite recently the labor of children had been a forgotten factor in the labor problem. Half a century ago children might have been properly regarded as a leisure class; rarely, if ever, were they employed outside of their own homes. Even before the census of 1870 no account whatever appears to have been taken of children employed in our industries. With the reports of that year child-labor began to loom up as a formidable fact; we are met at once with the signal statement that more than 739,000 children — boys under 16 years and girls under 15 — are wage-receivers in the United States. Ten years later the number has grown to 1,118,000, an increase of 379,000, or 66 per cent.;

Digitized by Google

and that even in the face of an admittedly defective enu
In mechanical and manufacturing industries alone the in
was from 115,000 to 182,000, or 58 3-4 per cent.; while in
same period the adult labor, or rather the labor of males ov
16 years, made an advance of only 43 per cent.; and that o
females over 15 years, 64 per cent. Already in twelve leading industries in this class women and children compose a fair majority, and in some important cases have an almost absolute monopoly of labor as against men.

Child-labor is not confined to any particular State or locality; it follows certain lines of industry, and generally finds a welcome wherever it can be used. In some instances the introduction of machinery has thrown the labor largely out of the hands of adults into that of children. Brains and brawn can then easily be dispensed with, and by the attachment of a bit of human machinery the process becomes complete. In the iron and steel industry, for example, in ten years following 1870, the employment of boys increased from 2,400 to 7,700; the per cent. of increase (216) is the significant feature when compared with 78 per cent., the increase in employees over 16 years of age. In eleven of the older States the relative rate of increase in child-labor, as compared with that of men and women, in manufacturing and mechanical occupations, for the same period, may be seen from the following table.

	Children.	Females over 15.	Males over 16.
	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
Illinois	177	127	65
Maine	164	2	3
Maryland	160	162	37
Iowa	127	51	8
Ohio	116	60	35
New Jersey	95	151	32
Pennsylvania	54	65	11
New York	43	115	36
Rhode Island	29	24	28
Massachusetts	23	23	27
Connecticut	20	38	22

Only in the last three of these has the increase been approximately concurrent. There is, however, much to be read between the lines. Nobly as Massachusetts has come to their rescue in the last few years, the condition of the children in her workshops and factories is not such as she is proud of. In the establishments of Rhode Island are to be found many young children whom the in-

Digitized by Google

in the Bay State wisely considered too young to be employed at all. Despite the efforts of the Connecticut school authorities to do their part, there are many workmen who will testify to the shameful condition of too great a number of juvenile operatives in the villages and cities of the State. A high school principal in one of the manufacturing towns stated recently that he had to fight children and parents alike to keep pupils of the working classes in school after they had once acquired an elementary knowledge of the three R's.

Thanks mainly to the thoughtful policy of trades societies there is a steadily growing reaction in progress against child-labor in several Eastern and Middle States. But the wrongs of a generation cannot be repaired by an act of legislature or the gathering of statistics. We might, however, expect the newer States of the South and West to profit, in their development, by the errors of the older States. But the hope only meets a contrary answer: The industrial growth of the former is destined, from present appearances, to repeat the unenviable record of the New England States in this matter. The labor of children in Lowell is on the decline; in Chicago it is increasing at an astonishing rate. The factory and tenement-house inspectors of the latter city reported 4,600 boys and girls, of fifteen years and under, in the factories and workshops in 1881; the next year they found 6,900, an increase of 68 per cent. in a twelvemonth in the same districts, and that, too, while there was an increase of 53 per cent. in female and only 18 per cent. in male laborers beyond that age.

But the real meaning of the labor of children is not to be found in bureaucratic statistics. Those who would see it as it is must go in and out among the toiling millions and learn, with open eyes, how the other half of the world lives. There is no other way to turn into fact what must otherwise often appear almost incredible. The burden of reproach falls on the factory system. In Baltimore the ratio of children to all other employees in the cotton mills is 1:4; in Augusta, Ga., 1:3; in Allegheny, Pa., 1:4; in Brooklyn (cordage), 1:3; in Lancaster, Pa., 1:5; and in Boston, 12:17. In the six North Atlantic States, in 225 textile factories of special prominence, 17 per cent. of the employees are children. In 36 leading textile factories of Massachusetts 20 per cent. of the operatives are children. The 1,500,000 spindles of Fall River are tended by 12,500 operatives, 3,000 of which are not over 15 years of age. Of the same class in the mills of Lowell, 15 per cent. are found, and nearly the same proportion is at work in the

Digitized by Google

factories of Lawrence. Together with her labor problems, Fall River has to deal with an intricate race problem, and any progress towards the solution of either must be slower for this very fact. With these discordant elements mill life loses none of its demoralizing effect upon children. "I would not," said an operative before an investigating committee, "permit my girls to work in any other mill than the one I am in. Not that I fear that they will do anything wrong, but the influences of a mill are very bad. If a child of a certain age goes to work in the mill, constantly breathing a temperature of 90 degrees both winter and summer, it is sure to grow up puny and die early." Another stated that children put into the mill at an early age become useless at the age of twenty. Many workmen with large families keep their children at work, without the least share in their earnings. Broken ambitions, exhausted bodies, lost self-respect, — what will the next generation be, arising from a childhood in which even the conditions of physical development, to say nothing of the rest, are not only wanting but made impossible!

The growing tendency on the part of parents of the worse class to put children to work before a legal age is attained, and thus to avoid sending them to school for the required time, leads to the gradual extinction of the male operative. Manufacturers are not wanting who aid parents, native and foreign alike, but especially the latter, to bring this vengeance upon their own heads. In both Fall River and Lawrence there are families the men of which are compelled to do the housework and attend to the youngest children at home while their wives and older children are at work in the mills.

It is gratifying to learn, from the reliable source of an official inquiry recently made in Massachusetts, that the morality of female operatives is as a rule much higher than might be expected, judging from their circumstances. The large percentage of operatives not over twenty years of age is a noticeable feature in these three cities. Not less than forty per cent. of the whole belong to this class, which has been in the mills more or less permanently during the late years of industrial stimulation, and as a natural result neglected educational considerations to an extent that gave the State — for these conditions are general, not local — the high number of 75,000 illiterates over the age of ten in 1880, — a number equal to the population of the twenty-fourth city in the Union.

Across the line in Rhode Island affairs are still worse in every

Digitized by Google

respect; children compose twelve per cent. of the whole manufacturing population. While in Massachusetts the working hours are legally reduced to ten per day, in Rhode Island eleven hours are not sufficient to satisfy her industrial zeal. The stripling of a girl or boy of nine years is at work as long as the mature adult. In many of these mills premiums are offered to weavers for extra work, and the children who help this class of operatives toil over the time recognized by law as the limit. In her numerous villages children are found at work as soon as they can help to contribute to the general fund of the family; not because the stress of poverty requires it, but simply because the unchecked and confirmed extravagance of the family demands it. It is a shame, however, that they should be brought up in the factory. The writer has noticed that in this State it is not exceptional for a mother of a family to have her child of a few years old with her at work in the factory. Its nursery life being spent in the midst of work, it is given something to do as soon as its growing energies can be turned to account, and it begins work much earlier than it would under other circumstances. When these children leave the mill, day by day, there is no natural impulse to play; they have lost that spontaneous buoyancy which belongs to the life of every child. It forms part of the fibre of the cloth they have helped to make, standing on their feet during the eleven or twelve hours of the process, with an interval of a twenty-five minute "half-hour" in which to eat a cold lunch. Their homes become places merely to which they repair to eat twice a day and to sleep at night, — little more, indeed. A factory official, pointing to a boy no more than nine years old whom he had just brought in and whom he said chewed tobacco vigorously, admitted that those children, of which this lad was one of thirty, ought not be in the mills at all, and further assured me that they had to be dragged out of bed in the morning to be on time at the factory. Without having slept enough, they gulp down a breakfast for which they are likely to have no appetite, and within the doleful sound of the factory bell hasten away to give up another inch of their lives to perpetuate our darling industries. An extreme picture? Not unless the testimony of superintendents, of operatives, of merchants who live among the people whose children toil and spin and are sacrificed thereto is to be taken as extreme. Each village physician bears damaging testimony to the effects of factory labor upon the health of the children who participate. In the light of these facts it may not be far to find why the smallest of the States stands first in the

Digitized by Google

order of illiteracy of those of her inhabitants over ten years of age.

Turning from New England, we find that the textile industries of Pennsylvania give work to 5,300 boys of fifteen years and under and 4,300 girls of fourteen years and under, in addition to 27,000 women and girls beyond that age. It is perfectly safe to say that no less than 10,000 children under fifteen years are found among the 65,000 employees of this class throughout the State. The mills and shops of Philadelphia alone give employment to twenty and a quarter per cent. of the city's population. Children are at work exceptionally long hours in the stores and tailoring shops, in the latter of which there are about 12,000 employees. Among them may be seen pale and half-starved young girls who work from fourteen to sixteen hours per day. Not a few of the older ones work half a day on Sunday to keep soul and body together on four or five dollars a week. Many manufacturers are so niggard with the room they occupy as to necessitate the crowding together into small space twice the number there should be at work. On the same floor there are often several different workshops partitioned off, and occupied by a dozen or fifteen operatives who breathe the steam and dust of the unventilated rooms. In winter the hot, noisome atmosphere lingering about 100 degrees endangers their health indoors, and exposes them no less by the abrupt change upon leaving the shop, especially since young persons in factory work are none too warmly clothed as a rule. There is no doubt that the burden of these evils and their consequences falls most heavily upon the hospitals and the homes for the children of the poor in the end. Though the Quaker city may cover many of her sins by her charity, it is bad economy to encourage the abuses of the factory system by opening — must it be said? — a storehouse for the human machinery which the system has once worn out and dispensed with.

The rapid development of manufactures in New Jersey has brought fully 15,000 children, ranging from the age of eight to fifteen years, into her labor market. In the city of Paterson, out of a working population of 20,000 there are 3,000 children at work. The second annual report of the inspector of workshops and factories, just issued, throws clear light upon the condition of child-labor in that State. "The examinations we made," said the head of the commission, "in the leading districts of the State dishearten and distress. Nothing short of personal experience would have led us to believe in the frightful amount of ignorance which exists.

Digitized by Google

Large numbers of children have been examined in all manufacturing districts. They were conducted with a view to reach correct conclusions in the interest of the State, the child, and society generally. Almost all the children examined were between the ages of twelve and fifteen. The average age at which they went to work was nine years. As a rule they had been sent to school about their sixth or seventh year, and taken away about two years later for the purpose of being put to work. All of them had been accustomed to work ten hours a day, and many of them thirteen and more hours a day through over-time. . . . The general appearance of these children is worthy of note. Children who had been set to work at an early age were as a rule delicate, puny, and ignorant; they knew the least, having forgotten the little they had been taught before going to work. . . . Children of thirteen years, with little, old faces, said they were satisfied with work, and that they did n't care to play or go to school. Fourteen hours a day was in some cases the service rendered by children of thirteen years, the excuse being that the extra time was allowed off their Saturday labor. Many of the children complained that they could not attend night school, through having to do overwork, and others said that they were unable, after ten and a half hours' labor, to attend night school." It was discovered that "some employers send agents to Castle Garden, in New York city, to hunt up poor Europeans, with children, who cannot speak the English language, the object being, of course, to get the labor of parents and children at a nominal price and to bring both into competition with our citizens."

A local reporter met a group of boys in the Passaic depot about a year ago. "Why are you boys not in school?" he inquired of them. "*We don't go to school; we work;* and the mill is stopped to-day," was the answer. "How old are you?" the reporter queried of one, when a childish voice replied, "Just nine, sir; but I 'm older than my brother, and he works in the mill, too." These were only a small delegation of the 90,000 children in the State, who attend no school, plus 70,000 more who attend any length of time less than four months.

As far as their education is concerned, many of these children examined in this long and careful inquiry might almost as well have been brought up in Central Africa. The vast majority could not spell words of one syllable; only ten per cent. could answer questions in simple multiplication, and the majority of the rest could not add the simplest numbers. Three fourths of them knew

Digitized by Google

absolutely nothing of what is taught in the common schools. All these children were between the ages of twelve and fifteen; their school-days are virtually a thing of the past, unless the arm of the law brings them where most of them should be — in a school-room.

The question of child-labor touches vital points in the home-life of the working-classes. It may indeed be hard to say which is the greater evil, — to take the home into the factory or the factory into the home. The government cigar factory at Seville, Spain, furnishes an instance of the former kind of social distortion. In the manufacture of tobacco, in this country, in which twenty-two per cent. of the employees are children, and from which women seem instinctively to shrink, the tendency has seemed clearly enough to be to convert the home into a workshop. Bad as are the conditions of long hours, close rooms, and impure air in the factory, the circumstances are many times worse when the children are required to work in the same rooms in which they eat and sleep. On this side of the Atlantic there was, perhaps, no more revolting picture of the debasement of labor than that which existed among the tenement-house tobacco-workers of New York city before the passage of the prohibitory law last winter,[1] by the enforcement of which the degrading practice was for a time driven into neighboring cities and towns. Previous to that the unwillingness on the part of native and the better class of foreign workmen to sacrifice their own homes to the greed of the unscrupulous manufacturers and landlords had thrown cigar-making largely into the hands of Bohemians and other foreigners, whose ideas of family comfort are such that privacy, cleanliness, and fresh air are as unknown luxuries to them. Their children were known to have toiled from dawn till late at night. Hours per day had to be extended by those more humane manufacturers whose employees worked in the factory; otherwise, the competition of the tenement-house cigar-makers would have driven at once, as it was gradually doing, the former out of the business entirely. Thus those children who worked in the factory as well were forced to share with adults in the excessively long day's work. The health of the children in either of these cases must deteriorate, to say nothing about a decent bringing-up. When they are once old enough to go to school they are thought altogether too old to be spared from work. Children whom the parents would not dare to bring with them into the factory of a large city work at home

[1] The Albany Court of Appeals has since declared this law unconstitutional.

Digitized by Google

from the time they arise till the time of retiring, eating their meals without leaving their tasks. It is upon these people — the children — in the hands of such parents, that the boards of health of New York city have long looked with despair of effecting a reformation. Though it may be denied, on good grounds, that the factory system essentially aids in producing a criminal class, the presence in any community of so many families of young laborers under the domestic system of industries — a class whose mental and moral training is a veritable blank — can certainly not be regarded as much less dangerous, potentially, than a criminal class.

In the tobacco-growing regions of the North and South, factories have been built, in which large numbers of children are employed. In Covington, Ky., the ratio of children of 15 years and under to all other employees is 3 : 7; in Louisville, 1 : 5; in Toledo, O., 1 : 3; in Richmond, Va., 1 : 4; in St. Louis, Mo., 1 : 4. As in other industries here, too, improvements in machinery are apt to increase the ratio in favor of the children. In the counties of eastern Pennsylvania there are quite a number of villages wholly built up by this trade. One of these counties, with 175 establishments, exhibits the evils of child-labor at its worst, perhaps, from a moral point of view. About half of the persons at work are boys and girls, and fully one fourth of the whole number employed are children not more than fifteen, and most of them are very much younger, who have gone into the factory at the age of nine. Even those who are left at home in the villages have work brought to them from the shops. During the day and evening boys and girls of six years of age engage themselves at piece-work in their own homes, sometimes under the care of servants while the mother is in the factory, or under her own care while she makes cigars at home. Children of nine years spend twelve hours of hot summer days in the vitiated atmosphere of these almost entirely unventilated factory rooms, the sanitary arrangements of which are in a shocking state of neglect. Persons who enter these shops for continuous work do so knowingly at the risk of health; and the common occurrence of an employee being compelled to leave the work, with a broken-down constitution, after a few years, amply justifies their expectations. Boys and girls who begin an apprenticeship are bound over by indenture, so that legalized pressure may readily be brought to bear upon them by the employer to keep them from leaving before the expiration of the apprenticeship, should they find their health to be imperiled

Digitized by Google

by remaining. A clergyman, whose parish included several of these factory villages, and who has made earnest effort to improve the condition of these people, confirmed these observations by the statement that he had personally officiated at the burial of young persons whose death was pronounced by medical authority to have been occasioned by the poisonous influences of the tobacco-shops.

And there is undoubtedly need of missionary work among them. The moral condition of boys and girls brought up under these influences is deplorable. Morality is openly scoffed at, and religious conduct cursed. Crowded together in small rooms or grouped around some piece of work, both sexes together, the youngest with the older ones show themselves the most ready masters of indecent language in their conversations. A child's store of modesty will not last long in such an atmosphere. Girls and boys of thirteen years are in the habit of visiting liquor saloons after work-hours; intoxication is no rarity among the girls even, and one of fourteen years was known to have had a species of delirium tremens. The comparative remoteness of these villages and rural districts, in many cases, from active centres of influence aggravates the evils into a sort of social leprosy. The constant association of the sexes in the factories and the want of a restraining self-respect outside give them up to the drift of passion from the years of early youth, for which their experience as young children in the factories has prepared them. The results are seen in nothing more conspicuously than in the premature and often compulsory marriages among the operatives; in the frequency and dispatch with which homes are founded and abandoned before husband and wife have any sense of the obligations of wedlock, and, worst of all, in the many illegitimate children of boys and girls little more than half way through their teens.

Turning to the present progress of manufacturing in the Southern States, we find an active demand for the labor of children; even more so than elsewhere. In North Carolina thirteen per cent. of the cotton factory operatives are children not over fifteen years of age; Virginia employs a somewhat greater proportion, and Georgia, nine and a half per cent. In a typical manufacturing city of Georgia there are ten cotton mills, in some of which over 700 hands are employed, nearly all of whom are women and children. An authority who has seen much of industrial life on both sides of the Atlantic writes: "I was struck with surprise at finding so many young children employed. Aside from the children, the

Digitized by Google

operatives looked exceedingly healthy." The rule in these factories was not to admit children to work under the age of ten years. A superintendent, generous and sympathetic, as many of them are, admitted that it was wrong to employ these children before the age of fourteen; yet there were actually some at work at the age of nine years. The laws of the State require a child's attendance at school until the age of ten; but what can a child have learned by that time! Once released from the burdens of school, educated (?) presumably, they enter the factories, to get from $1 to $1.50 per week of sixty-six or sixty-nine hours. This is one of a large class of rapidly growing industrial centres of the new South. The fact that the South must create a new industrial class in the new civilization upon which she has fairly entered may do much to excuse the excessive demands of the spirit of development upon her child population. She can far better wait for corrective tendencies than the North can, where industrial life is settled; and where there is abundance of available laborers there can be no such extenuation of the ruinous demand for the labor of children. There are better laws on the statute-books of the North, it is true, but they are often — indeed generally — as dead as those of Draco on this matter.

In the American coal-fields the labor of children is found in one of its worst forms. The industrial statistics of Pennsylvania (1882–83) report 87,000 employees in the anthracite regions of that State, 24,000 of whom are boys, and four fifteenths of these are fifteen or less years of age. Some months since a resident in these regions was led to an inquiry into the employment of children in mines by having noticed a boy of six and a half years regularly accompanying his father to work. Boys of from six to fourteen years earned forty-five cents per day at picking slate; of these there are thousands at work. The labor of driving mules in the slopes and gangways is performed by boys between the ages of eight and sixteen years at about sixty cents a day; and some a little older earn a dollar or more. At the tender age of seven boys are taken down to work on night shifts with their fathers. Under the surface, at the depth of from 200 to 700 feet, breathing in the dampness, the poisonous gases of the coal and powder-smoke, they are doomed to hard labor as if they were working out the penalty of some unpardonable crime. These boys leave home at six o'clock in the morning, on the day shift, and often do not reach home again until seven at night. To them the effects cannot be other than a loss of health and deformity of body, under such premature hard-

Digitized by Google

ships. And who is the cause of all this? It cannot be denied that many, perhaps the majority, of these children who work in and at the mines are driven there by the intemperance of their parents. On pay-day the town becomes a pandemonium of drunken revelings and quarrels. Yet these boys, and others whose parents are not intemperate, are invited into and then retained in the mines by the grasping heartlessness of the stupendous coal monopoly, whose policy it is to employ boys to do men's work wherever possible. Last winter, at Wilkesbarre and neighboring towns, the boys who worked in the mines waged a furious warfare against the Hungarians of the Wyoming Valley, who had come into competition with them, showing only too clearly the influence of the boy-miner in labor matters. In their strikes they are vigorous and energetic, and not infrequently stone a tyrannical overseer out of the breaker as readily as they would a dog.

But we need go no farther, though there might be mentioned many other industries employing children under equal disadvantages. On this stunted, ignorant, and miserable mass of humanity one cannot look without mingled feelings of sympathy and indignation. Nothing can be more short-sighted than the unlimited tolerance of the labor of children on the plea of the poverty of parents who, for mercenary considerations, submit their offspring to a worse form of slavery by rearing them in ignorance. Corporations can hardly as yet be expected to see to the educating of their employees, and not a few of the more selfish prefer to hold them in ignorance. It is absurd to suppose that a young child, after having worked from ten to thirteen hours during the day, will be profited by attending night school. As a matter of fact these night schools are attended, if at all, by boys mostly and a few girls who have spent their school years before sixteen in the factory, so that at the age when they should be building up body and mind spontaneously the children of the working classes are wasting away their surplus of physical energy in a routine of drudgery.

Here then is a malady to be cured. Parents will of themselves apply no remedy, and corporations have no souls to sympathize with the unenfranchised children. Remedial measures of some kind, by a strong hand, are therefore necessary, in view of the further importunity of parents and the unwillingness on the part of private individuals to incur personal odium in the attempt at local reform. Fortunately the trades associations are turning their activity to better account in helping themselves against this encroaching evil to their children. The sentiment of communities, as a

Digitized by Google

basis of legislation, forms a mighty consensus with them in calling upon the State to save itself by saving the children of the Commonwealth from a protracted suicide going on under the broad shelter of so-called progress. As they now stand, the factory and the common school are at variance with each other. Both of these institutions stand before the State, as the two Hebrew women stood before Solomon, asking it to decide whose children these are.

It is next to impossible to enforce the laws securing to children the right of an education so long as our industries throw open their doors indiscriminately to young children of school age. For this reason laws affecting the labor of children are complemental to educational laws. The good results already apparent from the operation of such laws *enforced* in New Jersey, Massachusetts, and parts of New York justify the adoption of such measures in every State. If only a few out of the many shorten a day's work and restrict the employment of children, while other States go on as before, the unequal competition must ultimately drive out those industries of the former in which child-labor is available. The experience of Massachusetts in this matter has made a ten-hour law unpopular, and a similar bill in the legislature of Rhode Island now is not at all likely to reach the statute-books. The only way out, if the States will not act in concert, seems to be by the adoption of the half-time system so successfully followed in the manufacturing and mining centres of England and Wales, by which children of school age work half of an adult's work-day and attend school during the other half. On this basis the factory and school may be reconciled and the physical growth of the child be developed, instead of retarded by overpressure at work. While the one is giving the child the education conditional of good citizenship the other may teach him the practice of self-maintenance, and thus work out together in some degree the intricate problem of industrial education.

In the present phase of this question, from an unbiased point of view the children of the laboring classes stand between two forces: on the one hand are the goads of poverty and the allurements of gain; on the other, the training of the mind and heart. In an age when all classes are permeated by the industrial spirit, it is easy to guess whither the weaker ones will drift. We must all rue the day when the children of the well-to-do and rich go to school and the children of the poor go to work, — divorced from an inheritance that is entailed by the force of circumstances to others than themselves. The cardinal principle of legislation will

Digitized by Google

bear repeating, — to secure to all their rights, and to compel no one to do right. That State government must be one of sublime stupidity in its conception of its functions which declines, on the plea of non-interference, to deal in due time with this critical problem, — this disintegration of the domestic order, this play of silently working forces which are daily resolving the adverse interests of industrial life more and more into a treacherous struggle of factory *versus* family.

John F. Crowell.

Theological Seminary, New Haven, Ct.

Digitized by Google

EDITORIAL.

PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY.

III. THE ATONEMENT.

THE doctrine of Atonement was later in its historical development than the doctrine of Incarnation. Not until council after council had adopted exact articles concerning the Person of Christ was there any considerable discussion concerning the work of Christ. The fact of atonement through the death of the Redeemer was accepted from the first with penitence and trust, but scarcely any attempt was made to discover the reasons which made it necessary and right that Christ should be offered for the sins of the world. Even in the eleventh century the theory was somewhat prevalent that Christ's death was a ransom paid to the devil. Why the development of this doctrine should have begun so late we need not now take time to inquire. It suggests the fact that there has never at any time been such agreement concerning the philosophy of atonement as has been secured concerning the person of our Lord. The church even now waits for a doctrinal statement which shall be comprehensive, satisfactory, and, at the same time, free from ethical objections and from inconsistencies. It is the object of the present article simply to indicate the lines along which intelligent Christian thought is moving, and to recognize some of the conclusions which are gaining acceptance in respect to the revelation of God's love in the sacrifice of Christ. It will be left to the reader to note for himself the modification, or even disappearance, of crude theories through which, at one time or another, atonement has been regarded.

The starting-point from which inquiry has usually set forth has been the sin of man. Man sinned, and the race became corrupted. Therefore, Jesus was born, suffered, and died, in order that man might be saved from sin. But this view is too narrow. It puts part of the truth in place of the whole. It virtually declares that if there had been no sin, we should not have known God in Christ. The old Latin hymn would have been correct in representing sin as a blessing, a *felix culpa*, since through it we have such and so great a Redeemer. There is also a difficulty in believing that but for this insignificant earth the most glorious revelation of God might not have been given at all. The principal defect, however, is that Christ is made contingent on sin, and that sin, therefore, appears to be not only more fundamental than Christ, but an absolute necessity, in order that God might reveal himself in Christ. The old sub- and supra-lapsarian theories are waymarks of the struggle of profound minds with this great difficulty.

But redemption from sin, even if the most important, is but one of

Digitized by Google

the revelations of God in Christ; and to understand it we need to find its relation and proportion. The correct and Scriptural starting-point is the mediation of Christ in its universal character. Christ mediates God to the entire universe. Through Christ the worlds were made, and through Him they consist. In Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible. To Him ultimately not the earth only, but the whole universe is to be made subject, things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth. John as well as Paul perceives this truth. Indeed, the Gospel of John comes to earthly redemption from the larger view of universal mediation. First we learn that all things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made, — and not until He is known as Head of the universe do we perceive, nor can we well understand, that He is the Life and Light of men. The whole truth, then, is that Christ is the revealing or manifesting principle; or, more exactly, that through the Logos, the Word, the second Person of the Trinity, that which is absolute fullness and truth in God is communicated into finite existences; that through the Eternal Word the created universe is possible; that therefore the universe is Christ's, the revolving worlds and they that dwell therein are his, to the glory of God the Father. The created universe and all rational beings are through Christ and in Christ. Therefore He mediates or reveals God to any part of his universe according to the condition or need which may exist in that part. If at any point his world is sick, weary, guilty, hopeless, there Christ is touched and hurt, and there He appears to restore and comfort. This earth is, it may be, the sheep lost in the wilderness, while the ninety and nine are safe in the fold. Christ cannot be indifferent to the least of his creatures in its pain and wickedness, for his universe is not attached to him externally, but vitally. He is not a governor set over it, but is its life everywhere. He feels its every movement, most of all its spiritual life and spiritual feebleness or disease, and appears in his glorious power even at the remotest point. If there were but one sinner, Christ would seek him. If but one planet were invaded by sin, Christ would come to its relief. It is, of course, true that in order to reveal God in a world of sin and guilt the historical conditions, and especially the suffering conditions, of our Lord's life must have been, in important respects, what they would not otherwise have been. It is also probable that the profoundest disclosure of the love of God in Christ has been made in the redemption of sinful man. But only the conditions, not the power and reality of Christ, are contingent on sin. As redemption reveals to principalities and powers in heavenly places the manifold wisdom of God, so *our* thought of the Person and work of Christ is enlarged by knowing his universal relations, and we perceive more clearly the significance of his humiliation to earth. Other orders of beings know Christ better because He suffered on earth. "This planet," says Dorner, "may be the Bethlehem of the universe." But if this planet and the sin of man exhaust the meaning of Christ's media-

Digitized by Google

tion, we are left among absurdities and confusions. Bethlehem itself could not be a sacred name if there were no Jerusalem, nor Samaria, nor uttermost parts of the earth, to which from Bethlehem He goes out, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.

The opinion, therefore, has reason in it that there would have been the Incarnation even if there had been no sin. It is not easy to believe that the Word of God would not have become flesh but for sin. Man was created a physical being. He was destined for a physical, earthly development, and to people the material world. In his perfection he is to have that which corresponds to the body, — a spiritual body. His knowledge of God was to come through Christ; and the nearest manifestations, we can readily imagine, would in any event have corresponded with the actual conditions of man's existence and progress. It may be, indeed, that the human race would have come even earlier into the knowledge of God through Christ if there had been no sin; that, while sin had much to do with the conditions of our Lord's life and work, it may actually have retarded his historical appearance.

It would be interesting to show, if space allowed, that the Incarnation itself has important relations to the reconciliation of man and God; that the Person of Christ, realizing as it does the affinity of divine and human, the perfection of human character in union with God, and other possibilities of humanity, has more to do with our restoration to God than we have commonly supposed. And it is always to be remembered that the work of Christ has no meaning apart from his Person; that his work is not something set off by itself on which we can depend, as if the Atonement were a thing, a quantity of suffering endured, an impersonal result. "His own self bore our sins in his own body on the tree." "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself."

Having gained what may be called the perspective of the earthly revelation of God in Christ, we are at a point where we can inquire concerning the specific relations of our Lord's sacrifice to the redemption of sinners. The very best word the gospel gives to express the complete result of Christ's work is reconciliation, a word signifying that God is brought into a new relation to man and that man is brought into a new relation with God. The ultimate fact, however, is that God's relation to man is changed in Christ from what it otherwise could be, and that therefore man's relation to God is changed. Redemption thus originates with God, who in Christ finds a way through obstacles to the sinner, so that He can righteously forgive and bless. Because God is reconciled in Jesus Christ man repents and begins a new life. The gospel never reverses this order of dependence. It does not say that because man repents God is a forgiving God, but because God is a forgiving God therefore man repents. And it teaches also that God can be a forgiving God, because Christ suffered and died and rose again.

How and why is this true? Why cannot God forgive outright and unconditionally? What is that in the Person and work, and especially

Digitized by Google

in the death of Christ without which God could not forgive men? What does Christ do to change the feeling or attitude of God towards the sinful race? We no longer ask whether repentance is necessary or not, but only if repentance is not enough; why should there be more and other than the turning away of man from sin and folly to God?

It might be enough to suggest, at this point, that the power and inclination to repent are not found except when God is revealed in Christ; that only because Christ has brought God to men in a new light are they stirred to penitence. But we must search for deeper truth.

There is a movement of thought which has gone beneath or has gone back of the thinking which at one time was satisfied to rest in the sovereignty of God. All commands, penalties, favors, blessings issue, it was once thought, out of the will of God. It was God's will to accept Christ's sufferings as a substitute for the punishment man deserves, and ignorant, wicked man had no right to inquire, Why doest thou thus? But the conviction is now clear that the will of God is directed by the reason of God; that instead of saying it is right because God wills it we should rather say God wills it because it is right. Right and wrong, goodness and badness, holiness and sin, have their own intrinsic quality according to what they are. Righteousness is grounded in reason, is rational. Sin is against reason, is absurd. The consequences of holiness and of sin cannot be set aside by the will of God. His fiat cannot change the right and the reason of things. Therefore He does not punish man merely because He has threatened to punish, but He threatens punishment because it must in the nature of the case inevitably follow on sin. God cannot bless man in his sin; otherwise He would not be God, and sin would not be sin. Distinctions of right and wrong, of true and false, would disappear, and moral chaos would ensue. The opinion that because God is good He will not let his children suffer, but will forgive them and save them, sees only the happiness of man, and has no perception of ethical well-being. What we are now emphasizing is the marked tendency of thought to recognize the intrinsic, necessary character of law and right, and the inevitableness of the results of conduct. This necessity was present to Anselm when he formulated the theory that an exact equivalent must be rendered for the penalty of sin; that God must be satisfied completely, and could be satisfied only by the death of Christ, which takes the place of the infinite penalty of sin. His use of the principle was too literal and even mathematical, but he opened a vein of neglected truth. He emphasized the necessity which resides in the ethical being of God, and which even his will cannot contradict nor supersede. The speculative thought of to-day which is farthest removed from the influence of the gospel cannot escape this conclusion. The ethical necessities are recognized. One writer who at the beginning of his book declares his independence of presuppositions on one side or the other comes at length, in his closing chapter, to the conclusion that of necessity eternal perdition awaits those who transgress ethical law,

Digitized by Google

and that the hand of omnipotence cannot snatch the wicked from their doom.

The clearer recognition of ethical truth, as grounded in law and reason, has been accompanied by important modifications in the view of atonement. It is no longer believed that personal merit and demerit can be transferred from one to another. It is not believed that an exact quantity of punishment can be borne by an innocent for a guilty person. It is not believed that the consequences of sin can be removed from the transgressor by passing them on to another. Conduct, character, and condition are inseparable. The results of sin are part of the ethical personality, and cannot be detached, nor borne by another.

But more than this is to be remarked. Not only have particular theories of atonement which are obviously artificial and unethical been discarded, but atonement itself has been declared impossible. It is thought that there can be no deliverance whatever from the hard consequences of wrong-doing; that whatsoever a man soweth that must he also reap; that Jesus has no other power than that of a teacher who shows men the right way, and summons them to such endeavor after improvement as they may still be capable of making.

Now the message of the gospel unquestionably is that man is not bound under ethical in any such sense as he is bound under physical necessity; that forces are available for the moral and spiritual life by which man can be delivered from the worst consequences of sin, and can become a new creature. Transformation may be rapid and complete. Man may be translated from the dominion of merciless necessity into the life of freedom and love. The new and higher force is the revelation of God in Christ, through which the power of sin is broken and the penalty of sin remitted. If all this is true, the gospel gains a profounder meaning than it has ever yielded before. The church comes now to man, well aware that he cannot be separated from custom, habit, heredity, fixedness of character, the social organism of which he is part. It is seen that redemption must be grounded in reason, and must meet the actual conditions of life and character and society. Atonement must express and reveal God as the supreme Reason and perfect Righteousness, who cannot deny himself, and who cannot disregard nor annul the moral law which is established in truth and right. Christian thought, having es tablished itself on the intrinsic, absolute right and on the inexorableness of law so firmly that these may be accepted as postulates in all the inquiry, agreeing so far forth with Anselm on the one hand and with the latest natural ethics on the other, is going forward now to learn if any ethical ends are secured by the revelation of God in Christ, and secured in such a way that God energizes in man and society for a moral transformation so radical and complete that it may be called salvation, redemption, eternal life, divine sonship.

The New England theology is distinguished among systems of religious thought in this century in that it took up the problem at this stage

Digitized by Google

and tried to find the truth in this relation. It attempted to discover the ethical *ends* which are secured by the atonement. It emphasized the fact that other methods than punishment can express the character of sin in the sight of God and of the universe. It asked the right question, and gained part of the right answer. It has not held its ground, because it practically exhausted the significance of atonement under the analogy of human governments and courts of justice, which are but one result, and rather a rude result, of the ethical life of man, and also because the approach of the penitent to God in Christ is more direct than it can ever be under the thought of a vast universal system of government. This is the question to-day concerning atonement, — What moral and spiritual ends are secured by the sacrificial life and death of Christ? How does God's attitude towards man change, and man's attitude towards God change, so that there is efficient power for the transformation of ethical and spiritual life as against the tendencies of moral corruption? Evidently the result is of a kind that cannot be brought about by sheer omnipotence, but only, if at all, by truth and love. Thought must move in the spiritual, not in the physical realm.

There are two lines of approach, which converge towards the same result, and both of which are determined by the mediation of Christ in what may properly enough be called his substitutionary relation to men.

One view of atonement is gained by considering the historical Christ in relation to humanity and as identified with it; in which view we see that the race of men with Christ in it is essentially different in fact, and therefore in the sight of God, from the same race without Christ in it. It was found in our study of the Incarnation that Christ's uniqueness is his universality; that while every other man has but a limited relation to his fellows Christ has affinity for all men; that He draws all men unto Him; that He possesses that which all men need. So we have become accustomed to the thought that Christ has an organic relation to the race. He is an individual, but an individual vitally related to every human being. He preferred to be called the Son of Man. Paul sees in Him the Head of humanity, the second Adam. He is one who is not himself a sinner, yet is a man; who is not himself contending against sinful and corrupt tendencies, yet has so identified himself with humanity that its burden of suffering rested on Him, and every man was within his reach of sympathy. His divinity, indeed, is in nothing more clearly shown than in his perfect humanity; in the fact that He was not merely the ideal man, but the universal man; his humanity not something strange to his divinity, but its best and purest organ.

Humanity may thus be thought of as offering something to God of eminent value. When Christ suffers, the race suffers. When Christ is sorrowful, the race is sorrowful. Christ realizes what humanity could not realize for itself. The race may be conceived as approaching God, and signifying its penitence by pointing to Christ, and by giving expression in Him to repentance which no words could utter. Thus we can regard Him

Digitized by Google

as our substitute, not because He stands apart, not because He is one and the race another, but because He is so intimately identified with us, and because in essential respects the life of every one is, or may be, locked in with his. The representative power which belongs to man in his various relations comes to its perfect realization in Christ. In the family, in government, in business, in society, representative or substitutionary relations are the rule, not the exception. Much more has Christ the power perfectly to represent us or to be substituted for us, because there is no point of our real life where He is not in contact with us. Here is the truth of McLeod Campbell's view of atonement. The entire race repents or is capable of repenting through Christ. It renders in Him a complete repentance. He is the Amen of humanity to the righteousness of God's law, to the ill desert of sin, to the justice of God's judgments. What was dimly shadowed under the old dispensation and in heathen worship, through sacrifices expressing by an act what could not be expressed by a word, is taken up and carried on to perfect realization by the sacrifice and death of Christ, in which humanity offered its best, its holiest, to God. Thus all the figures and phraseology of the altar are properly and naturally applied to Christ. He is offered for our sins, in our stead, for our sakes. He is a propitiation to God. These expressions symbolize a real truth, because Christ was made in all respects like unto his brethren.

But Christ's power to represent or be substituted for man is always to be associated with man's power to repent. The possibility of redeeming man lies in the fact that although he is by act and inheritance a sinner, yet under the appropriate influences he is *capable* of repenting. The power of repentance remains, and to this power the gospel addresses itself. Christ suffering and sympathizing with men is able to awaken in them and express for them a real repentance. It is to this power that Christ, the holy and the merciful, attaches himself. Realizing it in some, and being able to realize it in all, He represents humanity before God. Now the power of repentance, which, so far as it exists, is the power of recuperation, is superior to the necessities of past wrong-doing and of present habit. It is the one fact which can never be estimated for what it may do, which baffles the calculation of the wisest observers. The penitent man, so far as he really repents, is in the exercise of a freedom which resists and almost subjugates the forces of evil. In union with Christ, who brings spiritual truth and power to man, repentance is radical. Man left to himself cannot have a repentance which sets him free from sin and death. But in Christ he is moved to repentance which is revolutionary; in Christ he can express repentance, for in union with Christ he has the feeling of Christ concerning sin against the God of love. If man unaided could become truly repentant, he would become holy, and would be the child of God. This was admitted by Jonathan Edwards. But it is only in Christ that he has such knowledge of God and of himself as is necessary to a repentance which is revolutionary. It is not true, we admit and insist, that repentance without Christ is avail-

Digitized by Google

ing for redemption, for man of himself cannot repent; but, on the other hand, it is not true that Christ's atonement has value without repentance. Christ's sacrifice avails with God because it is adapted to bring man to repentance. This gives it ethical meaning and value. He is one, in with the race, who has the power of bringing it into sympathy with his own feeling towards God and towards sin; and so God looks on the race as having this power in Christ, a power which, when realized, melts away the iron fetters of necessity and fate. The significance of the gospel on this side is that the sacrifice of Christ is not in vain; that on account of Christ man can be delivered from condemnation, and can have God's smile instead of his frown; that the captive of nature and law can go free as a penitent, restored child of God, through the love of Him who is the Son of God and the Son of Man.

The substitution is not of Christ standing on this side for the race standing on that side, but the race with Christ in it is substituted for the race without Christ in it. This Christ in with the race is regarded by God as one who has those powers of instruction, sympathy, purity, which can be imparted to his brethren. Likewise the individual in Christ takes the place of the individual without Christ, is looked on as one whom Christ can bring to repentance and obedience, and so is justified even before faith develops into character. All is not accomplished instantly, but the result was assured when Christ became obedient to the death of the cross. He saw Satan falling from heaven when as yet his disciples had made but a beginning of the subjugation of evil.

The race is reconstituted in Christ, and is other in the sight of God, because different in fact, because containing powers for repentance and holiness which, without Christ, it would be hopelessly destitute of.

The other line of approach is from God to man. The punishment and consequences of sin make real God's abhorrence of sin, and the righteousness of law. The sufferings and death of his only Son also realize God's hatred of sin, and the righteous authority of law; therefore punishment need not be exacted. This is a familiar line of reflection, and need not be followed in detail. Its meaning is that God cannot be regardless of law nor indifferent to sin in saving man from punishment. If the thought went no further, this, at least, would be implied: that our redemption is not the act of omnipotence, but that it is in accordance with the rational and ethical being both of God and man.

It must be confessed, however, that it is not clear how the sufferings and death of Christ can be substituted for the punishment of sin; how, because Christ made vivid the wickedness of sin and the righteousness of God, man is therefore any the less exposed to the consequences of sin. We must go on to the fact that Christ makes real very much more than God's righteous indignation against sin. The punishment of sin does not save men. It only vindicates God and his law. Christ, while declaring God's righteousness, reveals God seeking men, and at the cost of sacrifice. He shows that God loves men, and energizes in Christ to bring

Digitized by Google

them to himself; that really the wrath of God is only a manifestation of the love of God, since God cannot allow the sinner to be blessed in his sin. The very fact, that God's Son cannot be among men for their redemption except at the cost of suffering from the sin of man and of dying at their hands, shows both the intrinsic badness of sin and the undiscouraged love of God to sinners. What really occurs is the approach of God to men in Christ, who shows by his words and life the Father unto them; who draws them back to God in recoil from sin, and whose suffering, by reason of sin, condemned sin more unmistakably than the punishment of it could have done.

Sin is to be looked on not only as an obstacle which keeps man from coming to God, but also as an obstacle which keeps God from coming to man. God loves man, and would bless him. But sin impedes God's love, sets it back, awakens God's disapproval, so that instead of blessing he must condemn and punish. The ideal relation of God is love, but the actual relation is wrath. The sin of man prevents God's love from flowing forth, so that the God of love is in reality hostile to man. In Christ God can come to man in another relation, because Christ is a new divine power in the race to turn it away from sin unto God.

God does not become propitious because man repents and amends, for that is beyond man's power. He becomes propitious because Christ, laying down his life, makes the race to its worst individual *capable* of repenting, obeying, trusting; and he does this in such a way that God's abhorrence to sin is realized, the majesty of law honored, the sinner and the universe convinced of the righteousness of the divine judgments.

The first and the greatest punishment of sin is separation from God, the withdrawal of those influences from God by which man is blessed. The consequences of sin in body and character are secondary, are only results of separation from God. It is because God is far away that such consequences follow. In Christ, the lowly, the suffering, the triumphant, God can come near to man to bless him. Christ brings God the Person to man the person, and in such manner that God is known as the God of holy love, the loving and holy Father. The goodness of God leads man to repentance. Man is at peace with God, and the worst punishment of sin is righteously removed.

It is true, then, that Christ suffered for our sins, and that because He suffered our sins are forgiven. But the suffering was borne because it lay in the path to redemption. The realization of God's love in Christ was possible only through the suffering and death of Christ; and because He suffered and died in bringing the knowledge and love of God to men it is no longer necessary that men should suffer all the consequences of sin. The ethical ends of punishment are more than realized in the pain and death of the Redeemer, through whom man is brought to repentance. His death is a new fact, an astonishing, revealing, persuasive, melting fact, in view of which it would be puerile to exact literal punishment of those who are thereby made sorry for sin and brought in penitence to

Digitized by Google

God. But it is all inseparable from repentance or appropriation. There is thus a limit to the vicarious principle. It is limited in its application by the personal relation of every man to Christ. He who is not moved to penitence and faith by Christ is under a greater condemnation. If he is incorrigible the condemnation is final and irreversible.

The large truth of atonement, however illustrated, and from whatever side approached, is that *except for Christ* God could only punish sinners by withdrawing himself more and more from them; that in Christ their repentance and renewal become possible and God can bring them to their true destination. The race is other to God than it could be without Christ, and God is other to the race than He could be without Christ. That is, Christ is the Mediator between God and man. Starting from the human side we may say that God is the reconciled God, the forgiving God, because man in Christ, seeing God as He is, and sin as it is, is the penitent man, the believing man, the Christian man. Or reversing the order and advancing to the ultimate fact that redemption originates with God, we may say that man is the penitent and obedient man because God in Christ is the reconciling and forgiving God. In any thought of atonement and redemption we may not lose sight of Christ's vital relation either with God or man. His work is one of reconciliation, of mediation. But the work originates with God. Man could never have produced the Christ. God so loved the world that He gave his Son. It is therefore the final fact that God is reconciled to man, and therefore man is reconciled to God.

It is not to be supposed, however, that God has been reconciled to the world only eighteen hundred years; that before Christ came He was the God of justice and since then has been the God of mercy. Strictly speaking, there was never a time when God was not reconciled, not having been before, for the Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world. It was in the divine purpose from eternity that there should be incarnation and atonement. But as manifested or realized in time, from our point of view, God's disposition was changed when Christ suffered and died. At least, the manifestation of God's grace waited for the manifestation of Christ and depended on it. Therefore we can say "before" and "after" in relation to redemption through Christ. But considered either as historically manifested, or as eternally purposed, it is true that but for Christ God would be forever alienated from men. It is on account of Christ that God can forgive, on account of Christ that men are not left helpless and condemned under the necessities of unchangeable law. Humanity with Christ in it is propitiated to the divine thought from all eternity. Not till the propitiation is realized do we know that a sufficient reason exists to make it right and possible for God to forgive sin. To the world before Christ came God was unreconciled, because the world had no knowledge of him in Christ. To the individual, so long as he knows God only on the side of nature and law, God is

Digitized by Google

unreconciled. Not till he sees Christ in his sacrificial love does he know that God can and will forgive. The actual sufferings and death of Christ in history are not, however, a mere seeming. A realized is not the same as an unrealized purpose. The sacrifice of Christ on earth has a real value, and is not fully operative until it is an accomplished fact. The complete truth is that the sacrifice of Christ is an indispensable condition of the forgiveness of sin.

It may be said, then, in view of our discussion, that the present movement of thought seeks to find the union of objective and subjective elements. At certain periods the sacrifice of Christ and its results towards God were looked on as external to men, and almost independent of them. There was a definite reality which could be measured and set off by itself. At other periods the results in experience and faith have been more prominent. The Atonement has been thought of as an influence working in man, and as having no reality or meaning apart from that. The mutual relation of the great reality of reconciliation and the appropriation of faith is coming to be more clearly recognized. God in Christ, and Christ in man. "I in them and Thou in me, that they may be perfected into one."

It may be thought that the battle was long ago decided concerning the *extent* of atonement, that the Atonement is generally believed to be universal in extent, not for the elect alone, but for the whole world, and that no one questions it. But all that is involved in its universality has not been accepted. Can it be considered universal if a large portion of the race know nothing of the historical Christ and the redemption that is in Him? The extent of atonement resides not so much, it is to be remembered, in the thing done, in the ample provision made, but rather in the personality of Christ. He is the universal Person, as we said at the outset. His religion, therefore, is the universal, absolute religion. There is no salvation in any other. He alone is able to bring God and man together. This would seem to lead us to the conclusion that the final word concerning destiny is not pronounced for any man till he knows Jesus Christ and Him crucified. Further consideration of this inference will be deferred till the next article of the series on eschatology. It is mentioned now as bearing on the relation of the divine justice to the divine mercy. The view has been taken that justice condemns the sinner to death before or until atonement is made, and that Christ rescues the sinner from his just doom. It has been said, therefore, that God *must* be just, and *may* be merciful, as if the exercise of mercy were not necessary to God in any such sense as justice is necessary. But we must now conclude that justice does not pronounce its final word till God has revealed himself in all his intended manifestations of righteousness and love. Justice is concerned that every attribute of God should be displayed; is as jealous for the rights of love as for those of holiness. If it is God's very nature to love, if it is a desire of his to save men from sin, justice sees to it that love is not deprived of its rights, and is not hin-

Digitized by Google

dered in any of its impulses. We may go so far as to say that it would not be just for God to condemn men hopelessly when they have not known Him as He really is, when they have not known Him in Jesus Christ. And it is evidently the intent of God that all men should know Him through Christ. The judgment does not come till the gospel has been preached to all nations. The gospel is preached to a nation, not when within certain geographical boundaries it has been proclaimed at scattered points, but only when in reality all individuals of all the nations have known it.

Atonement, that is, the gospel, is universal, absolute. It is to be made known to every creature, and then cometh the end. To suppose that such knowledge of God as reason and conscience give is, in reality, the knowledge of God in Christ, is to reduce the historical Christ and atonement through his sacrifice to an accidental, precarious position. There is no evidence whatever that the race is divided into two great sections, one of which is dealt with on the basis of the gospel, and the other on the basis of law and natural conscience — one on a basis of justice, the other on a basis of grace. As, before Christ came, God exercised forbearance for the sins of the past and because Christ was coming, but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent, so ultimately all the nations and all the generations are to be dealt with through Him who tasted death for every man. This is admitted in principle, but denied in fact, by those who assume that salvation is possible only through Christ, but believe that the power of the gospel is felt by those and may be availing for those who know nothing about it. This reduces God's dealings with men to magic, and makes the cross superfluous. It is no longer a necessity that Christ should have suffered and died. The Atonement is only a slightly more vivid exhibition of that love and grace which are really open to all men apart from the sacrifice of Christ.

It is the function of the Holy Spirit to take the things of Christ, and show them unto men. So far as we know, the Holy Spirit does not regenerate men except through the knowledge, motive, and power of the gospel. The Holy Spirit could not be given in his fullness, because Jesus was not yet glorified. Until Jesus had completed his work and ascended into heaven, the Holy Spirit could not come unto men. The dispensation of the Spirit follows and assumes the accomplished work of the historical Christ. All this means that the supreme, final, absolute revelation of God to men is in the Person and work of Jesus Christ; that, therefore, justice does not pronounce the word of destiny till love and mercy have gone forth to all those children who are partakers of the same flesh and blood of which He took part. If no man cometh to the Father but by Christ, we conclude that without Him, — and almost as certainly we conclude that without the knowledge of Him, — no man can be brought back to God. Whosoever calleth on the name of the Lord shall be saved. How, then, shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed, and how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard?

Digitized by Google

In the Atonement Christ the Son of man brings all humanity to God. No member of the race is separate from him who thus offers himself.

In the Atonement God provided redemption for the world by realizing his holy love in the eyes of all the nations.

The ultimate fact for every man will be his relation to Christ, in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and who in all things was made like unto his brethren.

CHRISTIAN UNION AND THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

THE criticism has been passed upon the American Congress of Churches that it was not a representative body. In a technical sense the criticism is true. The Congress did not call for delegates. So far as possible it avoided the functions of a delegate body. The precaution was taken to guard against a vote upon any theological or ecclesiastical question. The entire and exclusive object of the Congress was stated in the following terms: "The American Congress of Churches has for its object to promote Christian union, and to advance the kingdom of God by a free discussion of the great religious, moral, and social questions of the time. This council has no intention of establishing a society, or organizing a plan of union, or putting forth a creed. It simply aims, by holding public meetings from time to time, to make provision for a full and frank discussion of the great subjects in which the Christians of America are interested, including those ecclesiastical and theological questions upon which Christians differ." But while the Congress refused to assume the form or the functions of a representative assembly, it was, in a very real sense, representative in its character. A constituency of no mean proportions lay behind it. For there are in all of the churches those to whom the thought of Christian union is more than a pleasing idea or hope. It exists in their minds as a growing purpose, and craves tangible expression.

First among these in downright earnestness, though least in numbers, are such as have experienced the positive evils of a divided Christendom. They have been in position to see the disadvantage to Christianity of working through its various and often conflicting sects upon the stolid ranks of heathenism; they have felt, it may be, the helplessness of Protestantism in its endeavor to impress the mind of peoples awed by the haughty unity of Rome; they have been exposed to the taunts of skepticism flung into the face of a divided and contentious church. To men of such experiences division is not an evil, it is a sin. The duty of the church is not adjustment but repentance. Ask them how the desired unity is to be gained, they answer that method waits upon conviction. Let the church humble itself in the sense of its sin, and Providence will point out the way to practical results. Next to these are such as have had occasion to feel the limitations or narrowness of their own denominations. Somewhere the denomination binds and pinches the individual,

Digitized by Google

and yet as among the denominations he prefers his own. But it no longer satisfies him. He may not demand liberty; he does crave sympathy. Hence the significance in its denominational aspect of any theological or spiritual movement which runs through all the denominations. Its inevitable effect is to break up old associations, and to create new sympathies. It gives contact in first things to those who have been separated by what is secondary. And beyond these are all such as have accustomed themselves to think and act in the large terms of Christianity rather than in the dialect of the sects. "I teach," said an accomplished teacher, of some years ago, in a Congregational seminary, "that Congregationalism is a transient form of Puritanism, that Puritanism is a transient form of Protestantism; that Protestantism is a transient form of Christianity." It must be recognized that there are times when the permanent lives in the transient: when Christianity lived in Protestantism, when Protestantism lived in Puritanism. It is the art of all theological and ecclesiastical thinking to know when, and to what extent, the permanent inhabits the transient; to know when Christianity ought to be generalized, when it ought to be specialized. The tendency, of course, is toward unnecessary specialization. And the minds which are trained to resist this tendency are at once available for all the practical uses of Christian union.

A movement, therefore, like that of the American Congress of Churches, expressive of Christian union, has a natural constituency. The idea, the moral purpose, is representative. The movement itself may be subject to criticism. Some may say that it is too inclusive, others that it is indefinite. But the fact remains that there is a growing sentiment in favor of unity, — a sentiment growing in earnestness and assurance as well as in the number of those who cherish it. True, the union of Christians in the interchange of religious opinion, or even in coöperation for philanthropic and benevolent purposes, is not in itself the unity of the church. But it is indicative of progress toward that end, and each new development of the spirit of union among Christians serves to call attention to the influences which are silently but widely at work toward some real and substantial unity of the church.

Let us take note of a few of these influences. It is a noteworthy fact that theological controversy has been transferred from purely denominational issues to issues within the denominations. Each denomination has its schools of thought, between which the divergence is probably greater than between the denomination itself and any other within the range of the evangelical faith. Denominationalism, as such, is no longer responsible for theological differences. The denominations which insist most strongly upon doctrine have already practically conceded as much as can be fairly asked of them in the interest of unity. When the ministry can take the range of the sects, passing, with little modification of belief, from one to another, it can no longer be claimed that doctrinal tests are divisive. Ecclesiastical tests still remain in formidable activity, but the

Digitized by Google

abatement of ecclesiastical claims on the part of some in positions of authority and influence is equally noticeable with the fact in respect to theological controversy, to which attention has been called. It certainly marked an era in the discussion of ecclesiasticism when Canon Lightfoot — now Bishop of Durham — wrote in these words concerning the episcopate: "If bishop was at first used as a synonym for presbyter, and afterwards came to designate the higher officer under whom the presbyters served, the episcopate, properly so called, would seem to have been developed from the subordinate office. In other words, the episcopate was formed, not out of the apostolic order by localization, but out of the presbyteral, by elevation; and the title, which originally was common to all, came at length to be appropriated to the chief among them." [1] And the present spirit of the more thoughtful churchman in other denominations finds expression in the recent words of Dr. Morris on Presbyterianism. "Presbyterianism, *Jure divino*, a system directly prescribed and enjoined, as to details, in the New Testament, can no more be proven than a *Jure divino* prelacy or independency. The attempt to find in the Bible a full, exact, invariable mode of government, adjusted to the needs of the church in all varieties of condition, and so enjoined upon it that all departures or deviations become unscriptural and schismatical, has often been made in the interest of each of the three Protestant varieties of church polity, but has always been made in vain." [2]

Side by side with this change of theological attitude and this abatement of ecclesiastical claims we may discover in all the denominations a growing sense of the meaning and worth of the historic church. The church idea is gaining a place in the denominations which have heretofore shown the least consideration for it. The change may be seen in the revival of the spirit of worship, through the recovery of the older and more consistent forms, in the use of architectural designs which embody the traditions of the church, and in the increasing respect and reverence for the various symbols of the church. The denominations which began in protest against the corruptions of the church of their time are returning to claim their rightful possessions in historic Christianity. A protesting church is one thing; a provincial church is quite another thing. When the occasion for the protest has passed away, or when its object has been gained, it is folly for the protesting body to perpetuate itself along the narrow lines of the original departure. The Methodism of to-day is more than a revulsion from the formalism and naturalism of the religious life of the eighteenth century. New England Congregationalism has a larger work before it than the maintenance of the formal and ecclesiastical idea of Puritanism. The natural growth and expansion of any part of the church is always toward, not away from, the church itself. By the very law of their being and growth the denominations become more and more in the church and of the church. The things held in common

[1] *Lightfoot on Epistle of Paul to the Philippians.* Appendix, p. 194.

[2] *Morris's Ecclesiology*, page 134.

Digitized by Google

come to outweigh the things held apart. Progress toward unity is necessary, because natural.

The strongest influence at work in the interest of unity is to be found in the active relation of Christianity to the world. Apparently the work of the church rests upon denominationalism. The organizations which express Christian energy and enthusiasm are, for the most part, denominational agencies. Probably this state of things will continue indefinitely. For organizations have a reason in themselves. The spiritual agencies of the church must be manageable. They must have a specific object. And they must appeal for support to a natural constituency. It was found necessary to resolve the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions into its constituent parts, in order to the most successful development of the different denominations represented. But organizations which have a sufficient reason in themselves, if they are not put into relations of mere competition with each other, are not necessarily divisive. A fence may be set up for separation. It may be set up for convenience. Organizations are to be allowed and supported according to the scope of their purpose, and according to their respect for the rights of kindred bodies. But the relations of an aggressive Christianity to the world are found to be much wider and more complicated than had been foreseen. Practically, the different denominations have holdings in heathen countries not unlike the territorial possessions of the European states. The time must come when these denominational colonies will cease to be dependencies. Nationality and race will assert themselves. It will at some time be as natural to speak of the Church of India, or of Japan, as of the American Church. And whenever these new factors of race and nationality come to the front, the smaller and more divisive factors will naturally be retired. We can hardly suppose that the Christianity of the East is to be run into the moulds of Western organization. It cannot be doubted that the reflex influence of missionary results will be conducive to unity, as the development of missionary activities has thus far increased the number of separate organizations.

Undue expectations as to the formal unity of the church may be cherished. But the tendencies toward a unity, real and substantial, cannot be overlooked. Forces are in operation, under the work of the Spirit of God, which the providence of God may at an unexpected time use with mighty effect to the unity of the church.

ENGLAND'S INJUSTICE TO MR. GLADSTONE.

ENGLAND'S wisest and ripest statesman, the most versatile and high-minded in the long line of her public servants, the one of them all who has made the largest and most beneficent contribution to her legislation, stands discredited before the world. The Parliament which supported him five years ago by a majority unprecedented in recent English history

Digitized by Google

has pronounced the cabinet of which he was the acknowledged head unfit to govern, and transferred sovereignty to other hands.

That this act will quickly appear to be a boon to the party which he has so long led, and to the measures with which his later years are identified, we confidently believe. The Irishman who has helped the Conservative leader into the saddle has no disposition to give him the reins, and is abundantly able to keep them from his reach. A coercion bill will not be passed through Parnell's help, and cannot be passed without it unless it be so mild as to stultify its authors. And even if Whigs should pass it, it could accomplish nothing before the autumn election likely to win the constituencies. Nor can the Conservatives gain glory abroad this summer. They dare not try to penetrate the Soudan, and the negotiations with Russia are too near completion to be broken off. Meantime the Liberals can compose their differences, arrange their plans for the fall campaign, and criticize the mistakes of their opponents. The cheerfulness with which they take defeat is easily understood, and the bitterness with which their opponents accuse them of securing defeat by trickery.

But whatever is to be the outcome of the overthrow of the government it stands as a humiliation. The Liberal party has not kept its fealty to its great leader. A considerable part of it has declared itself willing to see power taken from his hands and transferred to men bitterly antagonistic to Mr. Gladstone and his principles.

So far as this severe censure is due to Whig dissatisfaction with Mr. Gladstone's government of Ireland no fault can be found with it, however it may be regretted. The differences which parted the Duke of Argyle, perhaps Mr. Forster, and those for whom they stand, from the late cabinet were differences of principle. The Land Act was a new and a long step in English legislation. It sanctioned a different view of the relation between landlord and tenant, both in England and in Ireland, from that which had prevailed. The Duke of Argyle, in calling this view revolutionary, and withdrawing from the cabinet on this ground, was only maintaining convictions which he had always held. Mr. Forster may have been following principle in insisting that Ireland should be clutched in a more crushing grasp, and that the government was encouraging treason in its leniency toward Mr. Parnell. Loss of support on these grounds was sure to follow such thorough remedies as the government proposed for Irish discontent. Doubtless Mr. Gladstone expected it at the outset, and met it most cheerfully when it came. It was only one of the obstacles on the road to his large ends, and so it stood as a milestone marking his progress.

But this defection, serious as it was, and the Parnellite hostility, which was purely factious, and without moral significance, left the Government still strong. The Land Bill was carried by an ample majority. Parliament sustained Mr. Gladstone's doctrine that tenancy gives some claim on the landlord; that the latter's right to evict is not absolutely unlim-

Digitized by Google

ited; and the Government moved on. But for troubles of another kind Mr. Gladstone would doubtless have remained Premier as long as the late Parliament existed. These were the difficulties in Egypt, the revolt of Arabi Bey, the suppression of which by England involved substitution of English power for the joint protectorate held since 1879 by England and France, and a sort of responsibility for the acts of the Khedive and his cabinet. This responsibility gave the Conservatives plausible ground for charging the misfortunes of the Egyptian armies led by English officers upon the government. It gave them and the Jingo Liberals pretext for demanding that Gordon should be sent to bring the Egyptian garrisons out of the Soudan. Of course, when the government had (wisely or unwisely) acceded to the request, it became responsible for Gordon's safety. After Gordon had been killed, and many lives had been lost and much money spent in the vain attempt to rescue him, and Egypt was still crushed with debt, and England entangled in responsibility for its government and weighted by its own interest in the Suez canal, and France and Germany (as is alleged) alienated by Mr. Gladstone's action, the Tories said, "A feeble, inconsistent, unworthy government! Let it be ignominiously overthrown!" One at least of the Liberal papers was weak enough to echo the cry. The staunch Liberal journals showed, in their half-apologetic replies, that their confidence in the ability of the Government was shaken. Successive divisions in the House of Commons made it evident that Mr. Goschen's example in abandoning the government on account of its Egyptian policy had many followers. At last, on a question of taxation, in which the government was clearly right (in this field Mr. Gladstone's supremacy is scarcely questioned), the seceders, with the Parnellites, were able to overthrow the Government, and the last and crowning administration of England's greatest statesman ended with condemnation.

We believe this to be discreditable to England. "They are not all Israel who are of Israel." We do not mean the England represented by Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill, — the England which stands as the embodiment of selfish and insolent privilege at home and of bluster abroad. It is to be expected that this part of the nation should hate the man once its favorite, — who left its service because too noble to share its selfishness, and who has given his long life and great abilities to undoing, in some measure, the ancient wrongs on which it thrives, — though a stranger cannot but marvel at the bitterness and the coarse expression of its hatred, passing the bounds of decorum, not to say of patriotism.

But it is not this party which has condemned Mr. Gladstone; it is his own. "For it was not an enemy that reproached me: then I could have borne it; neither was it he that hated me that did magnify himself against me." The Liberal party, in its parliamentary representatives, has involved itself in the condemnation of Mr. Gladstone because of the alleged incompetency of his foreign policy. Europe sees in him a fallen

Digitized by Google

statesman, who has lost, in no small measure, his influence with liberal England.

And why have confidence and power been taken away? Because there have been disasters in Egypt, and Bismarck is gruff, and France testy. But, to begin with the last charges, is it the duty of an English statesman to keep Bismarck in good humor towards England? Is it not possible that the German chancellor's intense and avowed dislike of parliamentary government may be the cause of his ill-humor towards a nation governed by the ablest living exemplar of the parliamentary spirit? And may it not be that France has become sullen because her desire to meddle and encroach, of late so strong, has been checked? "But a statesman must get on with other nations by humoring their weaknesses if need be." Unless some specific instance of defective tact or courtesy can be shown, it is idle to try thus to justify a great statesman's overthrow.

But, it is claimed, Mr. Gladstone either should not have laid his hand upon Egypt, or should have assumed the full control of Egyptian affairs. This is easily said. But did he not, when he assumed power, find England committed to the joint control and to the bondholders? Did not the nation which had put twenty million of dollars into the Suez canal expect that England's rights in that canal would be guarded, if need were, by the sword? And when Arabi's army defied the Khedive and England, could he do otherwise than sweep away the insurrection, so maintaining the rights and pledges which he found existing? Had he not done this would he not have been at once deposed as untrue to the nation's interests? But did not his principles and promises forbid him to commit England to a permanent protectorate? Were not her responsibilities already great enough? Surely it was to be expected that Mr. Gladstone would rigorously abstain from committing the nation to abiding control of that unhappy state. To say that because he did so abstain he was responsible for the blunders of the Khedive, that the result of the expedition under Hicks is chargeable to him (it was undertaken against his protest), is absurd.

"But the government sent Gordon to the Soudan, and left him to die." It sent Gordon to withdraw the garrisons. He chose to undertake a different task when he reached Khartoum. This self-chosen undertaking detained him against the wishes of the government. Then he became beleaguered. The government sent an army to rescue him. Before it reached him he fell by treachery. But for the treachery he would have been saved. The exposure to treachery was involved in his mission from the beginning. It was a part of the risk which he took in undertaking it. The government is, therefore, only responsible for his death in so far as it was unwise in sending him out. That it was mistaken in doing this we admit. That it committed no mistakes in Egypt we by no means claim. But we do insist that the charges of weakness and culpable negligence so freely made are not sustained. We hold, with a writer in the

Digitized by Google

"Nineteenth Century" of the present month, that a government under circumstances so trying must be judged according to its opportunities and manifest intention; that if it be loyal to its pledges and inherited obligations, and free from timidity and dilatoriness, it should receive a large measure of allowance when overtaken with misfortune. That such allowance would have given Mr. Gladstone's government power until the time set for submitting its acts to a popular verdict we firmly believe.

The real cause of the late defeat we believe to be that which had so much influence in defeating Mr. Gladstone at the general election of 1874 — wounded national pride. The result of the Geneva arbitration was painful to English self-esteem, and the righteous and peace-loving Premier suffered in consequence. It is sorely hurt to-day by the death of Gordon and the rudeness of Bismarck, and again he is made the scapegoat. Many of those responsible for the earlier injustice must now see and regret their error. It will not, we trust, be ten years before the later and more violent displeasure will be more deeply regretted.

Perhaps it will be seen that the requirements which England makes of her Premier in the conduct of her foreign affairs are absurdly contradictory; that she expects him to guard her complicated interests, avoid imbroglios with foreign powers, maintain economy, and at the same time give her the opportunity now and then of playing a dazzling part in the family of nations.

Sooner or later it will appear that the training and moral qualities which make a great constitutional minister and a guardian of the nation's thrift and trade are inconsistent with this showy conduct of affairs, and England, Liberal England at least, will appreciate the great statesman whose sun shines with undimmed and level rays from the western horizon.

BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

SUGGESTIONS ON THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MESSIANIC HOPE.

It must be borne in mind that nowhere in the Old Testament is "Messiah" the technical term which it became in the post-Maccabæan, scribal period of Jewish history. In Leviticus it is applied to the High Priest, in the historical books to Saul, to David, to the patriarchs, in Lamentations to king Zedekiah, in Habakkuk to the people of Israel as a whole, in the Psalms to Kings of the Davidic dynasty (and perhaps also to Israelitish kings) indiscriminately, in Deutero-Isaiah to Cyrus, and in the book of Daniel both to Cyrus and to one of the Seleucids. This variety of use of the word in the Old Testament corresponds in some degree to the variety of simple Messianic motives ultimately combined in the grand, many-sided harmony of the Messianic hope realized. In general the word "Messiah" of the Hebrew text has been translated "anointed"

Digitized by Google

in our Bible,[1] but in Dan. ix. 25, 26, where the word is used once in reference to Cyrus and once in reference to a Seleucid, the Hebrew "Messiah" is retained.

The Messianic passages of the Old Testament stand in no necessary connection with the use of the word "Messiah." Broadly speaking, those passages are Messianic which promise a delivery from present distress, either through the direct intervention of Jehovah, the God and king of Israel, or through a Davidic sovereign (or David himself), the vicegerent of Jehovah and the representative of his divinity upon earth, or through a human agent, outside of the Davidic dynasty, anointed by Jehovah for that purpose; those passages are Messianic which foretell a millennial kingdom over which Jehovah will reign either mediately or immediately, or which describe the preparation for this millennial kingdom through a Davidic sovereign, or through the people of Israel as especially appointed to that mission by Jehovah; those passages are Messianic which describe the experiences of the ideally perfect "Servant of Jehovah."

The prophetic concept of the relation of God, as Jehovah, to Israel, inherited from Moses, was that of the direct government by God of his people. Moses did not unify the people into a nation, because of his conception of a theocratic empire. God must directly rule over his people. It is precisely the same religious concept which seems to have placed Samuel in opposition to, or at least out of harmony with, the kingly idea. This concept was ideal, impracticable, as the history of Israel proved, but it contained a fruitful germ of heavenward progress, which was the divine essence of the Mosaic concept. After the practical needs of their situation had forced upon the Hebrews centralization and regal authority, the prophets still adhered to this Mosaic concept, modified and further idealized by the new conditions. It is this which enables them steadfastly to look forward to the Messianic kingdom of God's rule upon earth. But, in order that a conception so ideal and exalted might be effective for the education and development of the people at large, it must operate upon lower and more worldly sentiments. The lower instrument through which it was to act was found in the royal form of government, or perhaps we might say in the person of one of the kings of Israel.

Any one who has considered those Messianic passages which are concerned with a personal, human Messiah must, I think, have observed this phenomenon, — that this phase of the Messianic hope emanates from the person of David. He is the great Messiah of God in the past to whom the people longingly look back. It is his glory, like the glory of the Roman Cæsar, which in each new age is reflected over his descendants. It is a return of the Davidic greatness which is looked for in the future. An idealized David is the type of the royal human Messiah. In seeking a human basis for the Messianic hope, we must begin here. That basis is one common to the Israelites with other people. It is that longing for the glory of the past, which is driven by the utter lack of its realization in the present first into hope, and then into belief, in its restoration in the future. The British belief in the return of an Arthur, or the German hope of the reappearance of Charlemagne or Friedrich Barbarossa, were in origin the same as the Israelitish expectation of the second David, — a longing for the glory of the past, metamorphosed, through much meditation on its happiness, in time of present distress into the hope of its restoration in the future. Any one who has studied, with any sort of appre-

[1] Corrected in the Canterbury Revision.

Digitized by Google

ciation, popular belief in myths and legends, realizes that such a belief as this is neither quite literal nor altogether ideal. It connects itself literally with the name, the place, the family of David, and yet what it looks for is not David, but the kingdom and glory of David; so that at times it even seems ready, under peculiar circumstances, to lose its hold on the Davidic personality, and to look for the royal deliverer in a Cyrus or a Maccabæus. It is the popular mind, in distinction from the thoughtful leaders, to which the Davidic idea is most essential; which connects its hopes most closely with a literal descendant of David in whom he shall be repersonified in all his ideal glory. Of course this hope of a Davidic Messiah who shall restore the Davidic glory must result in the idealization of its hero in the past as well as the future, and hence we have the phenomenon of a double David in the Bible — the historical, actual David, and the mythical, ideal David. This idealization the prophets make a fulcrum for their lever, their function being to lift the Messianic hope of a second kingdom of David into spiritual realms. The part which this Davidic hope played in moulding the history and character of the Jewish people and maintaining their nationality intact was enormous. The strength of that hope in Old Testament times is evidenced by psalmody and prophecy, and in a later age both by the apocalyptic literature which it called forth and by the insurrections to which it gave rise. Even the hatred which the oppression, immorality, and idolatry of Solomon and his son aroused in the hearts of the Israelites of the northern kingdom did not quench the pride in David and his glory, so that Amos could say to them (ix. 11): "In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof; and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old;" while Hosea, one of their own number, prophesies (iii. 4, 5) "For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim: Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek Jehovah their God, and David their king; and shall fear Jehovah and his goodness in the latter days."

Psychologically we are led to expect from the origin and nature of this hope that which we also find to be true regarding it, — that it is most vividly pictured in the times of greatest distress. Passing over such passages as 2 Sam. vii. 16, where David is told: "Thine house and thy kingdom shall be established forever before thee: thy throne shall be set up forever," and the numerous similar passages in the Psalms concerning the glory and perpetuity of his kingdom, let us take up the still more minute and definite passages in the prophets; as when Isaiah, crying out of the deepest humiliation of the kingdom of Judah, yet promises the people deliverance at the hand of a Davidic ruler, who shall restore a spiritualized kingdom of David. Such is that famous prophecy (ix. 1–7) which ends: "For increase of the government and for peace without end upon David's throne and upon his kingdom, to establish it, and to order it with judgment and with righteousness from henceforth and forever. The zeal of Jehovah Zebaoth will perform this;" or that prophecy which begins (xi. 1): "And there cometh forth a rod from Jesse's stem, and a branch groweth from his roots." Micah sees in the sore misery of Jerusalem the deep darkness that heralds the glorious morn. The woes of Judah are the birth-pangs of the Messiah. The nation sinks so low that she is even led forth out of Jerusalem; but this exile is the pangs of travail with the

Digitized by Google

glorious future. The capital may be lost, "but thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings out have been from of old, from everlasting;" which is a distinctively Davidic prophecy, although by a poetic device the name of David is not mentioned. The rise of a better king, Hezekiah, renders Isaiah's later Messianic prophecies less definite and personal, and he even seems half ready to accept Hezekiah himself as the restorer of the Davidic kingdom. Again, under a bad king, in times of great distress, Jeremiah (xxiii. 9) foretells a righteous branch to David, and (xxx. 9) that the people freed from bondage shall serve "David their king." In the time of the exile Ezekiel is almost prosaic in the literalness with which he uses the Davidic personality, as where he says (xxxiv. 23): "And I will set over them one shepherd, and he shall herd them, even my servant David, he shall herd them, and he shall be to them a shepherd;" or (xxxvii. 24, 25): "And my servant David king over them, for one shepherd shall be for them all, and in my religion shall they walk, and my statutes shall they hear and do them; and they shall dwell in the land which I gave to my servant, to Jacob, in which their fathers dwelt, yea they shall dwell in it. they, and their sons, and their sons' sons forever, and David my servant prince over them forever."

After the exile Haggai sees in Zerubbabel, as the descendant of David, him who is to fulfill the hope of a Davidic restoration, and the book of his prophecies closes with a distinct expression of that view (ii. 23): "In that day, saith Jehovah Zebaoth, will I take thee, Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, my servant, saith Jehovah, and will make thee as a signet, for thee have I chosen, saith Jehovah Zebaoth." Zechariah seems at first to entertain the same hope (iv.), but Zerubbabel is not the man to restore Davidic glory; he can only shine in the borrowed lustre of his ancestors. Then Joshua, the High Priest, is declared to be the Branch (vi. 12), and you have the same combination of priest and king in the Messianic concept which appears in Ps. cx. Joshua, the Branch, is placed upon a theocratic throne (vi. 13). It is the failure of the worthless successors of David to fulfill the expectation of the people which causes the Davidic element to vanish for a time, supplanted by the priestly.

It must not be supposed, however, that the people altogether abandoned their idea of a Davidic restoration. Events show that it still lingered on. The history of the people to the time of the Maccabæan revolt is one of insignificance and failure, but not oppression, and we find, accordingly, no vivid expression of the expectation of a personal, Davidic Messiah. The line of David has sunk into obscurity and oblivion. Malachi speaks only of a millennial kingdom, and of Elijah as the herald of its coming. After the story of the assumption of Elijah into heaven (2 Kings ii. 11) it seemed a moral certainty that a belief in his return would spring up. The book of Malachi contains the first definite expression of this belief, which plays so important a part in the Christological scheme of the Pharisees. The Seleucid oppression and the Maccabæan revolt again fanned into a flame the smouldering fires of the Messianic hope in the restoration of national greatness, as is proven as well from the history of the period as from the book of Daniel. The lack of a prominent representative or descendant of David prevents the author of Daniel from representing the new kingdom as Davidic. It is pictured

Digitized by Google

as an earthly rule of Jehovah through an undesignated semi-divine hero, under whom the saints shall possess the earth. The popular mind, finding Judas Maccabæus to be a hero, seems to have been inclined to see in him and his house, despite non-Davidic origin, the returned David. But this delusion soon passed away, and the apocalyptic literature of the immediately following period shows us the Davidic hope stronger and more definite than ever before. The Psalter of Solomon, for example, gives us an excellent idea of the way in which the temporary belief in the Asmonæan dynasty served, after the delusion was realized, to revive and strengthen the Davidic hope; and from this period until Bar-Cochebas and the final revolt against Hadrian the air was full of the expectation of the Messiah of David's line.

I have thus endeavored to describe the rise of the hope of a Davidic Messiah, — that is, of a ruler of David's line who should restore the glory of the idealized kingdom of David, — and to point out that in its origin this hope was one common to Israel with other nations — a hope conceived by desire, and born of adversity. This hope I have briefly sought to trace through the uncertain stages of its incipiency, until it assumed fixed form in the latter days of the Asmonæan dynasty.

This is the popular element which constitutes the warp of the ultimate, realized hope. The woof which was woven into this warp was the grand teaching that Jehovah himself is king of Israel, and Israel his chosen, his anointed. The rule of an earthly king is possible only on the theory that he is the representative and vicegerent of Jehovah, the embodiment of his righteousness on earth. Notwithstanding the unrighteousness of each successive Davidic sovereign, the perfect, unhistorical David of their ideal enables the prophets to look forward to an ultimate righteous king of David's line, the true representative of divinity on earth, under whom and in whom is realized the ideal Israel.

Any one reading carefully the vision of Isaiah (vi.), the conscience record of his call to prophecy, must see how deeply the prophet was impressed with a sense of his people's wickedness. Jehovah, the pure and righteous divinity, cannot accept the people in its present position, and yet it is utterly impossible that he should destroy or abandon his people; therefore he will purge them with a great calamity, "until the cities are desolate without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the field lieth waste," until it seems as though no remnant could escape; but as the terebinth and oak when cut down grow again from the stock that remains in the ground, so shall Israel grow again, for "a holy seed shall be its stock." Here stands out clearly the doctrine of the identification of Jehovah with Israel, so that he cannot forsake nor destroy his people, and, on the other hand, as a necessary correlative, the doctrine of the perfect essence of the people of Israel, which is purified from the dross of common and unrighteous Israel by the fire of affliction. In Joel and Zephaniah, in some of the Psalms, and here and there in Isaiah and the other prophets, the Davidic king is ignored and, in Mosaic manner, Jehovah is represented as the direct ruler of the millennial kingdom. On the other side, the doctrine of the perfect essence leads to the doctrine of the "Servant of Jehovah" in Deutero-Isaiah and some of the Psalms. The teaching that Jehovah is king of Israel and that Israel is his chosen people is developed, therefore, in two directions, and with the fundamental belief in the restoration of David's glory we must combine the doctrine of Jehovah's immediate action in the millennial kingdom, and the teaching

Digitized by Google

of the perfect essence suffering for the imperfect people at large. Such doctrines they were which, woven together by scribal study, produced the systematic but apparently inconsistent Christology of the Pharisees.

Between the utterance of Messianic prophecies and the ministry of Jesus there intervened a period which had a very considerable part to play in the preparation for the Messiah. In the first place, it was sufficiently long to allow the varied conceptions of the prophets to crystallize into dogma, and acquire an undisputed claim to validity as inspired utterances. The change of language was also a factor in this process, putting the ancient writings under seal, as it were. In the second place, the full execution of the law of Moses during this period united the people among themselves, and secured them from external interference during the process of dogmatization. Further, the full execution of the law removed sacrifice altogether out of the sphere of the common life of the people. It idealized and refined it. It suppressed entirely the festal side of sacrifice, substituting the expiatory notion. The Law laid great stress on the sinfulness of the people, and the necessity of making atonement for sin, and post-legal developments emphasized this even more strongly. But while one tendency of this period was to impress upon the people their sinfulness and the necessity of expiation, at the same time the expiatory sacrifice was removed out of the popular sphere, idealized, and surrounded with a mystic halo of awe and glory. On another side the exaltation of the Law led to the synagogical system, with its development of personal religion. In the third place, during this period was developed the Pharisaic and popular doctrine of the resurrection of the body. Not to attempt too many details of the preparation of this period, the external history also played its part. The partially successful revolt of the Maccabees revived the national pride of the Jews, and confirmed their belief in Jehovah's special favor. That revolt quickened the Messianic hope, and the deep and ever increasing humiliation of the Roman epoch following the nation's brief dream of glory brought it to birth. From about the time of Jesus until the time of Bar-Cochebas, the nation was in a condition of unrest, hourly expecting what the Rabbins called "the birth-pangs of the Messiah."

Our knowledge of what the Jews of Jesus' time expected the Messiah to be is derived from Jewish apocalyptic literature, the Targums, the Talmud, and the New Testament. The Targums give us what we may call official knowledge of those Old Testament passages which were universally held to be Messianic, and were constantly read as such in the synagogues. The date of the Targums is uncertain. Jewish tradition refers the oldest of them to the first century, but critics seem to have discredited this tradition. It is, however, allowed that at the time of Jesus a Targum, or popular and explanatory translation of a large part or the whole of the Old Testament, was in use. Whether it had already assumed written form, or was merely handed down by oral tradition, is uncertain. For all our purposes the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan may be regarded as identical with the Targum of the time of Jesus; for whatever changes, if any, were made in the Messianic passages would have told against and not in favor of the Christian view. Reckoning our Messianic passages, then, according to the Targum, we find represented the three Messianic conceptions mentioned above. The Messiah of the tribe of Judah and family of David is the most fully represented of all. In the Targum of Onkelos, Gen. xlix. 10, we read, instead of "until Shiloh come," "until the Messiah come, whose is the kingdom." In Num. xxiv. 17, in the

Digitized by Google

prophecy of Balaam, "the sceptre out of Israel" becomes "the Messiah out of Israel." The Targum of Jonathan makes Micah say (v. 1) with reference to Bethlehem Ephratah: "From thee before me shall arise the Messiah, who shall be the bearer of power over Israel, whose name was spoken from of old time, from days of everlasting." In Isaiah xi. 1 "the rod out of the stem of Jesse, the branch out of his roots" is explained as "the king, the Messiah." In Jeremiah xxiii. 5 "the righteous branch of David" is "the Messiah of righteousness" whom God will raise up unto David. Of passages of the second class, those which represent God as an immediate deliverer, Hab. iii. 18 may serve as an example. In the original we read: "And I, in Jehovah will I rejoice; I will exult in the God of my salvation." In explanation of this the Targum of Jonathan has: "On account of the wonder and salvation which thou hast wrought for thy Messiah and for the remnant of thy people which is left, said the prophet: and I, in the word of Jehovah will I rejoice, and I will exult in God, the worker of my salvation." The third class, which represents the Messiah as the perfect essence suffering for the imperfect people at large, is also recognized in the Targum. The "Servant of Jehovah" of Deutero-Isaiah is explained as the Messiah in the Targum of Jonathan. Accordingly that famous passage lii. 13–liii. 12 was in the time of Jesus authoritatively explained to the people as Messianic. Those parts of this passage, however, which represent Messiah as making an atonement were, at least in part, explained away. "Surely our griefs he bore, and our pains he carried them" (liii. 4) becomes in the Targum: "For our debts will he pray, and our misdeeds for his sake shall be forgiven." "All of us like sheep have gone astray, each after his own way have we turned, and Jehovah hath laid on him the iniquity of us all" (6) is rendered: "It was the good pleasure (of Jehovah) to forgive the sins of us all for his sake." Weber,[1] commenting on this passage, says: "Everywhere, even in the last verse ('he bare the sin of many, and for the trangressors made he intercession') the Targum finds no representative suffering and death of the Messiah to expiate the sins of the people."

I use the Targum on the last cited passages merely to establish the fact that at the time of Jesus such passages, which represent the ideally perfect "Servant of Jehovah" as making atonement for imperfect, sinful Israel, were interpreted as Messianic, not to show that the Jews accepted the doctrine of the Messiah as making atonement by suffering and death. Whatever part, however, tradition might play among the Jews, it always rested ultimately on Scripture, rendering possible an appeal to the latter against itself. The Targumic explanation of these passages as Messianic gave authority for their application in the case of Jesus, while against the non-expiatory interpretation put upon them in the Targum it was quite in order to make appeal to the original Scripture. The position of tradition as over against the Scriptures at the time of Jesus was much the same as at the Reformation.

The early apocalyptic literature, such as the Psalter of Solomon, part of the book of Enoch, and part of the Sibylline prophecies, is a valuable witness against a few writers who have imagined the Messianic hope to have been dead at the time of Jesus, and have tried to represent the testimony of the gospels to an existing Messianic expectation as fanciful and

[1] *Altsynagogale Theologie*, p. 345.

Digitized by Google

false, and Talmudic doctrine and post-Christian revolt and turbulence among the Jews as alike a side product of Christianity.

The Talmud and the New Testament must be studied together. By combining incidental allusions in the New Testament with passages of the Talmud, a pretty fair picture may be painted of Jewish belief and expectation at the time of Jesus. It is impossible to date in any way such a heterogeneous mass of speculation and tradition as the Talmud. Some of it is very old, some not. In some cases the kernel of a tradition may be old, while the tradition in the form given in the Talmud is comparatively new. The New Testament serves in some sort as a measuring scale to the Talmud, and by a comparison of the two some valuable results are obtained.

Comparing, then, the Talmud and the New Testament, we find a great resemblance as to principle in their method of using the prophets. New Testament writers frequently tell us that this thing or that thing was done "that it might be fulfilled which was written, or said." The Haggada uses the same phrase repeatedly, telling this or that trivial story, it may be, to illustrate the fulfillment of various prophecies. The principle in both cases is that each word of prophecy must find its fulfillment. The New Testament claim that Moses and all the prophets testified concerning Jesus is the Talmudic doctrine that all the prophets testified only of the days of the Messiah. The Talmudic idea that all events, destinies, hopes, and wishes which connect themselves with the Holy Land or its inhabitants have been already announced by the prophets and may be found by the exercise of sufficient ingenuity, is manifestly at the bottom of some New Testament references to the Old Testament (such as Matt. ii. 23). But besides these agreements of principle, there is also agreement as to certain points of detail regarding the Messiah. Edersheim, in "The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah," p. 164, mentions the following doctrines concerning the Messiah as supported by the Talmud: "Premundane existence, elevation above Moses and the angels, representative character, sufferings, violent death for his people,[1] work on behalf of living, redemption and restoration of Israel." These can all be supported from the Talmud, and yet it can hardly be said, I think, that all of them are really taught there. The great popular belief at the time of Jesus, as we gather from a comparison of New Testament and Talmud, was in a conquering, human, but almost super-human king of David's line. Preceding him would come Elijah to preach a great repentance; perhaps, also, Moses and Jeremiah, or yet others of the prophets.

Having discussed the Jewish hope of a Messiah, it remains to make a few suggestions regarding the bearing of what has been presented on some parts of the New Testament. In considering the statements of New Testament writers with reference to Old Testament prophecies, we must recognize two diametrically opposite possibilities: of inventing or coloring facts, to make the actuality correspond with prediction; of perverting or altering a prophecy, to show that the event had been predicted. The first possibility must be considered in those cases where we learn from the New Testament itself or from other sources that a strong expectation existed, that is, in the test points of the Messiahship as conceived by

[1] This may be a later development consequent upon the death of Bar-Cochebas, whom Rabbi Akiba had formally declared to be the Messiah, and it may have been in the same connection that the idea arose of a suffering Messiah of the tribe of Ephraim.

Digitized by Google

the Jews. The Davidic descent is one of those points. Was the Davidic descent of Jesus invented, consciously or unconsciously, in order to connect him with the Messianic predictions? The genealogies given in St. Matthew and St. Luke go for little with the critics in answering this question. It is the incidental passages in the Gospels which are strong. They seem to show, without doubt, that he was admitted by all, his enemies included, to be a descendant of David through Joseph. There is no sign in the whole body of New Testament literature, nor, so far as I am aware, in Talmudic literature, that this claim was seriously contested. We know, moreover, that the family of David was not extinct even a century after Jesus, so that the possibility of testing the claim existed. Under these circumstances the existence of the expectation is not evidence against the fact.

A minor question, a side issue of the Davidic descent, is the birth in Bethlehem. Here the decision is not so absolute. Leaving aside the story of the birth as given in St. Matthew and St. Luke, there is no further notice of any connection which Jesus had with Bethlehem. He is, on the contrary, constantly referred to as coming from Nazareth, and that in cases where his birth in Bethlehem, had it been known, ought certainly, we should think, to have been mentioned. So his Nazarene origin was objected to his Messianic claims, and we do not learn that the objection was answered. On the other hand, it is claimed, there are peculiarities in the account of the birth in Bethlehem which render it improbable that it should have been invented to satisfy the terms of prophecy. It tends to dishonor, so far as its main fact goes, and not to honor. It is too accurate and circumstantial. The argument from Jewish expectation may work here in two ways. Primarily it militates against the fact. If the fact that Jesus was the Messiah be first firmly established, a secondary favorable argument may be constructed. In following the development of the Messianic hope, we find the expectation of the restoration of the Davidic kingdom the fulcrum on which the prophets rest their lever in lifting up and spiritualizing the conceptions of the people and preparing them for the divine revelation. It is, then, scarcely conceivable that when God makes that revelation he should throw aside all that had been accomplished by the prophets, by failing to build on the foundation which had been so long and carefully prepared. It was, in point of fact, impossible to make a firm attachment to the Messianic hopes of Israel without Davidic birth. With reference to this secondary argument it must, however, be observed that its chief strength applies to the fact of Davidic birth, and that it is not strong with reference to such a side issue as the birth in Bethlehem, until it be first proven that that is a necessary part of the Davidic concept.

The question regarding the position of John the Baptist may be referred to this category, inasmuch as the expectation of his coming formed an important introductory part of the Messianic hope. The testimony of Josephus, compared with that of the New Testament, gives in this case indubitable proof of the historical character of the Baptist and his work. His activity, as represented from both sources, was such as fully to justify Jesus in pointing to him, as he is reported to have done, as fulfilling the expectation comprehended under the name Elijah, and, therefore, as an additional proof of his own Messiahship. The question as to John's views regarding both his own mission and the Messiah is more difficult to answer. In view of the whole condition of Messianic belief in his time,

Digitized by Google

it seems impossible to hold that he expected an immediate revelation of Jehovah rather than a revelation through a personal Messiah. He must be attached to the thought of his own time, not torn out of his connection and attached to a certain line of thought in the past. In face of any direct evidence to the contrary, it must be assumed that his thought was moulded and modified by the thought and conditions of his time, and hence, in relation to the Messianic hope, that he looked for a personal Messiah. There is no reason, furthermore, to discredit the story of the three synoptical gospels, that John sent to inquire of Jesus whether he were the Messiah. This would point to a position of friendliness towards him, with an inclination, perhaps, to regard him as the Messiah, and yet an uncertainty as to whether he were really so. The synoptical account of the baptism of Jesus does not, so far as the Baptist is concerned, conflict with this view. As to himself, his attitude, as there related, shows both his greatness and his littleness. He was certain of a divine mission to prepare the way of the Messiah by preaching repentance; on the other hand he is not conscious of being literally Elijah. Bound by the letter, he is unable to spiritualize the conception of the return of Elijah, as Jesus did; hence he attached himself to another passage of Scripture, where Isaiah speaks of the voice crying in the wilderness (the very passage which Malachi had developed into his prophecy of the coming of Elijah).

The expectation that the Messiah would show signs and work wonders cannot reasonably be supposed to have given rise to all the stories of the miracles of Jesus, and need not be further discussed here.

The virgin birth of Jesus, and his resurrection from the dead, belong to the second category. The birth of the Messiah from a virgin was no part of the Messianic conception of the Jews. If we find such a belief existing with reference to Jesus, we cannot therefore suppose that it was a reflex of the Messianic expectation, since that expectation involved nothing of the sort. The prophetic passage by which the virgin birth is substantiated in the New Testament is nowhere explained as Messianic, and the form in which it is quoted is found neither in the Hebrew text nor in the Targum.[1] As far as it goes this is, then, an argument in favor of the fact. Without entering further into the question of fact, it may be said that the argument against it from silence being a very strong

[1] 1. I cannot conscientiously render the Massoretic text of Isaiah vii. 14 as is done in our authorized version. Such a rendering is the product of church tradition only. On the other hand, I am not certain that the LXX. does not represent a more original text. But this would give us "the virgin," and not "a virgin." Whichever be the more original, however, a comparison of this section with the following chapter, as also with the fourth chapter of Micah, has led me to believe that Judah or Jerusalem is referred to as the parent of that purified offspring of tribulation which should be a veritable *God with us*. At the moment when Isaiah spoke, the daughter of Zion was, to his conception, pregnant, and the woes about to come upon her were the pangs of birth of the perfect remnant. As regards the perfect remnant, then, the teaching of the seventh chapter would be the same as the closing verses of the sixth. The same teaching, with the same use of *Immanuel*, appears also in the first part of the eighth chapter. The difficulties of the seventh chapter appear to be due to overmuch editing and abbreviation, obscuring and complicating the original utterance of the prophet.

2. The suggestion that the virgin idea might have been derived from Buddhism seems to be ruled out by the apparent proof that the story of Buddha's virgin birth is a late part of his myth, not antedating the Christian era.

Digitized by Google

one makes it advisable that apologists should avoid involving this question with the question of the Incarnation, basing the latter upon the virgin birth. In this St. Paul can be quoted as an example.

The story of the resurrection from the dead, like the story of the divine conception, cannot be derived from the Jewish expectation of the Messiah. The Pharisees believed in the resurrection of the body, but in no special and peculiar resurrection of the Messiah. Jesus seems to have told his disciples that the Scriptures prophesied his death and resurrection,[1] but it requires considerable ingenuity to pick out and piece together Scripture texts which may be thought to prove such a death and resurrection from the dead. Certainly it constituted no part of the Jewish doctrine or expectation regarding the Messiah, as is abundantly proved by the concurrent testimony of the Talmud and the New Testament. This is in so far an argument for the fact. There is in this case no argument of silence against the fact. It was the corner-stone of St. Paul's preaching, as proved by his unimpeached letters, within twenty-five years of the event. It is narrated in all the gospels. It is repeatedly mentioned or referred to by the other New Testament writers.

It may not be amiss to add a few words regarding the attitude which Jesus assumed towards the Messiahship, and regarding the citation of the Old Testament in the New for the purpose of showing that Jesus was the fulfillment in detail of Messianic prophecies. As to the latter point, I apprehend that there is a by no means contemptible argument for the propriety of the use, within reasonable limits, of such citation of the Old Testament for details of the life of Jesus, and, also, that Jesus is the fulfillment of such predictions. The use of the Old Testament in the New must be studied in connection with the theological development and thought of the period. Such and such passages were at that time regarded as Messianic. Would it not be reasonable that God should cause his Messiah to fulfill, to some extent at least, these expectations of the Jews? and was it not even necessary to do so, in order to attach him to the thought of the times? If such a course was reasonable and necessary, it may afford some clue to the use which Jesus himself makes of certain Old Testament passages.

As to the former matter. Until the very end of his life, Jesus asserted his Messiahship only to a trusted few, strictly forbidding them to publish it. Towards the people he maintained an attitude of reserve. While by many of his acts tacitly claiming the Messiahship, he yet did not at first formally and publicly proclaim himself the Messiah. Indeed, he could not have done so without exciting a revolt, or causing his own premature death. This position enabled him to establish a Messianic record, and to prepare his disciples for the work of proclaiming him as the true Messiah on the ground of that record. When he did at last openly proclaim himself to be the Messiah, which he did very clearly, first by deeds and then in words, it was so done that a revolt was avoided, and his death ensued in a manner according with Old Testament prophecies authoritatively set forth as Messianic. The object of his course in these particulars seems to have been to enable his followers to preach him as the true Messiah on the ground of the record which he made.

[1] They even said his resurrection on the third day, with which compare a Rabbinic comment of uncertain date on Hos. vi. 2, quoted by Wünsche, *Beiträge*, p. 197: "All inhabitants of the earth must taste of death, but God will renew them on the third day, *i. e.*, restore them to life and set them before him."

Digitized by Google

Studying the life and teaching of Jesus in connection with the life and thought of his times, we find him attaching himself thoroughly to that life and thought, and, at the same time, we find him revolutionizing them — revolutionizing them, however, to some extent in the same way in which the reformers revolutionized their times, namely, by going back to that which was more primitive. Through and over the teachings and traditions of the Rabbins and the peculiarly Jewish conceptions of his compeers, he appeals to the prophets. The intervening period had done its work of preparation, and must now be carried back to union with the past. Jesus is the manifestation of Jehovah; he is the ideal Israel; or, more catholic than prophecy in his fulfillment of its concept, he is ideal humanity, the heaven-throned apex of that pyramid whose base is mankind at large, and its middle point the church of the saints. The careful preparation for the manifestation of a Messiah, the gradual elevation of a common human longing to a glorious aspiration, — the fulfillment of which could be found only in some manifestation of the deity, — seems to argue most strongly a divine purpose, and to confirm our belief that he whose life both fulfilled and elevated that aspiration was Messiah and was divine. Jesus, if his claims be allowed, was Messiah in this threefold manner: the human descendant of David, ideally perfect humanity suffering for the imperfect, the divinity manifested. The first and lowest of these was an instrumentality for the revelation of the other two. The belief in the Davidic sovereign played the important part it did, in order that there might be a point of attachment to the natural human longing of the people to lift their thoughts and hopes to a higher truth.

John P. Peters.

Divinity School, Philadelphia, Pa.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus. By Édouard Naville. London: Trübner & Co. 1885.

In February, 1883, under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, M. Naville commenced excavations in Wady Tumeilât. His official report was received in April of the present year. In it he claims to have discovered the Heroöpolis of the Greeks, to have identified it with the Pithom of Ex. i. 11, and with the Succoth of Ex. xiii. 20, and, by inference, to have traced the route of the exodus, obtaining some clew to the sites of Etham, Migdol, Pi-hahiroth, and Baäl-zephon. The discovery of facts which throw light on the early history of the human race is more important than a mere work of art for a museum, even though that work of art be an Apollo Belvidere or a Venus di Medici. That we may be in a position to judge of the work done by M. Naville, it may be well to review the knowledge previously obtained of some of the places he is said to have discovered.

Theophrastus is the earliest writer who speaks of the Heroöpolis of the eastern Delta, the city of the god Hero or Heroön. He says it was near the end of the Gulf of Arabia. Strabo in seven different places confirms this testimony of Theophrastus. In another place (C. 884) he says it

Digitized by Google

was near Arsinoe and Cleopatris. Ptolemy (iv. 5, 54) says that the river of Trajan ran through Heroöpolis. In Bischoff and Möller's "Wörterbuch der Geographie" it is stated that "Heroöpolis was a city in the east part of lower Egypt, on the southern bank of the river of Ptolemy, east from Pharbastis (*i. e.* Belbeis), 8¾ miles northwest from the inlet to the Arabian Gulf." Lucian (Alex. 44, Reitz 11, 250) says that "a young man embarked at Alexandria, ascended the Nile, and sailed as far as Clysma, a port at the extreme end of the canal, at the Red Sea." This statement was written about 160 or 170 of our era, and Lucian held some official connection with the government of Egypt.

From all this it is evident that Clysma was a port on the Red Sea, at the eastern end of the canal, and that Heroöpolis was a town on the southern bank of that canal, 8¾ miles west from Clysma. D'Anville, Quatremère, Champollion, Du Bois Aymé, and Lepsius, all put the city of Hero in the valley of Saba Biar, at the west end of the Lowlands, at a place now known as Mukfhar; Lepsius says an hour and a half east from Tel-el-Maskhutah.

The question arises here, Where was the northern end of the Red Sea? Rosiére, a geologist of the French Expedition under Napoleon I., explored the Isthmus, and framed an elaborate argument to prove that since the beginning of the historic periods the head of the Red Sea has been, and must have been, where it is now, namely, at Suez. He says that the waters of the Red Sea could not have been confined within the basin of Lake Timsah; but if they ever came so far, any violent storm or heavy tide would have swept away the loose sand of which the northern shore of the lake is formed, and thus the two seas would have been united naturally, and there would have been no isthmus. Lepsius denies that there has been any upheaval of this part of the Delta, on the ground that the remains of a skillfully built canal of ancient work can now be traced north of Suez for a distance of three leagues. He contends that if the sea had been there no canal had been needed, and, moreover, would have occupied the very place where the canal was built. Explorers agree that there are no evidences of a recent sea bed in that region. Evidently, then, if the Red Sea ever extended north of the point which it now reaches, it must have been in some prehistoric period. If the land from Suez to Lake Timsah has been upheaved since the exodus, it would be strange that Wady Tumeilât was not upheaved too. But had the wady been ten feet lower than it is now, the canal of Necho (or of whomever built it) would have flooded the whole valley with water from the Nile, and created a lake, like Mareotis, in Saba Biar, which would have remained a lake. If Lucian's "young man" found salt water 8¾ miles east from where Tel-el-Maskhutah now is, then the upheaval must have been confined to a narrow line and a limited area! Who ever heard of an upheaval which raised a few square miles smoothly without jar or crack, and of which there is no historical record?

Besides the above references to Heroöpolis, we find it mentioned in the Septuagint translation of Gen. xlvi. 28. In the Hebrew text it is said that Jacob, going into Egypt, sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to direct his face unto Goshen. The Septuagint for Goshen substitutes "Heroöpolis in the land of Ramses." Respecting this Greek translation M. Naville quotes Lepsius, who says that "the Septuagint must have known the geography of Egypt." Pray how should they know the location of a city never of great importance, and which centuries before had ceased to

Digitized by Google

exist? Calmet complains that the Septuagint were ignorant of geography, and declares that in this very passage they mistook the Hebrew verb הוֹרֹת, translated "direct" in our version, for the name of a city, ἥρων. Rosiére regards it as indisputable that the Septuagint mistook הוֹרֹת for ἥρων. He says: "Le fait est bien constaté." They were deceived by the consonance of two words.

The Coptic Version, made two hundred years after that of the Septuagint, and several centuries after Heroöpolis had been forgotten, when Egypt was plunged in profound barbarism, its geography less known than it is to-day, detected the blunder of the Septuagint, and substituted Pithom for Heroöpolis. What evidence they had that Pithom was the place of meeting, we have no means of knowing. Probably they knew nothing of Heroöpolis; but if they did, they knew that it was not the place where Joseph met his father. To suppose, with M. Naville, that they arbitrarily put Pithom in the place of Heroöpolis for the pleasure of using a synonym is absurd.

Josephus (Ant. ii. 7, 5) says that Joseph went out to meet his father and they met in Heliopolis. Why does not somebody assume that Goshen, Heroöpolis, Pithom, and Heliopolis, were one and the same city?

In the Arabic version there is a blunder similar to that in the Septuagint. Finding, in the Syriac Version from which they translated, the verb ܫܕܪ, *sader*, which means *to send*, the Arabic scholars supposed it was a proper name, and so translated it سدير, *Sadyr*, and there have been men who have identified Sadyr with Goshen! Jerome, the Vulgate, and the Samaritan Version agree with the Hebrew that Jacob and Joseph met in Goshen.

The French Expedition at the close of the last century found at Tel-el-Maskhutah a monolith of red granite cut in the form of an arm-chair, on which were seated three Egyptian figures. These represent Ramses II. between two gods, Ra and Tum. On the back of this chair was an inscription, which Lepsius translated in 1845. With this were also found a tablet of red granite, two sphinxes in black granite, and a broken naos in red sandstone. These four monuments all belong to the time of Ramses II. M. Naville says that the word Pithom was not found on them;[1] but Lepsius says it was.[2] M. Naville found a lost piece of the naos containing the cartouche of Ramses II., and the word Thuku followed by a determinative which signifies that it was a foreign place. These monuments led Lepsius to suppose that Tel-el-Maskhutah was Ramses, not the treasure city of Ex. i. 11, but one of the many cities of Upper and Lower Egypt which contained a shrine to the deified Ramses. The station was even then called Ramsis by the Arabs. The guide-book Joanne, the Egyptian part of which was edited by Mariette Bey and Maspero, says: "Near the canal of Abou Dibad is found Ramsis, which evidently commemorates an ancient city of Rameses passed over in silence by writers of profane history."

We come now to the results of M. Naville's excavations. Let him describe them himself. "We came," he says, "upon thick walls of crude bricks joined by thin layers of mortar. These walls are remarkably well built, and have a thickness of from two to three yards; the surface being perfectly smooth, and as well polished as possible with such material as

[1] *Store City*, p. 3. [2] *Chronologie*, i. 357, note 6.

Digitized by Google

Nile mud. . . . These are the walls of a great number of rectangular chambers of various sizes, none of which have any communication with each other. . . . At about four yards from the soil the walls stand on natural sand, showing that it is the basis of the building." With regard to the use of these chambers, M. Naville says: "I believe them to have been built for no other purpose than that of storehouses or granaries, into which the Pharaohs gathered the provisions necessary for armies about to cross the desert." He also suggests that "the Ptolemies may have used them as warehouses in the trade with Africa which took place through the Heropolitan Gulf."

Besides these granaries, M. Naville found at Tel-el-Maskhutah eleven monuments containing hieroglyphic inscriptions. The texts on which he relies to prove that he has found the city of Pithom mentioned in Ex. i. 11 are the following: "The good recorder of the abode of Tum;" "the head of the prophets of Tum;" Tum is called "the great god of Thuku." It is said that the abode of Tum is the place where Osorkon II. celebrated festivals. The tablet of Philadelphos, a stone 4 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 2 inches, is doubtless a most important discovery. In its inscriptions it is repeatedly said: "This abode was erected to Tum." Again we read: "When it was reported to the king that the abode was finished for his father Tum, the great God of Thuku, his Majesty went himself to the eighth nome, in the presence of his father Tum."

It must be observed in all these texts that Pithom is invariably the abode, the sanctuary, the house of Tum. It is never called a city. Ankrenp-nefer was the good recorder of the palace, or of the temple of Tum, not of the city of Pithom. He was an ecclesiastical, not a civil officer. In all the eleven monuments found the determinative for city occurs with Pithom but twice, and that in the tablet of Philadelphos of the XXIId dynasty, and in lines which are so badly mutilated that Naville does not attempt to translate them. For all we know, the city of Pithom mentioned in those two lines may be a city fifty miles away. In all the monuments of the time of Ramses II. there is no mention of a *city* Pithom. Thuku, on the contrary, is always accompanied either by the determinative of a city, or of a region inhabited by foreigners. The contrast between Pithom and Thuku, in this respect, is remarkable, and calls for an explanation. It may be asked, Have we not a right to infer that the temple gave a name to the place? We reply, The place already has one name. It is repeatedly called the city of Thuku in the monuments of both the XIXth and the XXIId dynasties, and the region round about is called the region of Thuku, and how *could* it be called Pithom at the same time? M. Naville has found at Tel-el-Maskhutah granaries, storehouses; he has also found a temple sacred to the god Tum; but there is no evidence that he has found a city called Pithom, much less the city which Ex. i. 11 says the Hebrews built for Pharaoh. It is known that Brugsch Bey once claimed that Tanis was the city Ramses of Ex. i. 11. In the "Revue Archæologique" for 1877, pp. 319–325, Maspero denies that the German savant is authorized to set up any such claim. He admits that Brugsch has found in Tanis a temple to the deified Ramses, a Pi-Ramses, a sanctuary, an abode of Ramses; but he asserts that Brugsch has no right to extend the name of the sanctuary to the city, still less to identify the Ramses Tanis thus obtained with the Ramses of Ex. i. 11. He says that such a conclusion is not justified by the facts. What is true on the shores of Lake Menzaleh is equally true on the banks of the

Digitized by Google

river of Trajan. M. Naville has proved that at Tel-el-Maskhutah there was once a temple erected to the god Tum, and he deserves the thanks of the world; but that does not authorize him to write with assurance of the "city of Pithom," or of "Heroöpolis-Pithom," or of "the Stone of Pithom." Before he does that, he must show us in some intelligible connection the words: *em tema Pithom*, or *Pithom nai*. That he has not done.

The assurance of M. Naville is not strange. Turning up from beneath the sands of Egypt a stone bearing the name of Ramses II. and of Pithom would naturally carry conviction to the mind of an enthusiastic Egyptologist. Besides, the announcement of M. Naville's discoveries was made with undue haste, before he had time to read the inscriptions with care, and he must have felt constrained to verify the assertions of his too sanguine friends. It is also a fact that the average man is more ready to defray the expenses of an expedition that may throw light on Sunday-school lessons and refute skeptics than he is to assist merely scientific explorations. To expect a society dependent on patronage to be indifferent to this fact is to expect it to be more than human.

That Heliopolis, the On of the Bible, was an abode of Tum, a Pi-Tum, is abundantly proved by the inscriptions on the obelisk Piazza del Popolo, and on the London and New York obelisks, and also on the table of Pi-ankhi. Nobody, therefore, *doubts the possibility* of exhuming monuments in the vicinity of Heliopolis which will give as conclusive evidence that the Pithom of Ex. i. 11 was *there*, as any inscriptions from Tel-el-Maskhutah yet translated prove that it was elsewhere.

It is possible that the residence of the Hebrews in Egypt encircled a point north of Heliopolis, in the neighborhood of Bubastis. Ruins are there now, called Tel-el-Yehudeh. The Itinerary of Antoninus mentions a place there which is called *vicus Judæorum*, where the high priest Onias had a Jewish temple. We may yet find *there* more conclusive evidence of the site of ancient Pithom than can be given by an altar to the god Tum. That possibility admitted, and it is proof that the *city* of Pithom is not yet found. Moreover, the Thou of Antoninus and the Patumus of Herodotus are not identified. The punctuation of Herodotus which M. Naville borrows from Wesselling, and which would place Patumus near the eastern end of the fresh-water canal, is not adopted by Mr. Sayce in his recent edition of Herodotus, and scholars have been slow to accept it.

M. Naville attaches great importance to a Roman milestone he found, which puts the distance between Heroöpolis and Clysma at nine miles. This only gives in round numbers what Bischoff and Möller state more exactly at eight miles and three quarters.

The Thuku repeatedly mentioned on the monuments M. Naville assumes to be identical with the Biblical Succoth. It is said, and is doubtless true, that the Egyptian *th* is sometimes transcribed by the Hebrew ס sâmekh, and that the Egyptian *u* or *t* is equivalent to the Hebrew תּ. Philologists have not been enthusiastic in adopting this position. Revillout in "The Academy" of April 4th, while evidently admiring the scholarly qualities of the young explorer, and desiring to accept the results indicated in his book, says: "Quant á l'identification de Thuku et de Succoth je n'en dirai rien. On a pour l'égyptien nombre d'examples de *t* changés en *s* et reciproquement. Mais j'avoue que l'argumentation est moins rigoureuse." M. Revillout seems to recognize the principle that

Digitized by Google

reasoning from sound is not necessarily sound reasoning, a principle abundantly illustrated by the Septuagint.

But whether M. Naville has found the city of Pithom or not, he certainly has found the character which, in the nome lists of Philae and Edfou, designates the eighth, the Sethroite nome of Lower Egypt. Any one who is familiar with the efforts which have been made to define the boundaries of this vexatious nome must be grateful for any information concerning it. But the witnesses are still conflicting. Josephus — contra Apion i. 14 — says that the Sethroite nome was the one of which Avaris was the chief city; and the Egypt Exploration Fund has recently assured us that San Tanis is most certainly Avaris; and Brugsch Bey, in his "Dictionnaire géographique," published in 1880, says that it is an incontestible and unassailable certainty that the name Thuku designates, as the Sethroite nome, the region bordering Lake Menzaleh. Strabo is equally explicit. On the authority of Artemidorus he says that as one goes from Pelusium there are two lakes near the marshes, as they are called. The Sethroite nome extends along one of these lakes.[1]

M. Naville supposes that the discovery of the city of Pithom and of the city and district of Thuku authorizes him to infer that the route of the Hebrews from Egypt led from the rich pasture lands near the lakes of Thuku along the northern shore of the Arabian Gulf to the wilderness of Etham, called in the "Papyrus Anastasi VI." "the land of Atumu." He supposes that the sea was only a short distance from Thuku, and covered the present valley of Saba Biar. Their next station was Migdol. M. Naville rejects the Migdolum of the Itinerary, twelve miles from Pelusium, because that would compel him to accept the northern route of Schleiden and Brugsch. He therefore conjectures that Migdol was what is now called the Serapeum, — a ledge of limestone rocks through which Lesseps had especial difficulty in digging his canal,— that between there and Lake Timsah the sea was narrow and shallow, the east wind opened the sea at that point, as it often did, and then the Israelites passed over. The evidence that any sea ever washed the Serapeum is only "conjectural."

The Pikeheret mentioned on the tablet of Philadelphos as a second sanctuary to Tum at Thuku, but not mentioned on any monument of the XIXth dynasty, M. Naville supposes may be the Pi-hahiroth between Migdol and the sea before which the Hebrews encamped.

Nothing can be more apparent, nothing more cheerfully recognized, than the careful, painstaking, scholarly faithfulness with which M. Naville has done his work. It is not too much to say that in all the world no man could be found who would have done that work more satisfactorily to the most fastidious critic. He has given a faultless description and history of opinions of the district in which the excavations were made, a careful translation of the monuments discovered, so far as the mutilations would allow, and some luminous comments on the geography of places supposed to be situated in the eastern part of the Delta, such as Arsinoe, Clysma, and the lake of Kemuer. From the standpoint he assumes, he points out what seems to him to have been the route of the exodus. In addition, he gives a chapter on the history of Ptolemy Philadelphus, reviews the article of Lepsius in the "Zeitschrift" for 1884, "Ueber die Lage von Pithom," and shows, what it was hardly necessary to show, that Tel-el-Maskhutah is not the ancient city of Ramses. With such a record, it goes without saying that his excavations were abundantly remunerative, and his Memoir

[1] Strabo, b. xxii. ch. 1, § 24. See Artemidorus, Hoffmann's edition, p. 239.

Digitized by Google

an honor even to one whose reputation as an Egyptologist was already enviable. This is an age remarkable for its antiquarian discoveries. But yesterday it was said that the very marble slab on which the Saviour reclined at the marriage of Cana in Galilee had been found, even when Cana itself cannot be identified. Now it is possible that this slab is what it professes to be. It is possible that a piece of the cross of Calvary is still preserved at St. Peter's. So it is possible that Heroöpolis is Tel-el-Maskhutah, was once the city of Pithom, was at the same time the city of Succoth, was in the district of Succoth, which was the eighth, the Sethroite nome of Lower Egypt. All this is possible — but possibility is not proof.

Let nothing, however, detract from our high estimate of the value of the work done by M. Naville. The lucid translation of a part of the Tablet of Ptolemy Philadelphos, the lessons it teaches with regard to the money used in the Ptolemaic period, the information it imparts respecting the revenue from two divisions of Egypt, the fact disclosed that the taxes were imposed on persons and on houses, that the annual revenue received by the king was 14,800 talents of silver, that the temples of Egypt received annually 500 silver talents, and that a new date is fixed, the 21st year of the reign of Ptolemy, in the month Choiak, when statues were raised to the divine Philadelphi and their worship established, — the revelation of such facts as these makes the first work of the Egypt Exploration Fund, under the direction of the scholarly Naville, worthy of remembrance.

L. Dickerman.

AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR. By EDUARD SIEVERS, Ph. D., Professor of Germanic Philology in the University of Tuebingen. Translated and edited by ALBERT S. COOK, Ph. D. (Jena), Professor of the English Language and Literature in the University of California. Boston: Published by Ginn, Heath & Co. 1885.

EVERY student of English owes a great debt of thankfulness to Professor Sievers for making his "Angelsaechsische Grammatik." It was published in 1882, and was recognized at once as far superior in fullness and accuracy of treatment of the oldest English dialects to all preceding grammars of the language. It was founded on the prose literature. Since 1882 the most important contribution to Old English grammar is the publication, in 1883, likewise by Professor Sievers, of additions to, and emendations of, his grammar, in Paul and Braune's "Beitraege," ix. 197–300. Besides these materials, Professor Cook has incorporated in the American edition the results of the work of other scholars up to the present, and has produced what is by far the best Old English grammar to be had. It treats of phonology and inflection only; but Americans have the satisfaction of consulting in March's Anglo-Saxon grammar what is acknowledged to be the best treatment of the subject of syntax. While so large a portion of Old English prose literature remains unpublished, or is to be had only in incomplete, untrustworthy published texts, a complete syntax of the language is manifestly out of the question. The Appendix, pp. 221–222, gives a valuable list of the editions of Old English prose texts already published.

Henry Johnson.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

Digitized by Google

SAMUEL ADAMS. By JAMES K. HOSMER, Professor in Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Pp. xv., 442. American Statesmen Series. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

THIS work has been looked for with no ordinary interest by those who have read the admirable monograph, by Professor Hosmer, upon "Samuel Adams, the Man of the Town-Meeting," published last year in the series of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. That essay was a fair outline, an *avant-coureur*, of the larger biography now completed. Its title struck the key-note of the author's purpose in giving a new life of Samuel Adams to the world. It was evidently to present the illustrious patriot in the arena of his greatest strength, to show the origin and growth of his unequaled influence as an organizer of political sentiment, a manager of the caucus, a leader of the Boston town-meeting, and the father of American independence.

Professor Hosmer, though living beyond the Mississippi, is a true son of New England (perhaps all the more so because living away from us), and in studying our institutions he sees in the town-meeting a survival of the old "Folk-Mote" of the Saxons, that "primordial cell of our liberty," to which, with Freeman, he traces much of the spirit and vigor of our democracy. What Samuel Adams would have been without the town-meeting, it would be hard to say. What he was with it, history has recorded, and it is a record, as clear as it is grand, in favor of the freest popular discussion in the municipal forum of all questions affecting the public welfare.

This book supplies a want long felt in our Revolutionary literature. For, while it by no means supplants the well-known work in three volumes by Wells, it puts the substance of those volumes before the people in a more compact and readable form. Mr. Hosmer has also made use of original sources, like the Boston town records and the valuable papers in Mr. Bancroft's possession. And he has read the character and services of his hero in the light of the later criticism, which is certainly free from much of the prejudice which colors the portraiture of Wells, as it did that of the earlier writers. It has taken a full hundred years to give Samuel Adams and his arch-enemy, Hutchinson, their true place in our history. Formerly to praise one was to denounce the other in unsparing language. Now, at last, an author is able to discriminate, and bestow praise or censure where it belongs. He finds not a few kind words for the royal governor, which, indeed, are supported by such ample documentary proof that it will be hardly safe to question his opinion. In the same calm and judicial temper he finds that the patriots were not always above sharp practice in dealing with their foes. Even Adams, pure and incorruptible as he was, did not refuse to employ something like artifice and cunning, at times, to get an advantage in the struggle. Doubtless he and his associates, so many of whom, like himself, were men of scrupulous morality, would have held that their methods were lawful, in the position in which they were placed, just as stratagem among military men is permitted under the ethics of war. Be that as it may, the author's candor and desire for fair play lead us to follow him the more willingly into his discussion of the leaders on both sides, and of the principles which they represent.

The case between England and the Colonies is fairly stated. The chief points in Adams's life and character are well drawn. His masterly services in the town-meeting and in the Assembly take deservedly a large

Digitized by Google

share of the volume. His championship of the doctrine of independence is traced from its early beginning to its brilliant consummation in 1776. His labors in Congress after that event, his influence in framing the Articles of Confederation and the Federal Constitution, are briefly sketched, as are the events of his later life when he was President of the Senate, and Governor of Massachusetts.

The book is remarkably free from errors. One or two of slight importance may be suggested. It has been common to say, as Mr. Hosmer does, that the father of Samuel Adams was a deacon of the Old South Church. This is probably a mistake, arising from the fact that he was made a deacon of the New South Church (in 1726), although he had been a member of the Old South from 1706 to 1715.

It may also be said that Hutchinson's house was sacked at the time of the Stamp Act excitement, but not "destroyed," as stated on page 52.

A good index concludes the book, and the whole is worthily dedicated to Mrs. Hemenway, whose deep interest in promoting historical study is well known among us.

Edward G. Porter.

THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST. By Rev. JAMES STALKER, M. A. 12mo, pp. ix., 235. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1884.

A PICTORIAL style and an original mind unite here. The result is a fascinating work. To compete with Neander, Farrar, or Weiss in depth and scope it makes no pretense. Its plan is more modest: "To exhibit in the briefest possible space the main features and the general course of the Life so as to cause the well-known details to flow together in the reader's mind and shape themselves into an easily comprehended whole."

By this unique method the author has just as many chapters as there are days in the week. One of his charms is a racy homeliness.

Speaking of the youth of Jesus he says, "He would have the same chance of learning Greek as a boy born in the Scottish Highlands has of learning English."

Elsewhere he imbeds a massive argument in a couple of sentences. "Their (the apostles') testimony is not the proof that He (Christ) rose. The incontestible proof is the change itself, — the fact that suddenly they had become courageous, hopeful, believing, wise, possessed with noble and reasonable views of the world's future, and equipped with resources sufficient to found the Church, convert the world, and establish Christianity in its purity among men."

One is struck constantly with the writer's mastery of materials and elevation of tone. There is a progress from good to better. Most readers will attach special value to the fifth chapter, entitled "The Year of Public Favor."

There he makes Jesus' great means of creating attention and enthusiasm to have been his miracles and his preaching. The former were proofs of his mission from the Father, and the natural outflow of the divine fullness which dwelt in Him. They were also symbols of his spiritual and saving work. On man far more than on nature were they wrought. The miracles were an essential part of his Messianic work.

But Jesus' preaching was far more important than his miracles. Its form was essentially Jewish. It was concise, epigrammatic, oracular. His thought ran in the world of images. The parable was his most character-

Digitized by Google

istic mode of speech. The Preacher himself was conspicuous in the eyes of his hearers for authority, boldness, power, and graciousness. Mr. Stalker would add humanity. The matter of his preaching, which was the Kingdom of God in its commonest phrase, was, in its central idea and soul, *Himself*. The Apostolate was, so to speak, the multiplication of his preaching. He made men preachers not merely by the mysteries of his doctrine, but by the influence of his character. That character was charged with purpose, confidence, originality, love to man, sinlessness positive and negative, and love to God.

The last chapter shows high qualities of pathos and grandeur. Speaking of the mysterious woe which was on Jesus at the crucifixion, he says: "He was bearing the sin of the world; and the consuming fire of God's nature, which is the reverse side of the light of his holiness and love, flamed forth against Him to scorch it away." His final paragraph is a protest against pessimism worthy to be written in letters of gold: "The life of Christ in History cannot cease. His influence waxes more and more; the dead nations are waiting till it reach them, and it is the hope of the earnest spirits that are bringing in the New Earth. All discoveries of the modern world, every development of juster ideas, of higher powers, of more exquisite feelings in mankind, are only new helps to interpret Him; and the lifting up of life to the level of his ideas and character is the programme of the human race."

John Phelps Taylor.

MONEY IN POLITICS. By J. K. UPTON, late Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury. With an Introduction by EDWARD ATKINSON. Boston: D. Lothrop and Company, Franklin and Hawley Streets.

"Money used simply as an interposed commodity to facilitate exchanges is man's best friend. With noiseless action it takes from man the products of his labor, and in exchange returns to him the products of all lands and climes, and when its work is accomplished modestly withdraws. It asks for no aid in doing its work: no subsidy, no legislation or monetary conferences to regulate its action. All it ever asks is to be let alone. But man will not let it alone! He needs must attempt to regulate it, and so get it within the domain of legislation, where it does not belong, and brings no end of troubles. Without any excuse legislation has debased it, substituted inferior commodities for it, interposed artificial barriers to its circulation for the alleged benefit of commerce, and by solemn proclamation declared it to possess a value which it had not." — Page xi., Preface.

MR. UPTON, as one may judge from the extract given above, writes in a trenchant and positive style. He writes also from a definite and consistent purpose. His book is an impeachment of American legislation in respect to money. He traces, in a very succinct way, the course of legislation from the beginning, dwelling chiefly upon the periods of financial disturbance under the wars of the nation. In his view the issue of legal tender notes for carrying on the war of the Rebellion was needless. The more heroic method of borrowing in the open market upon the basis of direct and heavy taxation would have been successful, and would have saved the nation to its financial morality. The evil of the method pursued under the war legislation was, in his opinion, not a *necessary* evil. In like manner he denounces the attempt to create a double standard through the recoinage of the silver dollar after the coinage had been discontinued. He points out with clearness the necessary effect of such legislation upon

Digitized by Google

the working classes. It can have no other effect than to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer.

Mr. Upton has written a book of fascinating interest, intelligible to all readers, full of information and sound to the core on all questions of financial legislation. It is of timely value in view of the fact that through the rapid payment of the public debt the bonds will soon be retired through the deposit of which the national banks obtain their circulation, thus reopening again the whole matter of paper circulation for the country.

Wm. J. Tucker.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

George H. Ellis, Boston. Twenty-five Sermons of Twenty-five Years. By William J. Potter. Pp. ix., 417. 1885. $2.00.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. The Russian Revolt. Its Causes, Condition, and Prospects. By Edmund Noble. 16mo, pp. 269. 1885. $1.00; — The Philosophy of Disenchantment. By Edgar Evertson Saltus. Crown 8vo, pp. 233. 1885. $1.25.

Cupples, Upham & Co., Boston. The Four Gospels: Translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf. With the Various Readings of Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Meyer, Alford, and Others; and with Critical and Expository Notes. By Nathaniel S. Folsom, D. D., Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the Meadville Theological Seminary, 1849–61. Third edition. Pp. xxv., 496. 1885.

James Pott & Co., New York. A Study of Origins: or, The Problems of Knowledge, of Being, and of Duty. By E. De Pressensé, D. D., author of "Jesus Christ: His Times, Life, and Work," "The Early Years of Christianity," etc. Second edition. Pp. xxxvi., 515. 1884; — Old Testament Characters. By Cunningham Geikie, D. D., author of "The Life and Words of Christ," "Hours with the Bible," etc. With Seventy-one Illustrations, Chronological Tables, and an Index. Pp. xii., 484; — Reasonable Apprehensions and Reassuring Hints. Being Papers designed to attract attention to the nature of modern unbelief, and to meet some of its fundamental assumptions. By Rev. Henry Footman, M. A., Vicar of Nocton, Lincoln. Pp. x., 173; — The Old and New Testaments in their Mutual Relations. By Frederic Gardiner, D. D., Professor in the Berkeley Divinity School, author of "Harmony of the Gospels in Greek," etc. Pp. ix., 352. 1885.

Phillips & Hunt, New York. The Women of the Reformation. By Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, author of "Women's Work for Jesus," "A Jeweled Ministry," "History of the Woman's Temperance Crusade," etc. With an Introduction by Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood. Pp. 460. 1885. $2.00.

Funk & Wagnalls, New York. New Light on Mormonism. By Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson. With Introduction by Thurlow Weed. Pp. 272. 1885.

Thomas Whittaker, New York. Revelation, Universal and Special. By the Rev. William W. Olssen, S. T. D., Professor of Greek and Hebrew, St. Stephen's College, New York, author of "Personality." Pp. 259. 1885. $1.25.

S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago. Hegel's Æsthetics. A Critical Exposition. By John Steinfort Kedney, S. T. D., Professor of Divinity in the Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minnesota, author of "The Beautiful and the Sublime." 16mo, pp. xviii., 302. 1885. $1.25.

Digitized by Google

THE

ANDOVER REVIEW:

A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

VOL. IV. — AUGUST, 1885. — No. XX.

THE LIFE OF CARDINAL NEWMAN.

IT is usual for us to imagine that there is nothing outside the social, intellectual, or religious world in which we live and act. We divide mankind into two classes — ourselves and the barbarians. The ideas uppermost in our own minds or dominant in the part of the world in which we live seem the only ones worthy of consideration. Advanced thought is our thought, and the spirit of the age means the rule of our opinions. And so we go on, dreaming that the world is moving only in one line, and thinking the real history of the movement of humanity exhausted when it has recounted its advance on that line. Actual history indicates the only wise course for us to pursue. It teaches us that the most diverse and opposite opinions go side by side, and that no knowledge of things as they are can be gained, no picture of the age can be truly painted, without careful and sympathetic consideration of them all. What an erroneous and mistaken conception we should have of the first century of Christian history if we took no account of the opposers and false friends of Christianity, if we left out all consideration of the manifold and warring influences of that eventful era! How little we should know of the actual condition of affairs in the fourth century if history gave no token of the Emperor Julian, and the reactionary movement he represented! How totally inadequate would be a history of the mighty movement of the sixteenth century, which should tell us of Luther, and Calvin, and Cranmer, and ignore the existence of Adrian, of Erasmus, of Thomas More, and St. Philip of Neri! And who could hope to comprehend the religious contentions of the seventeenth century in England from a writer who knew everything about Archbishop Laud and nothing about the Puritans? If it is evident that we cannot know the past without a knowledge of all

Copyright, 1885, by HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co.

Digitized by Google

the elements and influences that were mingled in it, it must be even more evident that we cannot know the signs of the times by fixing our gaze upon one star, however brilliant, but only by surveying the whole heaven. To comprehend our age we must know well not merely Carlyle and Darwin and Martineau; we must know as well John Henry Newman, his life and his works. For when the history of the nineteenth century is written, no influence will be found more pervasive and potent than his.

One experiences much difficulty in writing anything concerning the life of Cardinal Newman. No formal account of him has been written, though I believe that several years ago such a Life was proposed, but since then I have seen no account of it. My brief record of him and his history is what may be gleaned from the papers of Mr. Froude, from the loose-jointed and inconsequential "Reminiscences" of Mr. Thomas Mozley, from the pages of the "Apologia pro Vita Sua," and from occasional revelations in some of his other works. John Henry Newman was born in London, February 21, 1801, and, to use the characteristically definite language of Mr. Mozley, "was baptized a few yards from the Bank of England." His mother, who belonged to the so-called Evangelical portion of the Church of England, was a "modified Calvinist." She faithfully taught her oldest son the Catechism and the Westminster Confession, and he tells us that he "was brought up from a child to take great delight in reading the Bible;" and that he had a perfect knowledge of his Catechism. It is, no doubt, to this early training that he owes his marvelous acquaintance with the English Bible, of which Mr. Mozley tells us, but which need not be told to those familiar with his sermons. His early reading was in the works of the modern Evangelical divines, such as Watts, Baxter, Scott, Newton, and Milner. To Scott he expresses himself as especially indebted. He speaks of him as one "who made a deeper impression on my mind than any other, and to whom (humanly speaking) I almost owe my soul." He "was nothing short of enamored with the long extracts from St. Augustine, and St. Ambrose, and the other Fathers," which he found in the history of Milner; and was, at the same time, convinced by the reading of Newton that the Pope was antichrist. If we judged this period of Newman's life by his "Apologia," we might think that his mind was being directed too much in one channel. We must, however, remember that this book was designed to give only an account of his religious development, and could not well speak of anything else in his life.

Digitized by Google

Mr. Mozley shows us another phase of his character. "Very early," he says, "Newman mastered music as an art, and attained such proficiency on the violin that had he not become a Doctor of the Church he would have been a Paganini. At the age of twelve he composed an opera. His reading, even before he was fifteen, must have been very broad and deep. Paine's tracts and Hume's essays were familiar to him. Voltaire was not unknown, and it is said he was so thoroughly acquainted with Gibbon's great work that he could recite many passages. Still the general temper of his mind must have been thoughtful and devout. The boy who had such a vivid sense of his conversion, at fifteen, that the man writing fifty years later could say that he was more conscious of it than that he had hands and feet, and who could, at about the same time, become convinced "that it would be the will of God that he should lead a single life," could not have been otherwise. When he went up to Oxford, in 1816, it was with the intention, in accordance with the wish of his father, of preparing for the practice of law. But the financial troubles of his father induced him to enter the ministry. How far he may have been moved in this direction by his original purpose I have not been able to discover. It is worthy of remark, however, that two of the great preachers of our time have been governed by influences from without to enter the ministry. Such a fact may well suggest the thought that outward events express the will of God as well as inward impulses. No doubt Newman was equally fitted for both professions, and in the court would have filled a place as prominent as he has occupied in the church. He had begun to make thorough preparation for the legal profession. "He had analyzed the constitution and history of every state in the world, ancient or existing;" and it was a frequent remark of one of his friends, that in Newman a lord chancellor had been thrown away. In 1820 he took his degree, and for three years remained as a scholar at Trinity College, Oxford. In 1823 he was chosen to a fellowship in Oriel, and in 1824 he became curate of St. Clement's, at Oxford. With what feelings he entered the ministry, he tells us in after years (in his "Difficulties of Anglicans"): "Can I forget,—I never can forget, the day when, in my youth, I first bound myself to the ministry of God in that old church of St. Friedesinde, the patroness of Oxford, nor how I wept most abundant and most sweet tears, when I thought what I then had become, though I looked on ordination as no sacramental rite, nor even to baptism ascribed any supernatural virtue." During his ministry at St.

Digitized by Google

Clement's there was a steady elimination of his early Evangelical views, and as steady a development of Anglo-Catholicism. At Oriel he came under the influence of Whately, Dr. Hawkins, Blanco White, and R. H. Froude. Blanco White led him to freer views of inspiration; Dr. Hawkins gave him Sumner's "Treatise on Apostolical Preaching," from which, he says, "I was led to give up my remaining Calvinism, and to receive the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration." Dr. Hawkins also led him to see that the "sacred text was never intended to teach doctrine, but only to prove it, and that if we would learn doctrine we must have recourse to the formularies of the Church; for instance, to the Catechism and the Creeds." In 1823, Rev. William James taught him the doctrine of Apostolic Succession. About this time also he had arrived, by the study of Bishop Butler, at the two fundamental positions which characterize his future theological teaching: first, that the natural is sacramentally connected with the supernatural system, and that probability is the guide of life. His intellectual course does not seem to have been altogether in one direction. There are indications of an inclination towards Rationalism. He criticised some portions of the Athanasian Creed as "unnecessarily scientific," and in his "Essay on Miracles," written in 1825–26, he drew a sharp line of distinction between Scripture and Church miracles. Archbishop Whately accused him of Arianizing, and in the "Apologia" Newman says, "The truth is, I was beginning to prefer intellectual excellence to moral: I was drifting in the direction of the Liberalism of the day." The movement this way must have been very slight, and have produced only a momentary impression. It only shows how minds most decided in their course are not left untouched, as we are apt to suppose, by influences that would have led them in an entirely different direction. In 1828 Newman became vicar of St. Mary's, and from this time onward his influence became potent, not only in the university, but in the county, especially after the publication of his first volume of "Plain and Parochial Sermons," in 1834. From this time he became more associated with those who worked together with him for the revival of the Catholic life of the Church of England — with Keble, with Palmer, and especially with Pusey. It would seem from the "Apologia" that Newman did not become fully conscious of his position, fully alive to its implications, before 1830. In that year he undertook, at the suggestion of Mr. Hugh Rose, a work entitled the "Arians of the Fourth Century." It was the study necessary for this work which

Digitized by Google

fully developed in his mind the idea that "antiquity was the true exponent of the doctrines of Christianity and the basis of the Church of England." But events occurring around him were still more effective in forcing him to see that only by assuming a Catholic position could the Church of England take a dignified attitude or do a worthy work. He had little hope, he says, of the Evangelicals. "I thought they played into the hands of the Liberals." He could not help comparing the condition of his church with that of the church of the fourth century. "With the Establishment thus divided and threatened, thus ignorant of its true strength, I compared that fresh, vigorous power of which I was reading in the first centuries. In her triumphant zeal on behalf of that primæval mystery, to which I had had so great devotion from my youth, I recognized the movement of my Spiritual Mother — 'Incessu patuit Dea.' The self-conquest of her ascetics, the patience of her martyrs, the joyous swing of her advance, both exalted and abashed me. I said to myself, 'Look on this picture and on that;' I felt affection for my own church, but not tenderness; I felt dismay at her prospects, anger and scorn at her do-nothing policy." Thoughts such as these made him feel that there was need of a "second Reformation." It must be confessed that the "History of the Arians" is not interesting reading. It does not justify its title, which should be "Introduction to the History of the Arians." Even then it would be useful only to those who could read between the lines. The work shows us to what fundamental positions the author was working his way; but histories should be results, and not processes. In spite of all this, the book will always have as readers those who wish to know the operation of a youthful and vigorous mind upon the great problems of Christian thought. Upon the conclusion of this work, in 1832, in company with Hurrell Froude, he visited the south of Europe. It was the season of rest before the great work of ten years. All through this vacation time his thoughts were turned towards the work which he so deeply felt needed to be done. He was overwhelmed and indignant at the revolution in France; so much so that he would not look at the tricolor, and refused to see Paris. He could recognize nothing but the overthrow of what he deemed most sacred in the Liberal movement, political and religious, in England. "I had fierce thoughts," he says, "against the Liberals." More and more the consciousness of a work to be done grew upon him. Whatever one may think of his opinions, he cannot, I think, fail to admire the spirit of a

Digitized by Google

man who has moral and spiritual courage to face, if need be alone, what he feels to be a great evil. Criticise as we may, still let us admire. The sense of his mission is revealed in the thought which came to him, that "deliverance is not wrought by bodies, but by persons," and especially in his reply to Dr. Wiseman, who courteously expressed a wish that he and his friend might make a second visit to Rome, — "We have a work to do in England." Poetry seems to have been the solace of Newman during this period of waiting. As one turns over the volume of his poems he is surprised to find how many of them, and how many of the very best of them, were written during 1832–33. "I was writing verses the whole time of my passage." It was while sailing in an orange boat for Marseilles that he wrote that hymn which forever will remain the most perfect expression of religious natures, "Lead, kindly light." There is another poem, not equal in beauty, but more expressive of his conflicting moods, entitled "Zeal and Patience," with the motto, "I, Paul, the prisoner of the Lord:" —

"O comrade bold of toil and pain,
Thy trial how severe!
When severed first by prisoner's chain
From thy loved labor-sphere,
Say, did impatience first impel
The heaven-sent bond to break?
Or couldst thou bear its hindrance well,
Loitering for Jesus' sake?
Oh might we know, for sore we feel
The languor of delay,
When sickness lets our fainter zeal
Or foes block up our way!
Lord, who thy thousand years dost wait
To work the thousandth part
Of thy vast plan, for us create
With zeal a patient heart!"

When he reached home the work had indeed begun. The Sunday after his arrival, July 14, 1833, Mr. Keble preached from the University pulpit his sermon on "National Apostasy." "I have," Newman says, "ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833." It is needless to dwell upon the history of the succeeding twelve years. It was a busy time, occupied with the preaching of sermons, with the writing of tracts and reviews, with the establishment upon firm foundation of his conception of the Church, with keen criticism of those opposed to that position. The world knows the measure of success and failure which the Tractarian movement received. Gradually the

Digitized by Google

great leader felt that he himself was being led by the logic of his position to the Church of Rome, towards which he ostensibly and no doubt sincerely stood in an attitude of antagonism. At last, in order to enable those who had approached much nearer to the doctrines of the Church of Rome than himself, he wrote, in 1841, the famous "Tract No. 90." I doubt if ever in its history the Church of England has been more alarmed and horrified. That men who accepted the dogmas of the Council of Trent should feel themselves at liberty to subscribe the Thirty-Nine Articles seemed a proposition which none but a concealed papist could propose.

Now that we read the "Tract" after a lapse of forty years, we can hardly understand why there should have been any uproar. If the Articles are to be interpreted, they must be, or at any rate may be, interpreted in the light thrown upon them by the homilies and the teachings of the early church. And no one has any right to assume that the Articles were written with the dogmas of Trent in view, when those dogmas were published some years later than the Articles. Some have thought that the way in which "Tract 90" was received tended to drive Dr. Newman from the Church of England. It may have hastened him, but I do not believe that its quiet acceptance would have prevented him from taking the step he did. If he had felt satisfied with that Church, no clamor, even of bishops, would have driven him from its pale. The man who can honestly accept the decrees of Trent will not be long in discovering that his place is not in the Church of England. In 1843 Dr. Newman resigned his care of St. Mary's, and retired to Littlemore, there to consider what course he should pursue. Two years of quiet thought and study convinced him that the Church of Rome was the only true church. On October 8, 1845, he writes to his friends: "I am this night expecting Father Dominic, the Passionist. . . . He does not know of my intention; but I mean to ask of him admission into the One Fold of Christ." A few months later he left Oxford for Oscott, then was sent by Dr. Wiseman to Rome. Here Pius IX., in 1848, formed him with his friends into an oratory, and he has ever since lived in connection with it at Birmingham, England. For a short time, from 1852–57, during which he gave a course of invaluable lectures on University Education, he was rector of the Catholic University at Dublin. In 1880 Leo XIII. recognized his character and ability by creating him Cardinal. It is the singular merit of Cardinal Newman that though he must have given the greatest pain to those from whose communion he departed, he has, nevertheless, retained all his old

Digitized by Google

friends. When in 1878 he returned to Oxford, no one gave him more hearty welcome than Dr. Pusey. All through his life he seems to have been endowed with the gift of attractiveness. In one of his earlier poems he unconsciously recognizes this, when among his many blessings he notes: —

> "Blessings of friends, which to my door,
> Unasked, unhoped, have come."

Those who have ever met him speak of his winning manner, and one at times feels that manner in the printed page. To him one can fitly apply his lines addressed to St. Philip of Neri: —

> "He comes
> By the sweet music of his face,
> And his low tones of tenderness."

All the accounts I have been able to gain of him testify to the completeness of his nature. Froude tells of the perfect development of his senses. So delicate was his taste that, though rarely touching wine, he was appointed to select the wines for the college cellar. The fact of his being so marvelous a musician shows the fineness of the sense of sound, and the words of Mr. Mozley are fine witness to his keenness of observation: "He carried his scenery with him." In addition to logical power of the highest order is added a poetical nature, which, as we shall see, is as evident in his best prose as in his poetry.

His conduct during the time that he was leader of the Tractarian movement shows how much practical wisdom he possessed. We are accustomed to associate this movement with a passion for beauty in the building of churches, and a desire to revive old garments, and to introduce more elaborate and churchly forms of service. It is noticeable that Newman's own church was the last to give up the custom of passing the elements to the communicants in the pews, and that his service was always in the usual way. He was too intent on the substance to think about the form. When the Church was alive to its true mission, then, and not till then, did it seem to him worth while to think of external adornment.

I have been asked, again and again, how it was possible for a man, confessed on all sides to be a profound thinker, a keen logician, a well-informed scholar, in the nineteenth century, after years of training in an adverse communion, to leave it to enter the Church of Rome. So unaccountable on any ordinary grounds was his change of faith that to most the only possible reason was either mental weakness or moral perversity. To the first of these imputed causes Newman's works, and to the second, his life, are

Digitized by Google

ample refutation. But why should it be so antecedently impossible for a man to become a Roman Catholic, even in the nineteenth century, that we must impute such a course to feebleness of mind or depravity of heart, — "as if, forsooth," to use Dr. Newman's own words, "a religion which has flourished through so many ages, among so many nations, amid such varieties of social life, in such contrary classes and conditions of men, and after so many revolutions, political and civil, could not subdue the reason and overcome the heart, without the aid of fraud in the process, and the sophistries of the schools." Independently of ancestral and racial predispositions, it is easy to find the reasons for his change in his personal characteristics and in his fundamental religious conceptions. He only needed to follow the inclination of the former and to accept the logical implications of the latter in order to reach his present position. This is evident enough to any one who has read his books with some degree of attention. In them we learn that when young he was very superstitious; that he always crossed himself when he went into the dark — a practice, no doubt, little taught and less commended by his Calvinistic mother. Then he tells us that he "used to wish the Arabian Tales were true," and adds, "My imagination ran on unknown influences, on magical powers and talismans." Again we learn from him that in his Latin verse book, in 1811, he drew "the figure of a solid cross upright," — nothing strange for a boy to do at the present time, but somewhat strange in a time of which he says, "I am certain there was nothing in the churches I attended or the prayer-books I read to suggest them." Of course many a boy or girl may have such feelings and do such things without ever becoming a Roman Catholic, but in such feelings and acts we may see the implicit preparation of the heart for such a step, — the germs which the stress of logical deduction from certain religious conceptions might easily bring to life. And in his experience this was so. Dr. Newman, in his "Apologia," dwells with evident pleasure upon the fact that he had changed only one of the four fundamental convictions of his faith. From the age of fifteen, he says, "dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion. I know no other religion, I cannot enter into the idea of any other sort of religion. What I held in 1816 I held in 1833 and I hold in 1864. Please God I shall hold it to the end." Then, in the second place, he was confident "that there was a visible church, with sacraments and rites which are the channels of invisible grace." This he still holds as a certitude. In the third place, he always has maintained the same view of the Episcopal system.

Digitized by Google

The fourth conviction is the only one he has abandoned; namely, that the Pope of Rome is antichrist. Great as his change seemed to others, it was not so felt by himself. It did not constitute a break in his life so far as his deepest convictions were concerned. He believed, as we have seen, in a dogmatic system, and a church which was the divinely constituted upholder of that system. The only question for him to answer was whether he was a member of the true church. His first attempt was to convince himself that the Church of England was that church. To this his efforts were devoted from 1833 until he seceded to Rome. In his "Via Media" he endeavored to set forth the principles on which it stood in opposition to Rome and to Protestantism. It is doubtful whether the work ever convinced the author. He is doubtful about it, because it has never been a real system, but only a system on paper. It is as new to most within the Church of England as a Christianity was to the pagan world. Nevertheless, he held it to be best because it stood opposed on the one hand to private judgment, and on the other to a papal infallibility which imposed belief in too many things. He regarded Rome as not in accordance with antiquity. Soon, however, he was startled by the fact that Rome was as much in accordance with antiquity as England. It must explain away and ignore as much of the primitive teaching as its opposer. In spite of himself, he found himself brought back to the exercise of private judgment in finding a warrant for his system in the early church. Then, too, he must pick and choose as well as others. The principle of St. Vincent of Lerins, if applied too rigorously, excluded the Athanasian Creed; if laxly, it included the decrees of the Council of Trent. He had been startled by the thought that his "Via Media" occupied the same position at the present time that semi-Arianism held in the fourth century, and that holding such principles then he would have been arrayed against St. Athanasius. In 1839, while studying the Monophysite controversy, it seemed again that he would have been arrayed against the Church of Rome, which the later history of the Church showed to have been right in its decision as given by Leo I. "I had no longer a distinctive plea for Anglicanism, unless I would be a Monophysite." All that remained now, for theology he says he had none, was to oppose Rome on the ground of its political policy and its popular errors. Nothing, I think, is more pathetic than his attempt to find reasons for not abandoning the church in which he was born and reared. Elijah the prophet did not, when he overthrew the altars of Baal, tell the people to worship

Digitized by Google

at Jerusalem; might there not be an equal reason in the order of providence for his remaining even in this modern Samaria? "A prophet of God was satisfied, in silence, though with a full heart, to build the altar of God of twelve stones, in remembrance of the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob, on the barren top of Carmel, and to do no more. . . . Let us feel certain, as well we may, that however great are the disorders of this present age, and though the unbelieving seek and find not, yet to the humble and lowly, the earnest minded and pure in heart, the Lord God of Elijah still reveals himself. The presence of Christ is still among us in spite of our many sins and the sins of our people." Newman has been severely blamed for remaining in the Church of England, after he had serious misgivings that it was not a true church. But what else could a true man have done? It is a man's duty to stay where he is, and to give the institution in which he was born full trial. Newman had misgivings, but he says, and no one can doubt his sincerity, that he did not know but those misgivings might issue in the conviction that his original position was right after all. Why needlessly incur the reproach of fickleness? He was dissatisfied with England, not satisfied with some of the doctrines of Rome. Such a condition would make it impossible to be a minister in the Church of England, yet he might honestly remain in it as a layman. In 1843, when he retired to Littlemore, it was with the intention of thoroughly working out the problem that so long had vexed him. Gradually he became convinced of the unsatisfactoriness of the notes of his church. Then he became more sure that England was in schism than that the developments of Rome were not true. And then he became convinced that development of doctrine was necessary to the true life of the church, as growth is necessary to the body, and that all that that development needs is the infallible guidance of its head. Twelve years of earnest and intense thought had brought him to this position. We may regret the event, but we have no right to impugn the motives or to disparage the intellectual powers that led to it. Motives of selfishness would have kept him where he was. No one ever reasoned more ably from his fundamental conceptions. It would leave a wrong impression to speak as if the influences which swayed Newman were wholly speculative. He was influenced as well by outward events as by reasoning. It had become evident to him that the Liberalism which he had made it his mission to oppose was in various forms steadily gaining in the Church. It was evident in the appointments to bishoprics, in acts like the es-

Digitized by Google

tablishment of the bishopric at Jerusalem, in the fierce opposition to Catholic opinions by bishops and clergy, in the apathy and indifference on the part of the Establishment. Even the bishops for whose honor he was so zealous would not accept the homage he proffered. He speaks of this in his "Difficulties of Anglicans." "A bishop's lightest word *ex cathedra* is heavy," said a writer of the "Tracts for the Times." "His judgment on a book cannot be light, it is a rare occurrence." And an archbishop answered from the other side of St. George's Channel: "Many persons look with considerable interest to the declarations on such matters that are put forth by bishops in their charges and on other occasions. But on most of the points to which I have been alluding a bishop's declarations have no more weight, except what they derive from his personal character, than any anonymous pamphlet would have; . . . and as to legislation for the Church or authoritative declarations on many of the most important matters, neither any one bishop nor all collectively have any more right of this kind than the ordinary magistrates have to take on themselves the functions of Parliament." There was little comfort here, and little ground of assurance for the Anglo-Catholic position, and Newman must have felt this — and deeply.

The feelings which at last in some measure prompted Newman to leave the Church are beautifully and pathetically expressed in the last sermon which he preached from its pulpit. "O my mother, whence is this unto thee that thou hast good things poured upon thee, and canst not keep them, and bearest children, yet darest not own them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their services? nor the heart to rejoice in their love? How is it that whatever is generous in purpose, and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom and finds no home within thine arms? . . . Thine own offspring, the fruit of thy womb, who love thee, and who would toil for thee, thou dost gaze upon with fear, as though a portent, or thou dost loathe as an offense; at best thou dost endure," etc. Words like these could only have been extorted by a grievous experience, and could only have been spoken by a man who loved his church, who would not desert her until the last word had been said in her favor, and until a stern logical necessity made separation the only possible course.

The published works of Newman fill thirty-five volumes, and abundantly testify to the thoroughness and extent of his knowledge and the versatility of his mind. His "History of the Arians,"

Digitized by Google

his "Primitive Church" and his annotations on St. Athanasius, his "Historical Sketches," reveal his intimate acquaintance with the history of the early church. No work of fiction has ever given its readers a clearer view of the outward forms and inward spirit of the Christianity of the third century, especially in Africa, than his "Callista." Its attractiveness for empty hearts and troubled minds, the vigor of its life even in its apparent death, its power to recall the careless and indifferent and to reanimate fainting souls, has never been more happily portrayed. The writer of such a book must have had, in his mind and heart, a picture of the church of that far distant time and clime as vivid and real as that of the church at whose altars he served.

His lectures on education, contained in the volume entitled "Ideas of a University," are rich in suggestion to any mind that is thinking earnestly upon the vital question of the purpose and method of education. The spirit of the work is well stated in his definition of a university training: "A university training is the great ordinary means to a great, but ordinary end; it aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm, and fixed aims to popular aspiration, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power, and refining the intercourse of private." From this we see that his idea of education is not the one just now prominent, but it is none the worse, and perhaps all the better, for that. His two ablest works, — works which give him a high place among the thinkers on the profoundest subjects that can occupy the human mind, almost as important as the study of the crayfish, — are the "Development of Christian Doctrine," and the "Grammar of Assent." Both works are valuable and interesting, not only because of the power of thought and extent of information and richness of suggestion that are to be found in them, but because they are the operations of a great and earnest spirit upon problems that had for a long time occupied and exercised it as practical matters. The reasons upon which Newman based his opposition to Rome were not ecclesiastical, but doctrinal and practical. He thought it was not in accordance with antiquity and had made additions which were opposed to its teachings. As he became more convinced that England was in schism, he was more anxious to inquire whether the developments of Rome were or were not justifiable. This is the question which he worked out for himself between 1843 and

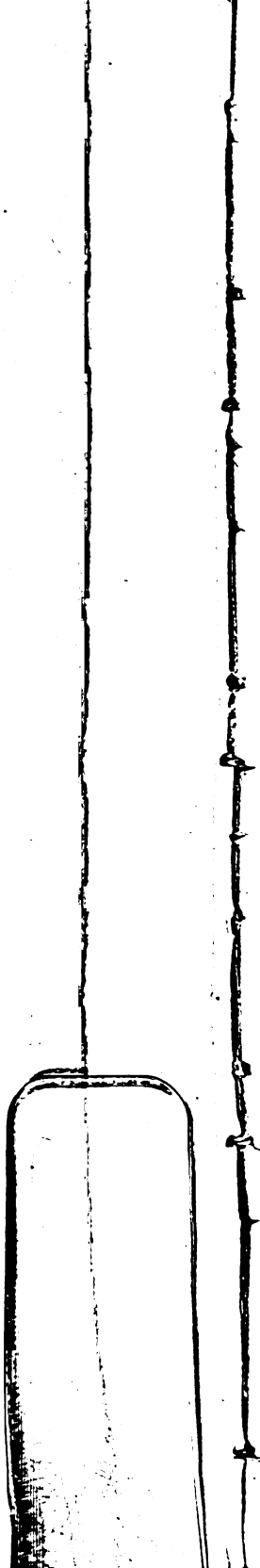
Digitized by Google

1845 at Littlemore. In this work he seeks to show that what we find in the later forms of Christianity is a legitimate development of the divine *depositum* intrusted to the church. He shows that we must have a theory of Christianity in order to rightly understand its history. Protestantism has its theory of a church corrupted at the very beginning, and waiting to be illuminated by Luther and Calvin. Anglicans have theirs of the universality in time and place of all necessary Christian doctrine. He therefore has at least a *prima facie* right to apply the theory of development. Indeed, interpretation of Scripture is a kind of development, and experience shows that living truths do not remain fixed, but unfold all that is in them according as human minds see them in clearer light, or as human circumstances compel new applications. The only question to be asked of any form of doctrine, however much it may seem to differ from antiquity, is whether it is a true or false development. To determine this, he lays down certain tests, which he applies in the light of history to various doctrines; for example, of purgatory, invocation of saints, papal supremacy. Still he does not feel justified in resting upon these tests, but contends that if there must in the nature of the case be a continuous development of doctrine, there must be a guide, and an infallible guide, which he further contends is no more of an assumption, in the light of his argument, than the assumption of Protestants and Anglicans that there must be either an infallible book to reveal or an infallible church to protect true doctrine. Whatever one may think of the adequacy of the argument, or the fitness of its application, no one can read it without having awakened within him thoughts that will help him in reading and thinking upon the history of the Christian ages. Certainly, if Christian doctrine is a development, and the right intellectual conception of Christian truth in every period of its unfolding is a necessity, the inference which Newman makes seems well nigh irresistible.

In the "Grammar of Assent," a work which has received far less attention than it deserves, we have what is indeed a plea for certitude, which may be founded on a number of probabilities. Newman early accepted the theory of Bishop Butler, that probability is the guide of life. But a deeply religious mind must always feel, with St. Bernard, that faith is not an opinion, but a certitude. The question which Newman attempts to answer is, How can we find certitude? Not, certainly, by a mere summing up of the probabilities, from which we may draw an inference which is probably true, but by making a venture of faith, and going far beyond what

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

not altogether one-sided in my mental conceptions and moral views, if I have not been warped unduly by the time-spirit, I owe it to him whom I have been trying to present in the beauty of his life and the greatness of his thought. I can only trust that the love which prompted the intention may gain me pardon for the insufficiency of its accomplishment.

Francis B. Hornbrooke.

NEWTON CENTRE, MASS.

THE BECKET OF MR. FROUDE AND OF LORD TENNYSON.

TWO considerations combine to render the study before us one of more than usual interest. The first of these is the position long since taken by Mr. Froude in regard to the closeness of the relationship that exists between history, in its true form, and the drama. In his lecture on "The Science of History," delivered before the Royal Institution twenty-one years ago last February, he advanced the claim that "there are periods, and these the periods for the most part of greatest interest to mankind, the history of which may be so written that the actors shall reveal their characters in their own words; where mind can be seen matched against mind, and the great passions of the epoch not simply be described as existing, but be exhibited at their white heat in the souls and hearts possessed by them. There are all the elements of drama — drama of the highest order — where the huge forces of the times are as the Grecian destiny, and the power of man is seen either stemming the stream till it overwhelms him, or ruling while he seems to yield to it." "'Macbeth,' were it literally true, would be perfect history; and so far as the historian can approach to that kind of model, so far as he can let his story tell itself in the deeds and words of those who act it out, so far is he most successful."

The second consideration adding interest to our study is this: Ten years have elapsed since the Laureate first seriously devoted himself to the drama. The appearance of "Queen Mary," in 1875, marked a new and transitional epoch in the development of his genius. Public opinion was for a long time divided as to his wisdom in entering, at so late a period of life, a hitherto untried field. As discriminating and cultivated a critic as Mr. Richard

Digitized by Google

Holt Hutton gave expression to the sentiment that "though he — the poet — has the dramatic mind, yet his mind is not in the first instance, and by instinct, dramatic. On the contrary, you see that drama is, to a certain extent, foreign to him, and puts the curb on his favorite modes of thought." Of the truth of this criticism, at the time, we think there can be no question. Nor was it a fact at all to be wondered at. For if the transplanting of a flower is accompanied by a temporary arrest of its life's expression, how much more the transplanting of so delicate a growth as the poetic genius!

The appearance of "Harold," in 1876, brought evidence to the observing critic that the restraint under which Tennyson had labored in the production of his first drama was yielding before the influences of his new intellectual surroundings. The modes of thought long familiar to the writer of "The Idylls of the King" were manifestly giving way to those essential in the dramatist. Weaknesses that had been descried by the critics of "Queen Mary" were either not repeated or repeated at less frequent intervals in "Harold."

And now we have "Becket," "not intended in its present form to meet the exigencies of the modern theatre," as the poet says in his dedication to the Lord Chancellor, and yet eminently fitted, as we believe, for the best setting that histrionic art can give it. Without question it has its defects; and certain critics, whose main occupation is that of fault-finding, are already using these in such a way as to bring the entire drama into disfavor. But even the filmed eye of the dying insect can detect the crevice that has escaped the keen vision of the architect. As Landor says, in his "Imaginary Conversation" between Southey and Porson: "Fleas know not whether they are upon the body of a giant or upon one of ordinary size, and bite both indiscriminately." "God, in the creation, left his noblest creature at the mercy of a serpent." "Becket" will survive the rancor of the critics, as the music of Händel has survived the ridicule of Swift. It is full of the beauty and strength that characterize the richest productions of the genius of the Laureate. Among the "Fair Women" of his creation, Rosamund — the rose of the world — will rank beside "the lily-maid of Astolat" and that "Rose in roses," the gardener's daughter, so long as English poetry is read. Against the blackness of Eleanor's murderous jealousy and unwomanly impurity, her faithful love and perfect chastity shine like stars against the midnight skies.

Digitized by Google

But we cannot dwell upon the beauties of the play. Our purpose in this paper is simply to direct attention to the contrast between the Becket of Mr. Froude and the Becket of Lord Tennyson. It is both interesting and suggestive that the year which saw the publication for the first time of "Queen Mary" also saw the publication of Canon Robertson's "Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury." These "Materials" were immediately used by Mr. Froude, in a series of articles that made their appearance in "The Nineteenth Century" under the title "The Life and Times of Thomas Becket." It will be remembered by some at least of our readers that the accuracy of many of Mr. Froude's statements was very seriously called in question by Mr. Freeman in the "Contemporary Review," and that the result of his criticism was a rather acrimonious interchange of articles between the two. It is by no means improbable — indeed, we regard it as measurably certain — that the interest of the Laureate in the character of "the great Archbishop," which has culminated in his latest and greatest drama, took its rise in this dispute. And perchance one of the purposes which this poetic growth will serve for coming time will be that of concealing from the view of the casual reader of English history the bloodless duel of these two distinguished historiographers. It is said that Marlborough's acquaintance with the history of his native land was altogether derived from the dramas of Shakespeare. Why may not the Marlboroughs of the future search for the truth as to the life and times of Thomas Becket, not in the caustic and contradictory pages of Froude and Freeman, but in the graceful verses of Lord Tennyson?

It is a matter of considerable difficulty for the student of history so to disentangle himself from the associations of the present as to regard the events of the past with an unbiased judgment; to look upon the characters that have stamped themselves upon their times as from a contemporaneous point of view. Yet this is certainly the only just method of studying history. Fairly to judge of the great men of the past, rightly to construe their actions and sound their motives, we must descend from the heights on which we find ourselves, in the good providence of God, and enter the mists that overhang the lowlands wherein their lives were cast. "Motives which in one age are languid and even unintelligible have been in another alive and all-powerful." Though truth and justice are eternal and unchangeable, yet the power to discover and move along the lines of truth and justice is variable. What

Digitized by Google

to us may have the clear verity of an axiom, to our fathers may have been not at all evident as true. The privileges of the present are our inheritance from the travailings of the past.

The life of Thomas Becket was lived at a period in the world's history when the struggle for the settlement of a great principle was at its fiercest. "It was a struggle," says Archbishop Trench, in his "Mediæval Church History," "not for victory upon some one point, but upon all; such as should forever determine who should reign, and who should serve; and with all the fair words which, from time to time, passed between the combatants during the treacherous pauses of the battle, there was no self-deception upon either side as to its real meaning — that it could only end with the complete subjugation of the one or of the other." Was the Church to have the prerogative of the King of kings, or was it not? Was it to possess the power to say in his words, "By me kings reign and princes decree justice," or not? This the question long in dispute. This the question in his attempted settlement of which Thomas Becket stands out against the background of history a king among kings, an honest champion of error.

The son of parents in moderate circumstances but of reputable character, Becket won his own way to the stations he came successively to occupy. He attained his dignities not by force of circumstance, but by his native genius. His consciousness of latent power rendered him too independent to be either mere courtier or mere ecclesiastic. There was that in him which made him the superior of "diagonalizing" Pope or temporizing king. To secure victory no weapon seemed to him too humble, no stroke too bold. His spirit was, indeed, that which Hume pronounces it, "most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible." And this spirit characterized him in whatever he undertook, whether in the interest of state or of church. His grandeur was that he could not waver. As chancellor — the representative of English power — all his genius, his intrepidity, and inflexibility were devoted to advancing the interests of England. As archbishop of Canterbury — the representative of Rome, whose empire was broader than that of England — all his genius, his intrepidity, and inflexibility were devoted to furthering the interests of Rome. He found it impossible to hold at once the Great Seal and the crozier, and, returning the former, retained the latter. He found it impossible to live as archbishop as he had lived as chancellor. He had been

> "A lover of wines and delicate meats
> And secular splendours, and a favourer

Digitized by Google

> Of players, and a courtier, and a feeder
> Of dogs, and hawks, and apes, and lions, and lynxes."

He adopted with his consecration to the archbishopric the life of a penitent.

As to the general facts of his history, historian and dramatist necessarily agree. It is in the characterization of the man that the disagreement is to be remarked. The Becket of Froude stands before us a man of unconquerable ambition and matchless audacity; a man who, fearless whether of God or of man, pursued any desired end without regard to the moral quality of the means employed; a man who with equal readiness could condescend to all the meannesses of subterfuge or ascend to the majesty of martyrdom; a man kingly with kings, beggarly with beggars, knavish with knaves; a man who could make promises without the slightest intention of keeping them, and who could violate his most solemn oaths without tremor of conscience or pallor of cheek; a man who could fain sickness to escape the just consequences of rascality, and play the hypocrite to win the plaudits of the crowd, doing penance while destitute of penitence, and shedding tears while hatching treason.

According to Mr. Froude, Becket's acceptance of the archbishopric was at the price of his honor. He took the crozier to break the crown. "An honorable man," writes the historian, "would have given his master warning, . . . and it is certain he did not." The "human conscience" was not, indeed, altogether the slave of the "ecclesiastical conscience," for he had some scruples against abusing the confidence of so generous a master. But they were at length quieted by casuistry.

The action of Becket in the matter of the Constitutions of Clarendon affords Mr. Froude another opportunity of detecting rascality. These Constitutions, it will be remembered, were an attempt at a distinct definition of the respective rights of state and church within the bounds of England. They had the support, from the first, of the bishops, a craven set of time-servers, to whom the protection of a near and determined king signified more than the displeasure of a vacillating Pope at a distance. It was the king's will that these "Constitutions," or "customs," should receive the signatures and seals of his prelates. Becket, after obstinate resistance, was at length induced to sign; but, having complied, he endeavored to give the impression to those who were jealous for the rights of the Church that he was deeply contrite for his weakness, by suspending himself from the service

Digitized by Google

of the altar until he should receive absolution from the Pope. His promise of conformity Mr. Froude declares to have been "given dishonestly," for "he did not mean to be bound by the Constitutions at all;" and as to his expressions of penitence, they were "affected," the utterances of policy, not of sincerity.

In the archbishop's flight to France, Mr. Froude detects no motive save that of fear for personal safety; in his excommunication of the bishops who took part in the coronation of the young prince, but the vindictive and spiteful act of a jealous prelate; and in his return to England, after his long self-exile, and bold march from Canterbury to London and towards Winchester, but the insolence of a proud and ambitious agitator. "Had Becket been Anselm, he might have been credited with a desire to promote the interests of the Church, not for power's sake, but for the sake of those spiritual and moral influences which the Catholic Church was still able to exert at least in some happy instances. But no such high ambition was to be traced either in Becket's agitation or in Becket's own disposition. He was still the self-willed, violent, unscrupulous chancellor, with the dress of the saint upon him, but not the nature. His cause was not the mission of the Church, — to purify and elevate mankind, — but the privilege of the Church to control the civil government, and to dictate the law in virtue of magical powers which we now know to have been a dream and a delusion. His personal religion was not the religion of a regenerated heart, but a religion of self-torturing ascetism; a religion of the scourge and the hair-shirt; a religion in which the evidences of grace were to be traced, not in humbleness and truth, but in the worms and maggots which crawled about his body. He was the impersonation, not of what was highest and best in the Catholic Church, but of what was falsest and worst."

The reader of Mr. Froude's sketch will find it impossible to reconcile his summing up of the character of Becket with the actions of the man as he himself records them. The first essential of spiritual identification is consistency. We know the man of to-day one with the man of yesterday; not, indeed, by the similarity of his actions, but by the principle of unity running through his actions. Had it been mere personal ambition by which Becket was inspired, then how account for his refusal to conjoin in himself the double honor of the chancellorship and archbishopric? The functions of the two offices need not necessarily have conflicted. The Great Seal and the Cross might have together made him Master both of England and the continent. As such he could

Digitized by Google

have moved kings and bishops and knights with the same skill which he exhibits when, in the Prologue of Lord Tennyson's drama, he deals with their counterparts on the chess-board in his instructive game with Henry, wherein king is checkmated by bishop. Had it been devotion to the secular interests of the Church that controlled him, then how account for the leniency of his treatment of the king? Why did he not let fly the arrows of his anathemas against this arch-enemy of the Church? Why show him tenderness, when he spared not those invested with the sacred office of high-priesthood? Mr. Froude's Becket, we repeat, is inconsistent with himself.

Now it is just where the historian has failed that the dramatist has succeeded. The Becket of Lord Tennyson is consistent with himself from the beginning to the end of the drama. The interest of the drama culminates, not in the struggle going on between the state and the Church, but in another struggle going on within the breast of Becket between his old attachment to the king and his new attachment to the Church — a struggle between private love and public duty. Here is the real tragedy, enacted not in Canterbury's transept, but in the heart of Canterbury's archbishop. And in this fact lies the transcendent power and pathos of "Becket." We have here disclosed to us the secret of the apparent inconsistencies of the primate. Against the shadowy background of his weaknesses we see his strength. The key of the drama is to be found in Becket's apostrophe to the Great Seal ere he returns it to the king.

> "O thou Great Seal of England,
> Given me by my dear friend, the king of England, —
> We long have wrought together, thou and I —
> Now I must send thee as a common friend
> To tell the king, my friend, I am against him.
> We are friends no more: he will say that, not I.
> The worldly bond between us is dissolved,
> Not yet the love: can I be under him
> As chancellor? as archbishop over him?
> Go therefore like a friend slighted by one
> That hath climbed up to nobler company.
> Not slighted — all but moaned for: thou must go.
> I have not dishonour'd thee — I trust I have not;
> Not mangled justice. May the hand that next
> Inherits thee be but as true to thee
> As mine hath been! O my dear friend, the king!
> O brother! — I may come to martyrdom.
> I am martyr in myself already."

It is an apostrophe that raises the Laureate far up toward the

Digitized by Google

level of the great master who put into the lips of Prince Hal his apostrophe to England's crown, and wrote the matchless soliloquy of the fallen cardinal. It gives us, as we have said, the key to the entire drama. It is the prediction of the culmination of the struggle which the drama records — an outer martyrdom, the counterpart of an inner and a sadder one.

From scene to scene we trace the progress of this struggle. After having gone over what seem to him the evidences of his divine call to the ecclesiastical office, in an outburst of complete self-surrender he exclaims: —

> "All my doubts I fling from me like dust,
> Winnow and scatter all scruples to the wind,
> And all the puissance of the warrior,
> And all the wisdom of the chancellor,
> And all the heap'd experiences of life,
> I cast upon the side of Canterbury."

> "O Herbert, here
> I gash myself asunder from the king
> Tho' leaving each a wound; mine own a grief
> To show the scar forever — his, a hate
> Not ever to be heal'd."

It is this same struggle we see continued in the scene wherein is described Becket's signing of the Clarendon Constitutions. Mr. Froude, it will be remembered, charges that this signing was the act of "dishonesty." Lord Tennyson, however, represents Becket as obstinately refusing to sign until fully persuaded that it was for the honor of his friend, the king, and for the interest of the Church that he should do so. He resists the importunity of the bishops, and pays no heed to the fierce demands of the unmannerly barons, save to defy them. But when Hilary entreats him for the king's honor, —

> "He hath sworn that thou shouldst sign and now but shuns
> The semblance of defeat; I have heard him say
> He means no more;"

and when Philip de Eleemosyna pleads compassion for the Pope, "sorely prest by the fierce emperor and the Antipope," and informs him that, although His Holiness had given no express order to his almoner, yet it was his wish that Becket should comply, —

> "Over and over
> He told me thou shouldst pacify the king,
> Lest there be battle between heaven and earth,
> And earth should get the better for a time," —

then moved by these two considerations, — the king's honor and the Pope's strait, — he signs.

Digitized by Google

The after penitence which the historian regards as "affected" the poet makes intensely real. No sooner has the archbishop affixed his signature than he detects upon the countenances of those about him evidences of their duplicity, and of the fraud that had been perpetrated on him. In the bitterness of self-condemnation he cries out: —

> "False to myself — it is the will of God
> To break me, prove me nothing of myself!
> This almoner hath tasted Henry's gold,
> The cardinals have fingered Henry's gold,
> And Rome is venal even to rottenness.
> I see it, I see it
> . . . . . .
> Herbert, till I hear from the Pope
> I will suspend myself from all my functions."

And in proof of the sincerity of his contrition, when Foliot, Bishop of London, calls upon him to affix his seal to his signature, he answers: —

> "Seal? If a seraph shouted from the sun
> And bad me seal against the rights of the Church
> I would anathematize him. I will not seal."

and from this position he never recedes.

As to Becket's flight to France, which Mr. Froude ascribes to "fear for his personal safety," the Laureate holds that it was not death but failure that he feared. The messengers of the king were under way to the Pope to attempt to induce him to confirm the Constitutions with a bull. England's gold had already discovered the secret way to Alexander's will. In Walter Map's words, "I have heard say that if you boxed the Pope's ears with a purse you might stagger him, but he would pocket the purse." Under the circumstances, therefore, Becket felt that if he could in person see Alexander, and represent to him the true facts of the case and how the Church stood as to its interest in England, he might, at least, delay action. Therefore it was he said to Herbert, "For the sake of the Church, if not for my own, I must fly to France to-night." Fear for himself was not one of his characteristics. He had proved himself in the war with Lewis for the succession of Toulouse a "stout man-of-arms," to use Mr. Freeman's words. He had thrown "the mightiest knight of France, Sir Engelram de Trie;" Foliot himself had been led to question, from his own experience, whether Becket's arm was "an arm of fast;" he had just faced the pack of ravenous baron-wolves who hated him with all the jealous hatred of conscious inferiority; and was he the man to

Digitized by Google

run away through fear? No! He went with full intention of returning when his mission should be accomplished; went, knowing that his departure would be construed as treason, and that by going he was but confirming the sentiment, that was becoming more and more widely current, that his failure to account for his chancellorship in accordance with Henry's demand was due to his consciousness of wrong-doing rather than to any conscientious scruples against appearing before a civil tribunal. But he could not be persuaded that "sons should sit in judgment on a father."

> "Who but the bridegroom dares to judge the bride,
> Or he the bridegroom may appoint?"

And so when Henry, in the bitterness of his disappointment, had sent messengers to demand of him first "three hundred marks due from his castles of Berkhamstead and Eye;" then "seven hundred marks lent at the siege of Thoulouse;" then "five hundred marks advanced by the Jews;" and, finally, "thirty or forty thousand marks, revenues from the vacant sees and abbacies," Becket had made answer: —

> "O my good lord Leicester,
> The king and I were brothers. All I had
> I lavish'd for the glory of the king;
> I shone from him, for him, his glory, his
> Reflection; now the glory of the Church
> Hath swallow'd up the glory of the king;
> I am his no more, but hers."

The memory of past service prompted by sincerest affection for his sovereign surged in upon him in this hour of trial, and, despite his devotion to the Church, compelled him to demand "one day" wherein to ponder on his final decision.

It is the same inward struggle to be witnessed later at Montmirail. There he addressed Henry as his "dear liege," and, kneeling at his feet, yielded the controversy to him "saving God's honor." The king was of too small a nature to appreciate an attachment that could not yield implicit obedience without regard to conscience; of too small a nature, too supremely selfish, to recognize in his old "friend," "co-mate," and "co-king," the struggle bitterer than death that was in progress, the issue of which was, indeed, to be death.

And later still, in the Traitor's Meadow at Frèteval, it was no insincere profession of affection that Becket made to Henry in the words,

> "My liege, your will and happiness are mine,"

even while he insisted on justice for "the Spouse of the Great

Digitized by Google

King," Henry's King. It is not the language of a traitor but of a true man — however mistaken in his convictions — that we have in the closing passage of this scene, one of the strongest in the whole drama: —

"I live to die for it, I die to live for it.
The state will die, the Church can never die,
The king's not like to die for that which dies;
But I must die for that which never dies.
. . . . . .
When my voice
Is martyr'd mute, and this man disappears,
That perfect trust may come again between us,
And there, there, there, not here I shall rejoice
To find my stray sheep back within the fold."

It was fidelity to the king that brought Becket to the bower of Rosamund in time to save her life from the dagger of the jealous Eleanor. Where love found no antagonism in duty, love for his liege no antagonism in duty to the Church, there love was ever active, ever ready with its sacrifices.

And what save this love was it that held him back from the excommunication of the king? Mr. Froude is not able to give any satisfactory explanation of this fact. He would have us believe that it was due alone to that native chivalry that would have kept him from striking a sick peasant as well as a sick king. But the poet, with truer instinct, tells the secret in this passage from the second scene of the last Act, which we are constrained to give entire.

ROSAMUND.

My lord, you have not excommunicated him?
Oh, if you have, absolve him!

BECKET.

Daughter, daughter,
Deal not with things you know not.

ROSAMUND.

I know *him*.
Then you have done it, and I call *you* cruel.

JOHN OF SALISBURY.

No, daughter, you mistake our good archbishop;
For once in France the king had been so harsh,
He thought to excommunicate him — Thomas,
You could not — old affection master'd you,
You falter'd into tears.

ROSAMUND.

God bless him for it.

Digitized by Google

BECKET.

Nay, make me not a woman, John of Salisbury,
Nor make me traitor to my holy office.
Did not a man's voice ring along the aisle,
"The king is sick and almost unto death?"
How could I excommunicate him then?

ROSAMUND.

And wilt thou excommunicate him now?

BECKET.

Daughter, my time is short; I shall not do it.
And were it longer — well — I should not do it.

And in the last dark hour, when the conspirators were seeking to anger him into saying or doing what might warrant them in fulfilling their murderous design, how grandly flashes out the truth against the blackness of their malice!

"Reginald, all men know I loved the prince.
His father gave him to my care, and I
Became his second father: he had his faults,
For which I would have laid mine own life down
To help him from them, since indeed I loved him,
And love him next after my lord his father.
Rather than dim the splendour of his crown
I fain would treble and quadruple it
With revenues, realms, and golden provinces
So that were done in equity."

And then, when death was just upon him, and the courage born of faith and a good conscience would not suffer him to flee, with the confidence of one who could find no occasion to look back with regret upon a career fast drawing to its close, he answered the cry of his approaching assassins, "Where is this treble traitor to the king?" —

"Here.
No traitor to the king, but priest of God,
Primate of England."

And so he died, the victim not of his own pride, not of a personal ambition, but of a mistaken conviction of duty. From the beginning of his archbishopric he had anticipated death as the necessary consequence of his acceptance of the office. The shadow of martyrdom had ever accompanied him. That shadow, ever deepening, had been to him not so much a warning as an invitation. He had resisted the importunity of friends who would have saved him from the event. He had pressed on with an inflexibility of purpose, like that of him who "set his face steadfastly to go to Jerusalem," with its cross clearly in view; or like that of him

Digitized by Google

who went to Jerusalem, knowing that bonds and afflictions awaited him. He repented his one act of weakness as truly and as bitterly as did his great successor to the archbishopric of Canterbury, Cranmer, repent his recantation.

Mr. Froude informs us that, at his acceptance of the Archbishopric, Becket was "past the time of life at which the character can be seriously changed. After forty, men may alter their opinions, their policy, and their conduct, but they rarely alter their dispositions; and Becket remained as violent, as overbearing, as ambitious, and as unscrupulous, as he had shown himself when chancellor." He refuses to credit the primate with any sincere desire of reforming the Church, and represents him as self-seeking and autocratic throughout his entire course. But the poet, looking with the clearer eyes of a larger charity, discerns the higher motives behind the actions. Never in human history did man stoop so low as for mere ambition's sake to wash with his own hands the feet of beggars, and dress the sores of lepers. Ambition has its bounds in nature. And when Becket was come to the highest point possible for him to attain, what need was there of such ministrations? They could not give him greater power. Even the philosophy of the historian admits itself puzzled by this inconsistency. Surely these acts were those of a sincere man, whatever may be said as to the mistaken character of his convictions.

We close Lord Tennyson's "dramatic memorial" with a higher sense of the grandeur of true manhood. Even a mistaken conviction of duty may urge one along the way to true glory. How far Becket, living in an age of general gloom, was responsible for his convictions, it is not ours to determine. But in his devotion, however mistaken its object, he stands before the ages a grand witness to the truth that right can under no circumstances enter into a compromise with wrong; that life and love must yield them to the sacrificial knife or ever conscience prove unfaithful to itself.

Newell Woolsey Wells.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN CRIME.

To those interested in the cause of Prison Reform it is a sad and discouraging reflection that, with but rare exceptions, the common jails of this continent are to-day little in advance of the jails of fifty years ago. The age claims to be eminently philanthropic

Digitized by Google

and progressive, and yet the humiliating fact confronts us that at least in this particular field of philanthropic labor — and a most important field it is — the progress made during the past half century is utterly insignificant. This paper deals only with the jails of this continent, but our condemnation of the modern common jail need hardly be confined to those of the New World, for even in the most advanced countries of the Old World the common jails are, as a rule, hardly a whit more efficacious in suppressing crime than those frightful sinks of vice and fever which Howard visited more than a century ago, and which stamped with eternal disgrace the civilization of the eighteenth century.

Our indictment, be it observed, relates exclusively to *common or county jails*, by which are meant all prisons, however designated, which are intended for short-sentenced prisoners, as distinguished from state prisons or penitentiaries, where long-sentenced prisoners are confined. With the latter class of prisons we do not concern ourselves at present.

What an important factor in the prison economy of the country common jails are is shown by the fact that 150,000 persons are committed annually to these jails in the United States; and if station-houses and city prisons be included, that large number may probably be doubled: while in the Province of Ontario it appears that the average number of prisoners passing annually through these jails during the last eight years was upwards of 11,000. The moral significance of these figures is intensified by the fact that these jails are used on this continent not merely as places of detention for criminals, but also as receptacles for persons awaiting trial, and also, in many cases, for innocent witnesses — classes of persons usually in other countries carefully kept entirely distinct and separate from convicted criminals. What is the effect of the prison upon this vast stream of prisoners annually passing through the jails? Are the prisoners made worse or better by their imprisonment; are these costly institutions reforming or manufacturing criminals; in a word, are they fulfilling the object of their existence, or doing work in just the opposite direction? These are questions deserving of the most thoughtful consideration. Let it be at once thankfully admitted that, in other classes of prisons, and in other branches of the god-like work of repressing crime, most marked and gratifying progress has been made, especially within the last quarter of a century. Innumerable homes, refuges, and child-saving institutions generally have been called into existence, or extended; while in establish-

Digitized by Google

ments at the other extremity of the prison gamut — penitentiaries or convict prisons for adult criminals, especially those conducted on the so-called "Irish" or "Crofton" system — the reformation effected is truly marvelous. Indeed, these latter institutions have been revolutionized for good rather than reformed. But the common jails, holding the middle place between the home and the penitentiary, between child-saving institutions and prisons for adult offenders, — these have unfortunately, on this continent at least, not progressed in the same ratio. No doubt these jails, bad as they are, are infinitely better in many respects than the pestilential dens of Howard's time. The spirit of the age is changed. The generation with which Howard had to do was a coarse, hard, and unfeeling generation. Our lot has fallen upon happier times, and the generation of to-day is certainly marked by a more refined and humanitarian spirit; and this improved spirit has made itself felt in our prisons and asylums as well as in other places.

Our lunatics are not chained and treated as wild beasts; our prisons are not pesthouses. The barbarous and disgraceful state of things which obtained in both classes of institutions almost invariably, one hundred years ago, would, thank God, be simply impossible to-day. But still, as regards our common jails, the worst evil of the old jail system — the unrestricted intercourse of the prisoners — remains to-day almost as unmitigated a curse as in the days of "the philanthropist."

Before entering upon any discussion as to the merits or demerits of our Canadian and American jails, it is essential clearly to understand the primary aim and object of these institutions and the true test of their success. It is now universally conceded that the aim and object of all preventive and penal institutions — nay, of all penal legislation and of every prison system — may be summed up in four words — "the repression of crime." This is the true and only test of all prisons, prison systems, and of all penal legislation.[1] However admirable in other respects a prison or jail may be, if it does not repress crime it fails in the very object of its existence, and must be condemned. To repress crime is the natural and inherent right and duty of every government. In

[1] This is not the test usually applied by the public. "The cost," writes Mr. Vaux, "is the crucial test (with the public generally) of every system of convict punishment, and whatever costs least is best, and if any costs nothing, that is the realization of benevolence, humanity, progress, virtue, and civilization, and the finality — Prison Reform." — *The Convict.*

Digitized by Google

enacting its criminal and other laws, in moulding and fashioning its preventive and penal institutions and its system of prison discipline, this is the paramount object the state has in view. The right to repress crime at once justifies and limits the severity of the measures which may be employed by the state for this purpose. Any measures, however severe, which are clearly necessary for the repression of crime, are justifiable and commendable; any that go beyond that are unjustifiable cruelty — cruelty, which generally defeats its object, creating instead of checking crime. To paraphrase a striking remark of the German art critic Winckelmann in reference to Greek sculpture, we might say that "Repression is the tongue on the balance of punishment." In other words, the amount of punishment must be determined by the object in view — "the repression of crime." While, therefore, the state has no right to treat prisoners with cruelty, no right to do anything unnecessarily to injure them in mind or body, it is still its bounden right and imperative duty to repress crime with strong and stern hand, to make it known and felt by evil-doers that the "way of the transgressor is hard," and that it is its wise, righteous, and deliberate purpose that it shall be so; and this, not merely on the general ground of justice, morality, and economy, but on the ground of humanity and tenderness to the transgressors themselves.

Efficiency in repressing crime is, then, the true and only test of the merit of any prison. Let us apply this test to the jails of this continent. Are they, as a rule, repressing crime? Are they more efficient in this respect than the jails in Howard's time? True, we have banished, and rightly banished, the chains, the filth, the jail fever, and the cruelty which disgraced the jails and the people of that age. Our prisoners are better housed, better fed, better warmed, better clothed, and better treated than they then were. Physically, in a word, our jails are improved, and greatly improved. Are they so morally? Is the moral atmosphere at all purer? Is there less contamination and corruption now than then? Will it not be found that the moral condition of our jails is but little better than it was a century ago? Will it not be found that the net result of our jail reforms amounts to this, that we have done away with almost everything which was *deterrent* under the old prison *régime*, without introducing anything to replace it? As a matter of fact our jails have entirely *ceased to be a terror to evil-doers;* nay, on the contrary, they have become *attractive* to them. The criminal classes have come to regard

Digitized by Google

the jails as hotels or clubs, where, at the public cost, they are kept more comfortably than they would be outside, and all without trouble or care, or labor of any kind; and, lest their time should hang heavy upon their hands, they are thoughtfully provided with just the sort of companions in their idleness they would themselves select. Who can be surprised if, under these circumstances, old offenders are loth to leave their comfortable prison homes, and often deliberately violate the laws, with the avowed object of being sent back to them? Indeed, the statistics of some of our jails show that a large number of prisoners are committed again and again to prison, year after year, each year swelling the quota of the hopelessly incorrigible class. "For these," as Lord Carnarvon said, "the prison loses its terrors, and becomes even their home; to them, crime is the atmosphere of their daily life and thoughts; they feed upon society like animals of prey, and the court and judge, with all the solemn machinery of the law, becomes, so far as they are concerned, a comedy." And can it be doubted that this generation of hopeless incorrigibles is largely the natural outcome, the spawn of our jails? The records of the jail in the city in which this is written show that one prisoner was as often as 317 separate times an inmate of its cells; and the governor of the jail informs me that throughout the last twelve years during which he has held that office, a large number of the *habitués* of the jail, male and female, have spent the greater portion of their life in the prison.

In view of these facts it can hardly be contended that our modern common jails aid in the work of repressing crime by their deterrent influence on the criminal classes. But it may be imagined that they contribute to repress crime by reforming or amending those who enter their gates. This were, indeed, a consummation devoutly to be wished. But alas! can anything be further from the actual fact? Our common jails have been again and again denounced by those who know them best — prison inspectors, jailers, and others — as schools of vice, nurseries of crime, hot-beds of infamy, places where criminals are systematically manufactured at the cost of the State. And how is this? Simply because the monster evil of the old jail *régime*, the indiscriminate intercourse of the prisoners, still continues to be the curse and abomination of our modern improved (?) jails. There is, indeed, a separation of the sexes and some slight classification of the prisoners which did not exist forty years ago; and this, no doubt, has to some extent mitigated the evil of contamina-

Digitized by Google

tion, and, it may be, somewhat diminished the attractiveness of the prison to the habitual criminal. But the great fact remains, that promiscuous association among the prisoners still exists to a very large extent, and that it is left to do its natural work, and produce its sad and bitter fruit, without anything to counteract its baneful influence. For in these jails there is, generally speaking, no work for the prisoners, little or no supervision, and no secular or religious instruction.

What the fruits of such intercourse amongst prisoners must be, it needs not the terrible experience of all ages and all countries to tell us. The association of old and young, innocent and guilty, tried and untried, novices in crime and coarse and hardened offenders, within the walls of a prison, without occupation, supervision, or instruction, could not be other than utterly bad and demoralizing to the last degree. Few could pass through such an ordeal unscathed. In jails, as elsewhere, "evil communications corrupt good manners." The young and innocent, if not hopelessly contaminated by their prison associates, could not fail to become fatally familiarized with vice and crime, to lose all sense of shame, and to cease to regard the jail itself with terror; while the older offenders would, by each fresh visit to their prison associates, necessarily become more and more hardened and encouraged in their evil courses. Prisoners in jail are, no doubt, prevented while within the walls from preying upon the community; but for this loss of time they are sure amply to indemnify themselves by their renewed activity when set at liberty, and by the instruction and encouragement given while in jail to their youthful fellow-prisoners. The famous American jurist, Edward Livingstone, writing many years ago, put, in a very startling way, the probable effect upon the young of their prison intercourse with older offenders. "Vice," he writes, "is more infectious than disease, and it would be more reasonable to put a man into a pesthouse to cure him of headache than to confine a young offender in a penitentiary (or one of our common jails), organized on the ordinary plan, to effect his reformation." In her admirable work, "Our Convicts," Miss Carpenter answers the important question, "How are they (the convicts) made?" She holds it to be an "acknowledged fact that imprisonment of children is the surest way to raise for our country a large body of hardened criminals, and to insure a continually increasing supply," and she implores the "magistracy of the country to pause before they place even one young child in a position which is the first step to its becoming one of 'Our Convicts.'"

Digitized by Google

Happily, in this new world of ours, some, at least, of the many sources of the supply of criminals enumerated by Miss Carpenter, such as "The Thieves' Training School," have hardly as yet fully developed themselves. But we have here in full force the most potent factor in the Satanic work of the manufacture of criminals — common jails; and of this we may feel assured, that, so long as we keep our common jails as they now are, criminals, like the poor, "will be always with us." It is for its effects upon the unhappy children who are sent to prison that our present jail system deserves the strongest reprobation, on the grounds of morality, justice, and humanity. We enlightened moderns and so-called Christians cannot find language to denounce the ignorance, superstition, and cruelty of the heathen of old, who made their sons pass through the fire to Moloch; but we systematically expose our own sons to a much more terrible ordeal when, with the strong arm of the law, we thrust them into our common jails, and force them into companionship with the most vile and degraded of their kind. The heathen imperiled the body; the Christian imperils the soul of his child.

It is, indeed, earnestly to be desired, in this connection, that both on this continent and everywhere else it may ere long be forbidden by law to send boys or girls under fourteen years of age to jail. Such a wise and beneficent law is now in force in the enlightened State of Massachusetts, and also, it is believed, in Belgium and Germany — perhaps the most advanced countries in Europe in the science and practice of prison reform. In countries where there are no proper receptacles, as homes or industrial schools, for juvenile offenders, it would be better, infinitely better, that, in the case of boys at least, they should be taken before a special magistrate, and, if found guilty, soundly flogged and dismissed, than that they should be sent to jails, as they now are, to commence their apprenticeship to crime; to start, as it were, on what Bulwer calls "The Law's Royal Road to the Gallows." [1] Meanwhile, until this happy consummation has been brought about, it should be the effort of every well-wisher of his kind to shield, as far as possible, from contamination the unhappy children who are consigned to our jails.

Could we by some miracle be brought to know the exact number

[1] See the Introduction to *Paul Clifford*, a novel written to call public attention to the very evil of our prison system denounced in this paper. "A satire," Bulwer adds, "on the short-cut established between the house of correction and the condemned cell."

Digitized by Google

of convicts who, within the last ten years, have passed into our penitentiaries, or died upon the scaffold, and who could trace their ruin to their first imprisonment in jail, the most insensible and callous person would be appalled. We cannot, indeed, ascertain the precise number of these victims of our jail system, but we do know, without any miracle, that their number is legion. We do know that the manufacture of criminals is going on steadily and surely from day to day and year to year in our jails, the whole process being conducted in due legal form, with proper judicial solemnity, and under the authority of the state — the *parens patriæ*, bound as such to guard the children from evil, and to train them up to become good men and good citizens! What a mockery of law, justice, and state authority is all this! What a striking illustration of the saying, "*Licitis perimus!*"

That I have not in any way exaggerated the pernicious influence of the common jails on this continent, and of common jails wherever they may be, where this promiscuous intercourse is tolerated, might be established by the concurrent testimony of the highest authorities on this subject. The wise and witty Canon of St. Paul's, the late Rev. Sydney Smith, wrote as follows about the jails in England sixty years ago: "There are in every county in England large public schools, maintained at the expense of the county, for the encouragement of profligacy and vice, and for providing a proper succession of housebreakers, profligates, and thieves. They are schools, too, conducted without the smallest degree of partiality or favor, there being no man (however mean his birth or obscure his situation) who may not easily procure admission to them. The moment any young person evinces the slightest propensity for these pursuits he is provided with food, clothing, and lodging, and put to his studies under the most accomplished thieves and cut-throats the county can supply. There is not, to be sure, a formal arrangement of lectures, after the manner of our universities, but the petty-larcenous stripling, being left destitute of every species of employment, and locked up with accomplished villains, as idle as himself, listens to their pleasant narrative of successful crimes, and pants for the hour of freedom, that he may begin the same bold and interesting career."

Very similar language is found in one of the annual reports of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York. "If an institution should be established in every county of the State, with this inscription on the door, 'Vice and Crime taught here,' and the processes within corresponded to the announcement

Digitized by Google

without, this Committee is impressed with the conviction that the work of manufacturing criminals could hardly be done more effectually than it is by our jail system."

That the moral condition of the county jails in the United States had not materially improved a few years ago is shown by the strong and emphatic language in which they are condemned by the late Dr. E. C. Wines,[1] in the great work just completed before his death in 1880. "The whole system of county jails in the United States," he wrote, "is a disgrace to our civilization. It is hopelessly, irremediably bad, and must so remain as long as it exists under its present form. It needs not improvement, but revolution; not modification, but reconstruction. De Tocqueville, half-a-century ago, pronounced our county jails 'the worst prisons he had ever seen;' and there has been little marked improvement since. The system is wasteful of time, wasteful of opportunity, wasteful of money, and *it does not reform.* The moral atmosphere of these prisons is foul; no fouler exists anywhere. It is loaded with contagion. The contact of their inmates is close, their intercourse unrestricted, their talk abominable.

"The effects of such promiscuous association is to *increase the number of criminals*, and to develop and intensify their criminality. The lessons taught are contempt for authority, human and divine; hostility to law and its officers; the delights of vicious indulgence; the duty of revenge upon society for imaginary wrongs; the necessity of craft, of daring, of violence, if need be, in the commission of criminal acts, and of sullen submission to punishment if caught; the hopelessness of all efforts at amendment, and the best methods of success in criminal undertaking."

"Thus this country has in its county jails about two thousand schools of vice, all supplied with expert and zealous professors."

"The condemnation of the system may be pronounced in a single sentence, — it is an absurd attempt to cure crime, the offspring of idleness, by making idleness compulsory, and to teach virtue, the fruit of careful and painstaking moral culture, by enforced association with those who scoff at virtue, duty and religion."

[1] The name of the late Dr. Wines cannot be mentioned without feelings of gratitude and respect by any one who takes an interest in the cause of prison reform, a cause to which he devoted so large a portion of his earnest and useful life, and which he did so much to advance by his able writings and his indefatigable labors. Dr. Wines's work from which the extract above is taken — "The State of Prisons and Child Saving Institutions" — is justly regarded as perhaps the most valuable contribution to prison literature ever made by any individual.

Digitized by Google

The Board of State Charities[1] for Ohio, in its second annual report (1868), concludes as follows: —

"It is a startling, a terrible proposition sustained by this report that Ohio is to-day supporting, at public expense, as base 'Seminaries of Vice' as are to be found in any civilized community;" and they quote an extract from a report of a committee on prisons of the State of New York, which sums up the results of their investigations into the jails as follows: —

"There is no one of the sources of crime which is more operative in the multiplication of thieves and burglars than the common jails of the State (New York), as now organized."

During my official experience of ten years as Inspector of Prisons in Canada, I had an opportunity of learning directly from the convicts in the penitentiaries their opinion respecting the effects produced on them by their imprisonment in jail. One of the questions put to every convict, when quitting the penitentiary, was as to the effect on him of his first imprisonment in jail. The answer almost invariably was *that he left the jail worse than he entered it.*

Indiscriminate intercourse is thus clearly and unmistakably the great evil of our jails — "the curse and condemnation of the system." In view of these facts we may well repeat the pertinent question addressed by the Board of State Charities of the State of Ohio to the General Assembly of the State, "Can these revolting evils in our jail system be remedied?" The answer is, "Yes, certainly they can be remedied." To state the evil is in fact to state the remedy; namely, the prevention of this fatal intercourse. The absolute separation of the prisoners during their imprisonment — this is the only remedy, but it is an effectual one. No mere classification of prisoners, no matter on what basis, can stop contamination, unless, indeed, we can separate the pure from the impure, the innocent from the guilty, the novice from the hardened offender; and as yet we hardly possess the means of making the moral diagnosis which such a classification implies. Between separation and contamination, then, our choice must be. There is no middle course. Upon this question there is an absolute *consensus* of opinion among the ablest modern authorities on prison discipline. The adoption of the separate system in jails was strongly

[1] The Board of State Charities for Ohio, which includes the names of such well-known and enlightened philanthropists and prison reformers as General Brinkerhoff and Mr. Joseph Perkins, has for years past been earnestly and successfully advocating the principle of separate confinement in jails.

Digitized by Google

recommended in the report from a select committee of the House of Lords in 1835. It was again powerfully urged in the admirable report of the Inspector of Prisons in England in 1837. It was further recommended by a select committee of the House of Lords in 1847, and again by a report of a select committee of the House of Commons in 1850.

The committee of the House of Lords reports on the question of separation in jails as follows: "Association or a mixed system of association and separation, prevails, as we have shown, in many jails. Such anomalies, however, are in the opinion of the Committee very objectionable. They should be removed at the earliest practicable time, and their present existence can only be justified by the difficulties of reconstruction and the natural reluctance of the *local authorities* to incur a heavy expenditure. The Committee entertain a very decided opinion on this head, and having regard to the course of legislation, now extending over many years, and the *agreement in opinion and practice of the highest authorities, they consider that the system generally known as the separate system must now be accepted as the foundation of prison discipline*, and that its rigid maintenance *is a vital principle in the efficiency of county and borough jails.*"

The committee elsewhere employs the following emphatic language on the necessity of separation: "We concluded our third report by strongly urging the advantage of the separation of one prisoner from another as the basis and great leading feature of all prison discipline. On reviewing this opinion, and taking advantage of further experience, we feel warranted in expressing our firm conviction that the moral results of the discipline have been most encouraging *and attended with a success which we believe is without parallel in the history* of prison discipline; and in conclusion the Committee recommend that legislation be taken as speedily as possible *to render the adoption of separation obligatory upon all jails and houses of correction in England and Wales.*"

It may be mentioned here that in January, 1865, copies of the "Report and Evidence of the Committee of the House of Lords," above referred to, with other valuable documents on the subject of prison discipline, were transmitted to the Governor General of Canada by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, accompanied by an exhaustive circular despatch, in order, as stated in the despatch, that the colony should have the benefit of "the experience of the Mother Country and of the eminent men who had made

Digitized by Google

that experience their study for the purpose of effecting any amendments which may be needed in the prisons and system of prison discipline in use in Canada." The "separate system" is referred to in that despatch as "demanding especial care and attention;" and in urging its adoption the following strong language is used: "You will bear in mind that no ordinary difficulties, nor, indeed, any difficulties should be allowed to stand in the way of the establishment of the system." Should separation be absolutely impracticable in the prisons as they are, it will be for the consideration of the Legislature whether means cannot be found for effecting the alterations required in them.[1]

Commenting on the report of the committee of the House of Lords, the able author of "The Digest and Summary of Answers from Colonial Governors respecting Prison Discipline," published by direction of the Secretary of State, in London in 1867, remarked: "It has been recognized too long and too widely to be now disputed that good discipline is impracticable and corruption certain when prisoners are in communication with each other, and that separation is the only basis for a sound penal system. Not only in this country, but in the United States and in the chief states of Europe, the principle of separation has passed from books into legislation and practice."

The ablest authorities in other parts of Europe entertain the same opinion as to the necessity of separation in jails.

Professor Mittermaier, one of the most profound writers upon such questions in Germany, wrote more than twenty years ago: "The old disputed question whether the system of associated imprisonment or separate confinement is to be preferred, and how the former might be amended, disappears, giving place to a general conviction, the result of recent investigation, that *separate confinement must be recognized as an indispensable part of prison discipline.* The question at present is rather whether separate confinement should be adopted as the general or only system in carrying out the *entire execution* of sentences of imprisonment, or whether it should be employed for only a part of the sentence." The question raised in the last part of the quotation refers to the enforcing of separate imprisonment in convict prisons or other penitentiaries where prisoners are undergoing sentences of two, three, or more

[1] It is due to the late Board of Inspectors of Prisons, &c., of Canada, of which the writer was then chairman, to say that in their Official Reports for 1864 and 1865 and subsequent years the adoption of the "separate system" in our jails was strongly urged upon the Government of Canada.

Digitized by Google

years, but does not arise at all in reference to prisons or common jails where the sentences do not usually extend beyond a few months, and even those sentences might be much shortened in prisons where separate confinement was enforced.

The results of the system of separate confinement wherever tried have been most encouraging. In 1839 an Act was passed in England (2 and 3 Vic. cap. 56) authorizing the separate confinement of prisoners during the whole or any part of their imprisonment in jail.

The following extract from the report of the Inspector of Prisons for the Southern District of England for 1862 shows how well the Act had worked there: "It is very satisfactory to refer to the great and manifold improvements that have taken place in the construction and discipline in the prisons of England and Wales since the enactment of the Statute 2 and 3 Victoria, cap. 56, by which the separate confinement of prisoners, as contradistinguished from solitary confinement, was first sanctioned by law. In the year 1843, when I had the honor to be appointed to my present office, there were two prisons only, in the part of the country now comprised in the Southern District, in which advantage had been taken of the provisions of that Act. . . . These prisons, at the time to which I refer, contained less than an aggregate number of 200 certified cells, whereas at the present time there are more than 800 which have received the legal sanction to be used in the same form of discipline. In indicating this change as evidence of the growing conviction of the advantages which have attended the adoption of separate confinement, it should be mentioned that more than nine tenths of the cells so certified are contained in prisons expressly built for the exercise of this discipline, and the remainder have been obtained by alterations of existing cells, of so expensive a character that they would not have been undertaken without a strong conviction of the superiority of the form of discipline to be carried out in them."

The Inspector adds that "the number of commitments to the prisons thus altered rapidly decreased," and that "in many jails it was reduced to one half what it had been ten years before."

The system of absolute separation of the prisoners has also been tried, and its efficiency clearly proved, in at least three jails in the United States (as we learn from an interesting leaflet[1] by General Brinkerhoff): one in Boston, one in the city of Washington, and one in the city of Mansfield, Ohio, where General Brinkerhoff

[1] *Crime Schools at Public Expense.*

Digitized by Google

resides. Sheriff Gates, who administers the last named jail, after an experience of the new and the old systems, thus contrasts them: "Separation is better every way, physically and morally. It ensures greater cleanliness and better habits, and consequently better health. If the prisoner is a young man, or is arrested for some trifling offense, or on suspicion merely, separation secures him against the contamination of old offenders; and if released without conviction (which occurs in a majority of cases) he goes out free, in a large degree, from the odium of prison associates. If the prisoner is an old offender, he certainly ought not to have an opportunity to contaminate the younger inmates, and separation prevents that. So, in many other ways I could name, separation is an advantage. In short, in my judgment, separation is better for the prisoner, better for his keepers, better for the public, and better every way. I am sure nothing could induce me voluntarily to return to the old." Perhaps the strongest practical proof of the relative superiority of the separate system is furnished by the fact that at the International Prison Congress held in London in 1872, at which almost all civilized countries were represented, the only countries which declared themselves satisfied with their penitentiary system were those which had adopted the "separate" or, as it is usually called in Europe, the "cellular" system, and these countries, Belgium, Germany and Prussia, declared that they were satisfied with their prison system so far as it was "cellular or "separate" and no further. This information was elicited by the answers furnished officially by the governments represented at the Congress to a uniform series of questions submitted by the United States Commissioner, Dr. Wines, to the prison authorities of those countries months before the meeting of the Congress. The replies may, therefore, be considered as official and trustworthy. The answers from Belgium, which has always led the van in the work of prison reform, are especially noteworthy and instructive. "In answer to the question whether we are satisfied with our existing penitentiary system, our reply is affirmative in so far as it is *not* applicable to establishments on the congregate plan; but the transformation of these into cellular prisons is actively progressing." In answer to another question they say: "Of the twenty-six prisons in the kingdom, eighteen are conducted on the 'cellular' system; of the six congregate prisons, four are undergoing alterations to adapt them to the system of separate imprisonment;" and again: "The Belgian Legislature has given its preference to the cellular system, because it renders imprisonment more

Digitized by Google

efficacious, and because the reformation of the convict is better assured." We have, therefore, not only their deliberate profession of faith in the separate system, but we have also their reason for this faith. And the Prussian government, so remarkable for its powers of organization in every department, says that "in many respects the organization of the Prussian prisons may be considered perfect." They admit, however, that there is one thing yet lacking; that is, the further extension of the cellular system. "We need," say they, "the application of cellular imprisonment in *all cases of preventive detention and of short sentences.*" It has thus, I think, been established by a cloud of witnesses and authorities that the indiscriminate association of prisoners in our jails is a flagrant and enormous evil, which cries out loudly for reform. It has been shown, too, that for this evil there is a simple, inexpensive, and effectual remedy, which wherever tried has been successful — the separate system. Surely, then, it is the obvious and imperative duty of the state, on the grounds both of economy and humanity, to apply this remedy without delay; to see to it (to quote the words of the Committee of the House of Lords) "that legislation be taken as quickly as possible to render the adoption of separation obligatory in all jails and houses of correction." In the Province of Ontario a large number of jails (especially those built within the last twenty-five years upon the improved plans sanctioned by the inspectors) would be found already suitable, to at least a limited extent, for the purpose of separate confinement. In the United States, on the contrary, it would appear from the Official Reports of the State Boards that very few of the jails, excepting the three where the separate system is now in successful operation, could be utilized for the new system, without first undergoing considerable structural changes. The necessity for making these changes in the construction of the existing jails should not be considered as any serious objection to the introduction of the new *régime;* for whatever might be the cost of such changes, it would undoubtedly, in a short time, be more than repaid financially by the diminution in crime, and consequently in jail expenditure, which would result from the introduction of the system of non-contamination. Seeing that the evils of the present jail system — the aggregate system, or the system of promiscuous intercourse — have been so emphatically condemned by reason, authority, and decisive experience; that the merits of the "separate system" have been equally clearly established by reason, authority, and decisive experience, the pertinent question suggests itself, Why is this so?

Digitized by Google

Why does this particular class of prisons lag so much behind all other preventive or penal institutions? Whence comes this *vis inertiæ* which enables the common jail to defy the spirit of the age and the efforts of social reformers? The explanation is not far to seek. It will be found in the fact that on this continent the jails are under the control of municipal bodies, while homes, refuges, and other child saving institutions are managed by either individuals, benevolent societies, or the state, and convict prisons or penitentiaries, by the state. And the fact is proverbial that municipal bodies are in such matters more hard to move than the state itself, and infinitely more so than individual or benevolent societies. It will, therefore, probably be necessary, as a condition precedent to the introduction of the separate system in the jails on this continent, that this administration should be taken out the hands of the municipalities, and vested exclusively in the state. This change has long been advocated in Canada, especially by ex-Inspector Langmuir, and it is thought, from the reports of the State boards in the United States, that such a change would be welcomed by the friends of prison reform in that country, provided the authorities administering the jails were made independent of political changes. It may be necessary to define more accurately the technical meaning of the "separate" or "cellular" system, the adoption of which is advocated in this paper. The very designation of the system indicates clearly enough its characteristic feature, and shows that it is directly opposed to the "aggregate" or "congregate" systems, or, as it might be called, the contaminating system which now obtains generally in the jails on this continent. The imperial statute already referred to (2 and 3 Vic. cap. 56), which gives authority for the individual separation of the prisoners, in order, as expressly stated, "to prevent contamination arising from the association of prisoners," indicates the conditions under which this system may be carried out in England. It prescribes that "the cells should be certified to be of a proper size, and lighted, warmed, ventilated, and fitted up with a due regard to health." It further directs that "every prisoner so separately confined shall have the means of taking air and exercise at such times as may be prescribed by the surgeon, and shall be furnished with the means of moral and religious instruction and with suitable books and also with labor and employment."

The separate system now advocated is such a system as that introduced into England by the statute above referred to, save that we do not think that it would be practicable to insist on providing

Digitized by Google

the prisoner with work or employment; nor would this be so necessary in our jails, where the average sentences are much shorter, it is believed, than in the English jails.

In the preceding remarks I have confined myself to the gravest evil of the jail system, not because I believed it to be the only defect of the existing *régime*, but because I felt it to be infinitely the most grave; that it was, in truth, the monster evil which, "like Aaron's serpent, swallows up the rest." To emphasize this plague spot of our jail system, and to direct public attention to it, is the aim and object of this paper. Moreover it seemed plain that if the "separate system" were once established any minor defects could easily be remedied; whereas in the absence of that system it would be almost a waste of labor to cure, even if we could, these minor shortcomings. During my official connection with the administration of the jails in Canada as an Inspector, from 1859 to 1869, the necessity of the introduction of the separate system was strongly impressed upon my mind; and besides uniting with my colleagues in urging the matter upon the government I embodied my views upon the question more at length in a paper read before the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1864. I venture to quote from that paper,[1] as published in the transactions of the society, a brief statement of some of the advantages which would result from the adoption in our jails of the "separate system."

1. It would stay the plague of demoralization and corruption now going on in our jails; in other words, stop "the compulsory education in crime" now steadily carried out in these state institutions.

2. Jails would cease to be attractive to evil-doers, and would once more become *deterrent*, as they ought to be. For no punishment is more dreaded by the criminal than separate confinement.

3. The moral influence of separate confinement on the prisoners could not fail to be salutary.

4. A great reduction in the cost of the maintenance of jails would follow, partly from the shortening of the usual sentences, and partly from the reduction which would soon take place in the number of committals.

5. It would tend to bring about what is most desirable — a uniformity of punishment in jails wherever situated.

And lastly it would have the incidental advantage, which is not unworthy of consideration, that it would relieve our judges from the painful necessity of again and again solemnly pronouncing

[1] *Glance at the Present State of the Common Jails of Canada.*

Digitized by Google

sentences of "hard labor" on prisoners committed to jails, sentences which the judges, the prisoners, and the public know full well cannot possibly be carried out.

It is in the hope of doing something to arouse public indignation against our abominable jail system as it now is, something to awaken and quicken a feeling in favor of a more humane, enlightened, and Christian system, something, in a word, to educate public opinion on this important subject, that I have ventured to bring together the facts and arguments submitted in this paper. To quote the concluding paragraph of the article already referred to: "No important changes in our prison system are likely to be effected until demanded and supported by public opinion, and the first step towards creating this public opinion is to excite a personal interest in these questions among thinking men. It is the sum of personal interests, felt and expressed on such subjects by the intelligent minds of the community, which in every free country forms and moulds public opinion; and it is this public opinion which rough-hews and shapes the laws and institutions of the land."

E. A. Meredith.

TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA.

Digitized by Google

EDITORIAL.

PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY.

IV. ESCHATOLOGY.

A THEOLOGICAL professor, having been invited to give a course of lectures on Eschatology, declined on the ground that he could not separate that subject from the rest of his doctrinal system and discuss it independently. There is no doctrine, indeed, which can be taken out of its relation to other doctrines and remain intelligible. The paradox might be maintained that no doctrine should be considered until all the other doctrines had been discussed. It is especially true of eschatology that correct views depend on the conceptions one has, not only of the several truths, but of the very character, significance, and tendency of the gospel as a whole. To some it seems easy to give, and legitimate to expect, a direct answer to any question that may be asked concerning the final destinies of men. When inquiry is made, for instance, as to the time within which probation is limited, why cannot any one express his opinion in a Yes or No? But while one's affirmative or negative may be all that his controversial opponent cares to ascertain, yet the reasons which lead to a given conclusion are of the utmost importance, for they both interpret and qualify the final answer, even if that answer is expressed in a monosyllable. The view which is taken of the person of Christ, of atonement, of the entire revelation of God in the gospel, must determine the views which are to be held concerning the age which follows after this earthly period — concerning the destiny of individuals, nations, the human race. It may seem also that an appeal to Scripture should be decisive on all the vexed questions which have arisen as to the last things. But if there were unmistakable declarations in the Bible, there would be no vexed questions. Besides, on this subject as on all other subjects Scripture is cumulative and progressive along the line of developing principles, so that the triumphs and judgments of the future must be seen in the perspective of the whole revelation God has given in Jesus Christ. Christianity must be understood profoundly if a comprehensive view is to be gained of the ultimate issues of human destiny under the gospel. It is our intention, however, to keep our reasoning well within the recognized teaching of the New Testament, and to consider, so far as may be necessary, particular passages which are claimed to be decisive of controverted points. Our method is to recognize first some of the great facts and principles of the gospel which must underlie any conclusions on this subject, leaving for the sequel some discussion of a single related question about which agreement is not at present complete.

Two observations may be offered by way of preface: one, that we are moving in the realm, not of accomplished history, but of unfulfilled prophecy. The statements of Scripture which relate to judgment and heaven

Digitized by Google

and hell are predictive, and therefore have the characteristics of prophetic teaching. We find grand outline, dependence of results on moral conditions, great spiritual contrasts, rather than minute details of time and circumstance. The future is not, however, all vague and undiscernible. But, since the teaching is prophetic, we know where we may and where we may not look for certainty: we may be more certain of principles than of the particular application of principles. For instance, we know that the redeemed are to be forever with Christ, but we do not know what that union will involve of condition and service. The other observation is, that these predictions are chiefly occupied with the coming triumphs of the gospel. The wicked are, indeed, frequently warned of their danger; but when thought is directed onwards it is almost invariably for the purpose of giving assurance that the kingdom of Christ will reach at length a glorious consummation. The condemnation of the wicked is sometimes represented as part of that triumph and incident to it. The dark fate of the wicked is but the shadow cast by the brightness of the glory. There is accordingly a clearer disclosure of the blessedness of the redeemed and the victories of the gospel than of the condition of the lost. The kingdom of redemption is not a point of light in the midst of surrounding darkness, but the wicked are a point of darkness in the midst of surrounding light. Even so severe a thinker as Professor Shedd concludes that the bottomless pit is an insignificant hole to which the refuse of mankind is consigned.[1]

It is important to learn first if there are any central facts or principles from which we can proceed in the attempt to reach sound conclusions.

A. The Fact and the Principle of Judgment.

1. The Fact. Predictions of the future carry us on to the day of judgment as the time when the consummation of the gospel will be accomplished. Then the destiny of all men will be irrevocably fixed. It will be the final crisis for the human race. Whatever may be the decisive point in time for individuals, this is unquestionably represented as the crisis for humanity as a whole under the gospel. The first advent of Christ was unto salvation. The second advent is unto judgment and victory. After that time the kingdom of righteousness will be undisturbed by oppositions of evil. Until that time men will be translated from the kingdom of sin into the kingdom of Christ. After the judgment there is no reversal of conditions, but only the fulfillment of that which is already determined.

The time of judgment is left uncertain. The gospel must first be preached to the nations, and, therefore, as was observed in the article on atonement in our last number, not at scattered points within each geographical empire, but in reality to all people. We need not take space

[1] "Hell is only a corner of the universe. The Gothic etymon denotes a covered-up hole. In Scripture hell is a 'pit,' a 'lake;' not an ocean. It is 'bottomless,' but not soundless." — *North American Review*, February, 1885, page 170.

Digitized by Google

here to delineate the intervening advances of Christianity on earth, with regard to which prediction is not wanting in the New Testament. Neither do we linger to indicate the conditions under which the redeemed after judgment will come to perfection. We are now emphasizing the fact, as one of the most evident in the Scriptural teaching, that the day of judgment — the second coming of Christ — is the final and supreme crisis for the human race.

The purposes of our present discussion do not require us to consider the belief in universal restoration nor the belief in conditional immortality, although we of course understand that a complete discussion of eschatology would include the consideration of those opinions. Our object at present, as interpreters of progressive orthodoxy, is to inquire what opinion is to be maintained by those who do not believe that all men will be finally redeemed, and who do not discover any Biblical warrant for the expectation that any one endowed with rational and spiritual powers will cease to exist. Scripture predicts, then, as a great fact to be realized in the future, that there is to be a day of judgment, when there will be a final separation of the righteous from the wicked.

2. The Principle of Judgment. In another respect the predictions of Scripture are unmistakable. It is clear that Christ is to be the judge. Christ is to be on the judgment seat. Again and again this is plainly declared. The Son of Man is to be judge of the world. The Father hath given him authority to execute judgment because he is the Son of Man. When the Son of Man shall come in his glory all nations shall be gathered before Him. That judgment is to be rendered by Christ is taken for granted throughout the New Testament in many an allusion and assumption, as if every one who knows anything of the gospel knows that Christ will come to be our judge. Now this means more than that in addition to his offices of Redeemer and Master Christ is also appointed Judge. It means that all men are to be judged under the gospel; to be judged by their relation to Christ. God reveals himself in Christ for the enlightenment and redemption of men. This is the clearest, the most gracious, the supreme revelation; and if men are judged by Christ, they are judged in accordance with that revelation which He brought to the world. They are not to be judged under the light of reason and conscience alone, but under the light of the gospel of Christ. They are to come before his judgment seat, not as those who are dragged there forcibly to meet a judge of whose person, character, or even existence they know nothing, but as those who are brought there as the necessary result of the knowledge of God which has been given them through Him before whom they stand to be judged. When we read that Christ is to be the judge, we are to understand that the judgment will be a Christian judgment. As one's friendships are a disclosure of himself, as what one finds in any embodiment of beauty or greatness or goodness indicates what his own perceptions and aspirations are, so

Digitized by Google

what one finds in Christ, what Christ means and is to him, is the complete revelation of his character and deserving. If there is no form nor comeliness that those beholding Christ should desire Him, this argues no defect nor lack in Christ, but blindness and evil in those for whom He has no beauty. This principle of judgment in relation to Christ is one of the results of the fact that Christianity is the universal religion, the final, supreme revelation of God to men. Christ, as has been shown in preceding articles, is the universal man. He is the Son of Man. His relationship is not tribal or national, but human, as comprehensive as the race. He is the second Adam, the head and progenitor of renewed humanity. His invitations, commands, promises, are in universals. "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." "Whosoever believeth on me shall never die." "No man cometh unto the Father but by me." He died for the sins of the world. He tasted death for every man. The uniform teaching of the New Testament is that there is no salvation except in Christ. The universality of Christianity is accepted to-day as a postulate by nearly all schools of Christian thought. In accordance with this teaching of the gospel is the prediction, repeatedly made, that Christ is to judge the whole world, all the nations, all the dead, small and great.

It is only as a result of this principle that we believe the knowledge of God in Christ to be finally decisive of character and destiny. Whether or not any knowledge of God besides that given by the gospel is decisive, there can be no question that the gospel does determine the destiny of all to whom it is made known. There are no higher, no more influential motives under which man can be brought to God. If Christ does not, no other power can draw man to God. Whoever will not believe on Christ is incorrigible and hopelessly impenitent. There remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, not because the divine patience but because the divine resources are exhausted. There is no other whom God can send to those who will not reverence his Son. Therefore a process of judgment is already going on. Wherever the gospel is proclaimed, Christ is already testing men. Character is becoming fixed for good or evil as men yield to his approaches or repel them. "He that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed on the only begotten Son of God." For this reason the gospel is urgent with men. It gives them no promise of to-morrow. Its word is Now. Repent now. Believe now. This is the day of grace, because God is revealed in Christ, and now you are moved to repent of sin and believe in Christ. The urgency is not in view of the fact that death may come suddenly, though that is a solemn consideration, but rather in view of the fact that to-morrow there may be no inclination to respond to the love of God which is offered in Christ, and which to-day is neglected or rejected. "To-day if ye will hear his voice harden not your hearts." The fathers in the wilderness were not destroyed at once. Forty years long did God deal with them, but in vain. "Behold now is the acceptable time." Thus it

Digitized by Google

may be that the destiny of some is irreversibly determined long before they die. That is a decisive point whenever Christ is presented and there is an inclination to receive and obey Him. When acceptance of Him is real the believer is saved forever from sin. When rejection of Him is final, so that there is no further possibility that Christ will win response, there is no remaining hope of deliverance and purification from sin. It is, therefore, a legitimate and almost necessary conclusion that the destiny of all men to whom the gospel is given in this earthly life is decided while they are in the body. The apostle, addressing those who in this earthly tabernacle already know Christ, reminds them of the time approaching when they will be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ, that each one may receive the things done in the body. He implies that the earthly life is decisive for those to whom he was writing, although he was thinking of the fidelity rather than the salvation of believers. There is much reason to believe that this present life is the most favorable opportunity for moral renewal in Christ. The gospel is an earthly, historical religion, wrought out in the deeds and sacrifices of the man Christ Jesus, who lived under the conditions of a human, earthly life, who dwelt in the cities and villages of Judea, who walked in the valleys and on the mountains of Galilee, and who died on a hillside of this earth. Our bodily life is the acceptable time to be saved by Him who in the days of his flesh offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears.

At this point the discussion might terminate. The principle of judgment in accordance with which the destinies of men are determined we believe to be that which has now been defined. As to the condition of those who are finally condemned the Bible gives only obscure hints and vague imagery, and we certainly have no heart to speculate on either the surroundings or the feelings of the lost. As to the condition of the redeemed, we believe that they are with Christ and share his glory, probably with more fullness after the day of judgment than during the period between death and judgment. But our present discussion, as we have already indicated, does not require detailed inquiry concerning the blessedness of the saved. We could stop here, but for a related question which has long perplexed and disturbed believers. It is a question as to the judgment and the destiny of those to whom the gospel is not made known while they are in the body. We must continue the discussion, then, in order to consider, as it may seem to deserve, this difficult question. It is, in our opinion, to be looked on as an appended inquiry, rather than as an essential question for theology. Still it is not wanting either in practical or speculative importance, and, at any rate, is at present much in dispute.

B. A Related Question.

What is the fate of those millions to whom Christ is not made known in this life, and of those generations who lived before the advent of Christ?

This may, perhaps, be only a temporary question. The time may

Digitized by Google

come, we think *will* come, when all will hear the messages of the gospel during the earthly lifetime, and will know the gospel so thoroughly that knowledge and corresponding opportunity will be decisive. Then there will be less occasion for perplexity, as there will be no apparent exclusion from those opportunities which at present are given to only part of the great human family.

The question we have raised is not new. Nor are any of the proposed answers new, although some of the reasoning is the outcome of a more profound thought of the gospel than has been gained in preceding periods. An instructive lesson for impressing the difficulty of our inquiry is a history of the various opinions which have been held during the Christian centuries by honored leaders and revered saints; such an historical sketch, for example, as Dean Plumptre gives in his recent book entitled "The Spirits in Prison." No answer which has yet been given is entirely free from objections. Every one, unless he declines to accept any solution, has an alternative before him, and must rest in that conclusion which seems to him most nearly in accordance with the large meaning of the gospel, and which is exposed to the fewest serious objections. Certainly any one should be slow to condemn those whose opinions on this vexed subject do not agree with his own hypothesis. There is no explicit revelation as to the destiny of those who on earth have had no knowledge of Christ. Therefore any inference that is drawn from the doctrines of the gospel, and from the interpretation of incidental allusions of Scripture, must be held with confession of some remaining ignorance on the part of the reasoner. The theory which we shall advance presently is offered under these conditions.

The answers which have thus far been proposed may be reduced to three, the first of which is held by only a few, while current opinion is for the most part divided between the other two.

1. The first theory is that the heathen are hopelessly lost unless they have the gospel in its historic form during their life on earth. This is maintained both from fact and from supposed necessity. It being assumed that there is no opportunity of repentance after death, facts are pointed to as conclusive, for as matter of notorious knowledge the heathen are universally corrupt, and die in their sins. Thus Professor Kellogg, in his article on *Future Probation*, printed in the "Presbyterian Review" for April last, distinctly says: "Whether this be true" (that the Spirit of God may renew the hearts of men who have never heard of Christ), "we greatly doubt; never among the heathen have we ever met or heard of one meeting any person who gave evidence of being born again before that they had heard the gospel." The final condemnation of all heathen is also argued as of necessity. The argument may be reduced to this form: there is no salvation except through Christ; the heathen have no knowledge of Christ; therefore the heathen are to be cast into hell. Thus the article which we have just quoted contains also the following declaration: "The plain teaching of the Holy Scriptures is

Digitized by Google

that while the heathen have not from the light of nature light enough to save them, they do have enough to condemn them." That is, if the language means what it says, it is impossible for any of the heathen to escape from a sinful state, but nevertheless they all are condemned to everlasting woe, on account of their sins. They need not have been as sinful as they are, although they must have been sinful in their essential character, and for this additional sin, which even with the light they have they might have avoided, they are lost forever and ever.

This theory is a terrible impeachment of the divine goodness, not to say justice. Is it like God to deal thus with men? Will He leave them in their sins, without any possible means of salvation? The most inconsequent reasoning which leads to some other conclusion is preferable to the inexorable logic, if it be logic, which pushes on to this heartless, unchristian view. We do not wonder that the writer we have quoted falls back on the sovereignty of God. He argues that it is incomprehensible to us why the offers of grace are withheld from a large portion of the race. God has mercy on whom He will have mercy, and we have no right to interpose our curious inquiries. But the very question at issue is precisely this, whether God does withhold the offers of grace from any of his wandering children. It is not denied that the heathen are wicked and blameworthy, that they are much worse than they need to be, that they are guilty before God to a very large degree, that the displeasure of God is upon them, but it is denied that God condemns men eternally for being in a state of sin from which they have no power of escape. Missions can no longer be inspired by a motive springing from such considerations. The heathen, it used to be said, are hopelessly lost unless they have the gospel before they die. This awful impeachment of the God of grace, who so loved the world that He gave his only begotten Son for its salvation, cannot be sustained. This cannot be the whole truth. We must find some other answer, or at least must conclude that we are in possession of only part of the facts. There is enough to inspire missions without resorting to a motive which is contrary to our best conceptions of God, and is opposed to the Christian sentiment which is the outgrowth of the gospel. We cannot trust ourselves to characterize a theory which would consign millions of mankind to everlasting woe only for fear that some triflers in Christian lands should fancy they could defer till after death their repenting and believing. It is enough to say that this theory is fast disappearing from all branches of the Christian church, although the article we have referred to is given a place in a Presbyterian quarterly, and is indorsed with unqualified approbation in the columns of a Congregational review. We do not believe that the editors of the "Presbyterian Review" could agree in accepting, nor that clergymen of the Presbyterian Church could concur in maintaining the view that "while the heathen have not from the light of nature light enough to save them, they do have enough to condemn them." This theory is only a restatement of the doctrine of arbitrary election and reprobation.

Digitized by Google

We turn, then, to the theories which remain, and which find a larger number of adherents. One of these theories is that salvation is possible without any knowledge of the gospel, and yet by reason of the gospel; the other, that saving knowledge of the gospel may be given after death to those who in this life do not obtain it.

2. The former of these theories, and the theory which is the second answer we are to consider, while not destitute of support, is obliged to confront some serious objections, practical as well as theoretical. And if, as we shall find, it covers only exceptional cases, the grave problem remains unsolved. The theory attempts to guard the beliefs that salvation is possible without knowledge of the gospel, and that it is thus possible during the earthly life. In addition, it is maintained by some that this salvation, although obtained without knowledge of the gospel, is essentially by means of the gospel. We must take space and patience to learn how much this theory accomplishes towards a satisfactory explanation of the difficulty before which it stands.

Appeal is taken to facts. A few exceptional personages, scattered among the mass of heathen, seem to show that salvation is possible without knowledge of the gospel. Socrates, Cato, Aurelius, Buddha, and others seem to have had the characteristics of Christians. A pure and lofty character is occasionally found among the unchristian peoples to-day who, we cannot help thinking, is accepted of God. Such facts Scripture confirms, it is maintained. In every nation, says the apostle Peter, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him. The account of judgment given by Matthew leaves the impression that some, because they were humane and benevolent, are saved, although they did not know their service was really to Christ. Also, it is argued, and with justice, before the time of Christ, Abraham and multitudes of his descendants were saved by faith, and, of course, without knowledge of Christ. These considerations would seem to establish the possibility of salvation without knowledge of the gospel, and to show that the workings of God's grace are not limited to the revelation made in Christ.

It should not be forgotten, however, that these are exceptional cases. The possibility of salvation under these conditions seldom becomes reality. The vast majority of the heathen die in sin. Paul, as Professor Kellogg clearly shows, does not admit the exceptions, but declares that all the heathen are under condemnation. The great apostle admits that if they were righteous they would be approved of God, but is careful to state that as matter of fact they are not obedient; that all have sinned and come short of the glory of God. It has also been held very generally that the exceptional personages, if there are any, are probably brought after death to knowledge of Christ. Socrates, it has often been said, would have been a Christian if he had known of Christ. It has been supposed that the exceptional virtuous characters were peculiarly receptive of Christ, and probably after death had for their completion the knowledge which was lacking while they were on earth.

Digitized by Google

Plato has often been represented as meeting Christ and worshiping him in the world of spirits. The view, when it is thus enlarged, seems to be that some at death are still capable of redemption, and that they will not fail of it, but will have the knowledge which is necessary to salvation, a view not essentially unlike that which will be presently considered. A great multitude not so blameless as Socrates and Buddha may still be capable of redemption, as, indeed, proves to be the case when the gospel is preached to them during the earthly life. If it is maintained that the number of those who are accepted of God is not small, but that there are many votaries of religion seeking earnestly towards God according to the light they have, and who constitute a better element in every nation, what is really believed is that they are on the way to clearer knowledge, and that they will know God in Jesus Christ. It is not held that no more is necessary and that they will have no further knowledge, but that they will be saved, in the true meaning of salvation, through the knowledge of Christ. That knowledge, in the nature of the case, will be given after they die.

As to Abraham and his descendants, the instance is clearly exceptional. They had more than the light of nature. They had a special revelation from God concerning his righteousness and mercy. They knew of redemption on condition of penitence and faith. Their knowledge of God, although obscure, was in many respects the knowledge given afterwards more fully by Christ. And, while their salvation proves that knowledge of the historic Christ was not absolutely necessary, still they were recipients of that which was preparatory to the gospel and directly predictive of it. And, besides, it has always been believed that for the completeness of their redemption they had clearer knowledge, after death, of God's love revealed in Christ. It has even been held by some that the patriarchs and prophets waited for their full salvation until Christ had actually appeared on earth to realize the love of God to mankind, somewhat as the early martyrs are represented in the Apocalypse as waiting and praying for the triumphs of the Redeemer, without which they could not be satisfied. It is, indeed, declared that those who were saved under the old covenant received not the promise, God having provided some better thing for us, that they apart from us (of the new covenant) should not be made perfect. The instances cited, then, are exceptional — a few virtuous heathen, and they, perhaps, only receptive of salvation but not actually regenerate, and the Jews who were under a special revelation which was preparatory to Christ, and which the heathen world did not share. To show that there are many who would accept Christ if they knew him is not to show that they are saved by the light of nature, but would rather go far to establish the opinion that they will know Christ after they die. From exceptions it is not satisfactory to argue to general conclusions. The practical difficulty remains, after all exceptions are admitted, that the light of nature does not suffice for salvation in any comparison with the light of the gospel; that the religions

Digitized by Google

of the world, in the very broadest view, must be looked on only as preparatory to the gospel; that as matter of fact the heathen die in their sins, condemned indeed for much sin they might have avoided, but yet practically without the means of salvation from a sinful state. If this possibility, so seldom realized, is a satisfactory solution of the dark problem, it will, of course, be admitted that their probation is limited to this life. If this is all that God in his love and righteousness does for a large and thus far the vastly larger portion of the race and yet gives the gospel to others, then, certainly, he offers to them all he has to offer while they are in the body. In apparent inconsistency with this view, its advocates are sometimes heard saying that God will do all that can be done for the salvation of every one of his children.

For practical purposes this explanation is not much better than that which preceded it. According to either view, the immense majority of men die in their sins without hope of salvation. The only advantage of the theory that salvation is possible under the light of nature is that it is not quite as difficult to vindicate the divine justice in condemning those who are disobedient. But the ground gained is scarcely appreciable, and, besides, we have reason to believe that God's dealings with men will vindicate his goodness and mercy as well as his strict justice. Indeed, justice, as was pointed out in the discussion of the Atonement, is the guardian of all the attributes, and therefore does not pronounce the first, but rather the final, word.

But this theory is still further attenuated to mean that the knowledge under which it is possible for men to be saved who never hear of Christ is "essentially" knowledge of the gospel. There is no essential difference, it is said, between the knowledge of duty and therefore of God, which reason and conscience give, and the knowledge of duty and of God which the gospel gives. It is argued that the mutual relations of men in society make obligatory the law of love to man, and inferentially of love to God, and that the gospel gives no other law, even if it enunciates that law more clearly; that therefore conscientious heathen, living up to the knowledge they have, are actually saved through Christ and his atonement, although they have no knowledge of the actual Christ, nor of his sacrifice for the sins of the world.

Now, this reasoning, if it may so be called, is evidently resorted to in order to make the theory agree with the accepted view that salvation from sin and reconciliation to God are possible only through Christ. It is indeed true, but that is not what this explanation means, that God's relation to the entire race in all the generations is other than it would be but for Christ. A race into which Christ is incorporated is not dealt with by God as it would be otherwise. Thus, while the work of Christ was not as yet accomplished, God exercised forbearance for the sins of the past. It is also true that the great religions are suited to prepare the way for Christianity in some such sense as Judaism was related to the gospel. God, we believe, is educating all the nations towards the gospel.

Digitized by Google

But the theory we are considering is of quite another sort. It is that the knowledge gained by reason and conscience is practically equivalent to the knowledge gained through the gospel; not as clear, but the same; less advantageous, but really identical. It is true enough that Christianity is harmonious with reason, and commends itself to the rational and moral convictions. It is also certain that so much truth concerning God as reason can discover is an essential part of Christianity. But because the less is part of the greater it is not therefore essentially the same. Christianity is a source of knowledge concerning God which is not given by the external universe nor by the constitution of man, but only by Christ. Because reason comprehends this larger revelation when it is given, it does not follow that reason is capable of discovering unaided the truths which are made known only in the gospel of Christ. This extension of the theory we decidedly oppose. From its premises some of the most mischievous and dangerous oppositions to Christ have proceeded. It certainly has no special claim as being sound and orthodox. We consider it unevangelical and rationalistic, for it disparages the importance and denies the necessity of historical Christianity. It is perilously akin, in its postulates, to the Deism of the last century, which maintained that the knowledge of reason and the commands of conscience are sufficient, and which held Christianity to be not a supernatural redemption, but only a superior system of moral teaching. If the knowledge of the heathen is essentially Christianity, then Christianity, essentially, is little more than the knowledge of right and wrong, and all that men need is a clear knowledge of that which is morally obligatory. But Christianity is both superior and distinctive. The gospel not only admits, but assumes and insists that men know the difference between right and wrong. The ethical teaching of Christianity, therefore, is not unlike other codes of ethics, except as it is more clearly and comprehensively enunciated, and more beautifully exemplified in the life of Jesus. What men lack is not the knowledge, but the power of goodness. The gospel comes to men who know the right but are in bondage under sin and exposed to the necessary consequences; and it is a power of deliverance from sin, the power of a new life. The gospel, therefore, is not so much something taught as something done; a great divine work wrought out in actual history, under the knowledge and power of which men are brought into a new and holy life. Christianity is not an ethics, but a redemption. It is not man seeking God by the obscure light of reason and the promptings of conscience, which is the search of men in all the idolatries of heathendom, but it is God seeking man in the person and atoning work of Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord. Jesus said to Nicodemus that the need of moral renewal is well known without a revelation, that it is a thing of earthly knowledge. But man could never know by reason or conscience the heavenly thing that God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. That God realizes his love in Jesus Christ, and

Digitized by Google

energizes through Him for the redemption of sinners, is the gospel, and this is not "essentially" the same as the groping of men after God, who has not so revealed himself unto them. This dangerous theory puts the gospel on a level with other religions, and gives it a precarious position. Reduced to a syllogism, the theory may be summarized thus: Men cannot be saved except through Christ and his gospel; men can be saved who never heard of Christ and his gospel; therefore, the knowledge men have by nature is really the gospel of which they never heard. The major premiss is almost universally accepted. It is Professor Kellogg's postulate, and it is also ours. But the proposition which has been slipped in under the guise of a minor premiss is really a flat contradiction of the major, while the conclusion is far out on the road in company with forms of unbelief which were long ago driven out in defeat and shame.

Has it come to this, that within evangelical circles the battle must be fought again on the old issue between natural and revealed religion? Must our brethren, "whom we love while we deplore their error," again be held back from accepting the opinion that Christianity is only a system of moral teaching? Evidently the theory, in this form of it, is open to serious objection, since it threatens to undermine the foundations of the gospel, by ignoring its distinctive character as a redemption from sin.

Apart also from the tendency of this rationalistic theory to reduce Christianity from its unique position, the practical result apparently would be to "cut the nerve of missions," for the theory is, first, that the heathen can be saved without the gospel, and, second, that they already have the gospel, — essentially. Therefore, while it may be desirable and commendable to send the gospel with its clearer light, no imperative necessity is laid on those who already have the gospel.

We think it will be admitted that no one would dream of saying that the heathen have the gospel in any real sense unless he must think so in order to escape some other conclusion which he has beforehand determined to reject, no matter what violence is done to reason, and even to a correct conception of Christianity, to say nothing of common sense. Who, contemplating the heathen on the one hand as they really are, and pondering the divine and saving significance of the gospel on the other hand, believes that in any practical or even intelligible sense the heathen have the gospel? It would be better to take refuge in a confession of absolute ignorance, or to hide in the ambiguity of "uncovenanted mercies."

We have dwelt at some length on this theory, partly because it is just now somewhat in vogue, and also because those who hold it denounce in severe terms others who are better satisfied with a different explanation. We do not deny liberty to any one to entertain this opinion, although it seems to us foreign to the most obvious characteristics of the gospel, because we admit the problem to be a dark and difficult one, at the best; but we cannot refrain from expressing surprise that the adherents of a view which is manifestly open to grave objections and serious inconsistencies should be horrified at others who do not happen to agree with them

Digitized by Google

in reference to a question which has always been perplexing, and to which no answer yet given is entirely free from objections.

This theory has little advantage over that first noticed. According to that, the heathen must be lost. According to this, it has to be admitted that the overwhelming majority are lost. A possibility which does not rise into any appreciable realization fails to remove the difficulty. When this possibility is still further reduced by the attempt to prove that it is the gospel in another form, earnest inquiry is almost insulted. Such explanation increases the perplexity which it pretends to relieve. We are still confronted by the problem. Is there any other hypothesis which affords light? Can no more be said than that God will do what is right, and we must leave all in his hands? Have we no reason to expect, in this life, a more definite explanation?

3. The conclusion which most naturally suggests itself is that those who do not know of God's love in Christ while they are in the body will have knowledge of Christ after death. This answer certainly has the merit of simplicity and intelligibleness. If it is true, then every one will have a real knowledge of the gospel, and at the day of judgment will be approved or condemned in view of his acceptance or rejection of Christ, who, either before or after death, but before the final judgment, had been made known as the Redeemer from sin. There would still remain the mystery of that freedom which makes it possible to reject Christ, a mystery which remains on any supposition, but there would be relief in the thought that no one will perish without clear and sufficient knowledge of the Saviour. But the apparent obviousness of this conclusion may be a reason for suspecting it. And we certainly have to inquire if it does not involve other difficulties so serious that it is better to attempt no solution whatever, but again to confess ignorance.

This theory is opposed for two reasons. It is said to be destitute of Scriptural sanction, and to be unsafe. We must consider, then, such passages of Scripture as relate to our question, and afterwards notice what may be called the prudential objections.

It is urged that Scripture not only does not sustain, but that it is clearly opposed to the theory. It is to be noted on this point that the passages which have a direct bearing are very few, that those which are used inferentially are about equally balanced, as many looking one way as the other, and that there is wide diversity of opinion concerning the interpretation of all the passages in question. Professor Kellogg may be trusted to have collected all the passages which he thinks are decisive as against the theory we are now considering. After diligent search we can discover only two such passages in his article, nor have we ever been able to discover others in the New Testament which can even be claimed as unequivocal.

One is the reminder of the apostle to the Corinthians that before the judgment seat of Christ they will receive the things done in the body. But this passage is limited in its reference to those who have heard the

Digitized by Google

gospel, and it is not legitimate to stretch it to a universal application. This limitation has the sanction of eminent scholars, and is admitted by some who reject the idea of future probation for the heathen. The passage, then, is not decisive. Singularly enough Professor Kellogg does not use it in that portion of his article which deals with our specific question, but in the more general discussion of a probation for all men. It is worthy of remark that no other passage distinctly refers to the bodily life in relation to judgment.

The only other passage which is claimed as explicit and decisive is in the second chapter of Romans, where Paul says that as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law. But even this statement, direct as it seems, is found in the midst of a discussion the aim of which is to show that all men have absolute need of the gospel; that for Gentile and Jew alike there is no hope apart from the gospel; that all men by reason of their sins are shut up to the gospel; that the nations left to themselves would perish; having not the law they would perish notwithstanding, as the Jews having the law would perish notwithstanding. The apostle was describing the actual present condition of Gentiles and Jews, to show that there is universal need of the gospel. And at the end of the same sentence he affirms that all men at last are to be judged "according to my gospel by Jesus Christ." What is clear is the apostle's teaching that there is no salvation except through the gospel of Christ. It is not as clear, it is indeed doubtful, if he was thinking of the limits of time within which the gospel might be presented.

We have reached the end so far as passages are concerned which are claimed to have immediate relation to our inquiry. Every one must judge whether these verses, taken separately or together, are so unequivocal as to establish the certainty that there is no hope for the heathen after death. There remain passages which are employed inferentially. Some of these look one way and some the other, and they are few at the most.

The parable of the rich man and Lazarus is not in point; if for no other reason, because Dives and his brethren had Moses and the prophets. They had the exceptional advantages of the revelation made to the Jews. They were not heathen.

The case of Cornelius is more pertinent, inasmuch as he was a Gentile, and is said to have been acceptable to God before he had the gospel. But if not a Jewish proselyte, he was so impressed by his knowledge of Judaism that he contributed liberally for its support. The history of the man is related to show how Peter was convinced that the gospel would find reception among the Gentiles as well as among the Jews. Above all, it was of the utmost importance that the gospel should be preached to Cornelius, who when he had believed on Christ was a very different man from Cornelius without Christ.

Paul's question in the tenth chapter of Romans, "How shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard, and how shall they hear

Digitized by Google

without a preacher," is appealed to by Professor Kellogg as showing that "if the heathen are to be saved, they must hear of Christ from the living preacher." He argues that Paul was not thinking of "missionary work in Hades." Probably not. But can it be claimed that Paul was doing more than to state the conditions of salvation? In order to be saved, men must have actual knowledge of Christ. Paul's inquiry "How shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard," at any rate seems fatal to the theory of salvation through the essential Christ as distinguished from the historical Christ. It is a remote inference from his urgency to carry the gospel to living men that those who die without knowledge of Christ are hopelessly lost.

A passage which seems to bear strongly on this question is that in the ninth chapter of Hebrews, "It is appointed unto men once to die, and after this the judgment;" but if it means that death, as we believe, is a great crisis, it seems to mean also that judgment is the other great crisis for every man. It is silent concerning the period between death and judgment.

We have now come to the end of passages used inferentially as against the theory under consideration. That there are no more, and that there are few also to favor the theory, is what might be expected, inasmuch as the Bible is naturally occupied with those, and addresses itself to those to whom its gospel is given, but does not discuss the condition of those to whom it is not given. The Bible is practical rather than speculative.

What, now, are the passages which are thought to give encouragement to hope for the heathen?

One of these passages is Peter's allusion in the third chapter of his epistle to Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison, in connection with his allusion in the next chapter to the preaching of the gospel to the dead. The preponderating conclusion of scholarship is that Christ appeared in the abode of the dead between his crucifixion and resurrection. That his message was other than the gospel, least of all that it was an exultant condemnation of the lost, we find it impossible to believe. The inference is natural, though not necessary, that if Christ preached to the contemporaries of Noah, the wickedest of former generations, his gospel is also made known to the heathen nations who have had even less than the warnings of Noah. The belief of the ancient church, a belief which has held its ground till the present time, that Christ descended into Hades, is a legitimate inference from Peter's teaching, taken in connection with Paul's parenthetical question in the fourth chapter of Ephesians, "Now this, he ascended, what is it but that he also descended into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended far above all the heavens." The interpretation of the preaching to the dead (1 Peter, iv. 6) as meaning to the martyrs who are now dead, but who heard the gospel when alive, is too fanciful to deserve serious thought.

Digitized by Google

Another passage is that in the gospels concerning the sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be forgiven, neither in this world nor in that which is to come. These words of Jesus do not affirm that any sins will be forgiven in the world which is to come; but the inference is natural from his solemn declaration that the sin against the Holy Ghost cannot be forgiven in the world to come, that other sins may be forgiven hereafter. And, inasmuch as this sin is generally thought to be no other than the willful rejection of Christ, the inference is still more natural. It is possible, however, that Christ meant only to speak strongly, and was employing an "emphasized negative." Professor Kellogg argues that the world to come was, in the opinion of the Jews, to begin with the resurrection, and that Christ had no reference to an age between death and resurrection, but to an age following the intermediate state. If we correctly understand this explanation, the inference would be that all sins can be forgiven all the way on up to the resurrection; that is, in this age or world; and possibly, except the sin against the Holy Ghost, in the period which is ushered in by and follows the resurrection. This explanation the professor esteems better and more precisely pertinent to the present issue than the "emphasized negative" theory, or the "turning rhetoric into logic" theory.

Again, if the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon are to be condemned to everlasting woe, in what sense can their judgment be more tolerable than that of Chorazin and Bethsaida? If Sodom, with the knowledge of Christ, would not have been overthrown, and if Tyre and Sidon would have repented, can we believe that the knowledge of Christ will forever be withheld from them? And is it certain that our Lord had in mind more than the temporal calamities to which those cities had been exposed by reason of their sins? Was he thinking of the everlasting destiny of all the individuals who dwelt in them?

In more than one place Christ is spoken of as the Lord of the living and the dead, as if his power is not absent from the abodes of the dead.

The only remaining passage is the account in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew, where judgment is based on humane and benevolent works, — such as feeding the hungry and visiting the sick. It would seem to favor the second theory, especially the form of it which argues for the essential Christ. But some suppose that all those there described must have had the knowledge of Christ, since they at that time know who He is; others, that their surprise is in seeing that many works they had done were really for Christ; others, that saving faith expresses itself in conduct; but Professor Kellogg has relieved us from the necessity of explaining the passage, for he is positive it is not an account of the general judgment, but only of the judgment of those who at the time of the second coming of Christ will be found living, and that all these will have had the gospel preached to them.

We do not recall any other passages pertinent to our inquiry, either directly or indirectly. Inferences from the resurrection of Lazarus and

Digitized by Google

of the widow's son, and from their subsequent opportunities, have always appeared to us very shadowy.

In view of these few quotations, we claim that no one of them is decisive against the hope which may be entertained for the heathen. We do not claim, on the other hand, that the hope is unmistakably supported by the passages we have cited. They encourage that hope only inferentially. What we maintain is, that Scripture is practically silent concerning the prospects of those who have no knowledge of Christ, and that the few allusions to be found may, on the whole, be used quite as properly to favor as to discourage hope for the heathen. In the light of specific passages it is impossible to decide, and we are therefore left, as was stated at the outset, to our conceptions of the significance and scope of the gospel. Conclusions will differ as fundamental conceptions of the gospel differ.

The objections which are urged most strenuously against the hypothesis of future probation for the heathen are prudential. The consequences of such a hope are held to be dangerous. If it is admitted, so the argument runs, that there are any who may have opportunity after death, will not the hope be encouraged that some in Christian lands will also have such opportunity? Many are ready to say that they have not had a fair chance here; and as men are so prone to delay, they will be more secure than ever. We do not deny that there is force in this consideration. Such misuse might be made of the breadth of the gospel. Men defer repentance for various insufficient reasons, presuming too much on the mercy of God, or on the more convenient season. But we do not accept this objection as conclusive against the theory. It is difficult to judge of the usefulness of a particular belief. No one can tell how many are hardened against the gospel because the opinion has been advanced that all the heathen are hopelessly lost. Perhaps the harm done by encouraging delay would be more than offset by the harm done through narrow conceptions of the love of God. It is certain that many have been prejudiced against the gospel by representations of God which make Him a severe and tyrannical Sovereign. It is certain that conscientious, intelligent men have shrunk from identifying themselves with a church and from embracing a religion whose God leaves the vast majority of the race without opportunity of salvation. There is danger on both sides, and it is impossible to decide on which side it is greater.

Another prudential objection is that the motive of missions is weakened. Urgency to send the gospel abroad will be reduced, if it is believed that the heathen can be saved after death. We deny that this is the main motive of missions. Christ's command is explicit and urgent. The glory of his kingdom requires the propagation of the gospel. But it is a question which has not been sufficiently considered, what the effect is likely to be with the heathen themselves, if this or that opinion is held. The regard of the heathen in many nations for ancestors is known to be almost their religion. Who is prepared to say that it would be safer to

Digitized by Google

tell the Chinese and Japanese that there is no hope for any of their ancestors, than to admit or even teach that in other worlds the same Christ may be offered to them who is offered now to their descendants? The gospel is not limited to the Western nations. Christianity is to be Asiatic and African, as well as European and American. God's dealing with the nations which have long been in darkness is not determined by the false hopes which some who have heard the gospel all their lives may cherish, and which they all the time know are not well founded. We do not consent to argue the question on prudential grounds. These reasons have been mentioned only to show how inconclusive they are, and that there is much to be said on both sides from any such point of view.

To escape from a dilemma, it is surmised by some that, not after death, but at the moment of death, clearer knowledge may be obtained. It is urged that at that supreme moment the veil of flesh no longer obscures, and a sudden illumination may be vouchsafed. Perhaps this is true, though such indications as are given do not show that the mind is usually active at the moment of dissolution. But this hypothesis is open to all the prudential objections which are urged against enlightenment after death. If it is believed that at death knowledge is clearer and motive stronger, men will wait for so favorable an opportunity. If the heathen at death will or may receive knowledge which they do not have before, the urgency of missions is reduced quite as surely as if it is thought such knowledge will be given after death. This hypothesis also lacks the least vestige of scriptural support.

Our view is, then, that God will reveal himself in Christ to all men. Those who have the gospel while they are in the body are in the decisive period. Neither Scripture, nor the observed tendency of character to become permanently fixed, especially under the gospel, afford any reason to hope that a more favorable, or, indeed, any opportunity will be given after death. But for those who do not know God in Christ during the earthly life, it seems to us probable that the knowledge they need will be given after death. At the same time we are not as positive concerning the times, seasons, or circumstances under which God will reveal himself in Christ, as we are that the principle is of universal application: that no man will be finally judged till he knows God in the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and that no man will be hopelessly condemned except for the willful and final rejection of Christ. The sin against the Holy Ghost, which is thought to be that hostility to Christ which makes one incapable of redemption, is the only sin for which we are explicitly told there is no forgiveness in any world or age.

If it is said that it is useless to present Christ to many of the heathen because they are so corrupt that they would not accept Him, it must be replied that no one can be sure of that; that the same could be said of many in Christian lands; that it would amount to believing that the gospel is presented in earnest only to those who are sure to accept it; and

Digitized by Google

that this view is either Universalism on the one side, or the old doctrine of arbitrary election and reprobation on the other. Our belief is, that somewhere and sometime God will reveal himself to every one in the face of Jesus Christ, and that the destiny of each and all is determined by the personal relation to Christ. If we did not believe this, Christianity would no longer for us be the universal religion, and the teaching that Christ is Son of Man, the universal man, the Head of humanity, would be robbed of its significance.

That man even in another world can refuse the proffers of grace is in accordance with that freedom and responsibility which is always and everywhere both the glory and mystery of rational, moral being, and which creates no greater perplexity of thought in the case of the rejection of Christ after death than in the case of the rejection of Christ before death.

It is customary to argue from the present existence of sin and evil in the world to the probability that it may continue forever, and that some may be lost who never had even the opportunity of salvation. How, it is asked, can we reconcile it with the goodness of God that he should create a world in which sin and suffering should be present for ages? How, then, can we decide any of these dark questions from our opinion of what God might be expected to do? We submit that the argument is irrelevant. If sin is at length to disappear entirely, there would be mental relief, and its existence now would not be so mysterious. The temporary presence of sin presents no such problem as the everlasting presence of sin. The argument is one of the weakest to bring against the doctrine of universal restoration. So if the heathen, at present corrupt and ignorant, are at length to be enlightened and to have space for repentance, the problem is entirely different from that which confronts us on the supposition that from their very birth they are doomed to everlasting woe. The existence of sin, which cannot be escaped nor overcome, is infinitely more perplexing to thought than the existence of sin from which redemption is to be made possible. That God permits sin at all is indeed mysterious, but the mystery darkens if the majority of the race can never by any possibility be delivered from it.

It may be thought by some that the question we have been discussing is not of the first importance. And it is true that, taken by itself, apart from the principles to which it is related, it cannot be considered one of the fundamental questions. That is to say, one's opinion concerning the opportunities of the heathen after death is of secondary consequence as compared with his opinion concerning the Person of Christ and other cardinal doctrines. It is also admitted that on the practical side it should not have the prominence of other subjects. The preacher of the gospel has little or no occasion to argue his opinion publicly. When the gospel is actually presented it is urgent for immediate acceptance with those whom it addresses. In preaching there is almost no occasion to

Digitized by Google

debate with hearers the prospects of those less fortunate than themselves. But the opinion one has on this subject is of great consequence, when it is considered as an indication of his conception of the gospel of Christ. Even the preacher, from whose serious functions this apparently speculative question seems remote, is affected in the tone, the breadth, the influence of his preaching by the thought he has of the extent and significance of God's love to men as it is revealed in Christ. And for the theologian, indeed for every one who ponders deeply God's gracious dealings with sinful men, it makes a vast difference whether he holds that cruel conception of God which means that vast multitudes of his children can by no possibility be saved, or that narrow conception of God which means that the gospel is little more than the light of the unaided reason of misguided men, or that conception of God which recognizes the universality of the gospel of redemption and the supreme significance of the final judgment, and which means that God will not withhold from any of his children that knowledge and motive which alone are able to save them from their sins.

We do not think it necessary, therefore, to claim liberty in holding our opinion as among the opinions which have been advanced, inasmuch as this opinion finds more support than contradiction from Scripture, makes the gospel universal in fact, no longer leaving that enormous exception which thus far includes the large majority of mankind, and which restores to its complete value the significance of judgment through Christ. We both demand liberty to hold it, and decline to admit superior orthodoxy on the part of those who hold another opinion, which is open to the most serious theoretical and practical objections. We are unable to discover any more piety in representing God as a Being who creates millions of men to whom he never offers the means of salvation, than in representing God as a Being who will bring all men to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus.

The vital issue of the day, old and yet ever new, is an issue beside which the question we have been considering seems to be of secondary importance, yet with which it is closely related. The real issue is between Christianity as a supernatural redemption and mere naturalism. Can Christianity be maintained at the point where its adherents place it? Can the doctrine be made good that Christ is a revelation from God, and the supreme, final, universal revelation? Is he more than Jesus of Nazareth, the teacher and founder of one religion among many religions? Can all the attempts that are made to reduce the significance of the Person and work of Christ be successfully resisted? Do we stand on firm ground in passing over from the Jesus of history to the Christ of faith? The movement of Christian thought with which we sympathize signifies, in its deepest meaning, the exaltation of Jesus Christ as the Head of humanity, the Son of God, the Redeemer of men, the Mediator of God to the whole universe. For us He is all this, or else He is in no peculiar sense sent of God, and we have no gospel of redemption.

Digitized by Google

We have accepted one side of the great alternative, with all it may involve. We believe Him to be the Redeemer of mankind, the Lord of the living and the dead, the effulgence of God's glory, and the very image of his substance. As a corollary from this belief, we are confident that all members of the human family are to know God in Christ. We believe that all the more obscure revelations of God, and all the religions as truly as the religion of the Hebrews, have been an education of the nations preparatory to the clear, glorious, and potent revelation of God in Christ. We believe that the Biblical representations of the final judgment by Christ and of the triumphant consummation of the redemptive kingdom mean that the end is not reached till all mankind, the least and the greatest, the wisest and the most ignorant, the purest and the most depraved, have the knowledge of God's amazing love in Jesus Christ our Lord. We should be content to expend our toil of thought, our debate and contention on the great principles of the gospel; to be intent and constant in honoring our divine and human Redeemer and in persuading men of the supremacy, authority, efficacy, and universality of his gospel of redemption. But since the issue has been joined on the question which is at present so warmly debated, we are willing to meet it at that point, and to go back from the corollary to the principle, from a single application to those central truths of Christianity in the light of which only can the question receive a sufficient and a complete answer.

The question back of all is as old as the gospel itself. It was first asked by our Lord when he inquired, "Who do men say that the SON OF MAN is?" As of old the answer has been insufficient. One of the prophets, an Elijah, a Jeremiah, one sent to a favored part, but to only a part of this sinful world. The Master's searching question comes closer: "But who say *ye* that I am?" The answer was in the question as he first asked it. He is the SON OF MAN.

BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

"THE DISCIPLE WHOM JESUS LOVED," WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE PASSAGES WHERE THESE WORDS ARE USED.

IN the first three gospels there is no evidence to be found that any one of the twelve disciples was held by Jesus in higher esteem than the rest. More than once, indeed, it appears that two or three of them were selected to do certain duties, or to act as witnesses, on special occasions, of what our Lord did, or of what befell Him. But this selection does not show especial trustworthiness, or higher love on the part of Jesus to the persons selected. Such were Peter, James, and John, or the first and the last of the three. Once Andrew is associated with the three (in Mark xiii. 3), as putting questions to Jesus touching the destruction of the temple and the signs of the fulfillment of his prophecies. The same

Digitized by Google

three were chosen as witnesses of the transfiguration, that greatest of wonders in our Lord's life (Matt. xvii. 1–8; Mark ix. 2–10), and were called to go with the Master into the garden of Gethsemane, while the other apostles stayed at the entrance of the garden.

It is evident that two or three of the disciples named above did special services on occasions where only a few persons were needed; but there is no proof that a preëminence of any one among the twelve over the others existed in our Lord's lifetime, or after the crucifixion. In the Acts, where a spokesman for the apostles was necessary, Peter took this duty by general agreement, or by an understanding from the times before our Lord's death; and he, with John especially, represents the apostles before the public authorities. Even as late as when Paul began to be a preacher to the Gentiles, Peter and John, with James, "the Lord's brother," were regarded as "pillars," — although one of them was not even an apostle, — a title which implied no positive power, but only authority conceded by the rest. From this time John is nowhere mentioned apart from his brother, unless the Apostle John and the author of the Apocalypse are one and the same person.

It is remarkable that John received more reproof from Jesus than any other of the twelve, except Peter. In Mark ix. 38, Luke ix. 49, he is mildly reproved for having tried to stop one who was casting out demons in the name of Christ because he did not belong to the company who followed Jesus. And in Luke ix. 54, when the Samaritans treated the Master inhospitably because He seemed to be directing his course toward Jerusalem, and John with his brother desired of Jesus that they might have power to bring fire down from heaven and consume them, our Lord rebuked the brothers for their wrong temper, in the words "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." And again a rebuke came from Christ, when their mother, with their concurrence or at their solicitation (Matt. xx. 20–23; Mark x. 35–40), asked that they might sit on his right hand and on his left in his glory. It is evident from the passage that John was not as yet meek, loving, and unambitious to such a degree as to deserve the title of "the disciple whom Jesus loved" for what he was, rather than for what he was to become; there were in him the germs of a beautiful and divine life, but he had not as yet been "made perfect in love."

Here we may ask whether the name "sons of thunder," given to the two brothers by Jesus (Mark iii. 17), was intended as a reproach, or at least as involving the wrong tendency of feeling which appears in Luke ix. 54; or, if not, what is its true import? It seems unlikely that our Lord should have given this as a surname of censure to both brothers at once; and still less probable that their wrong spirit, elsewhere spoken of, should be referred to here in Mark without giving the reason for it. More probably the meaning of *vehement* or *impetuous* is to be put into the word, not as referring to fervid, fiery eloquence, but to vehemence of temper. As for John, even in his old age, after long years of discipline in the school of Christ, fervent feeling appears to be part of his nature; and his ardent love is not inconsistent with such a spirit, after he had been brought into the spirit of peace and self-control by being with Christ. Such a story as that which records his words uttered when Cerinthus and he happened to be in a bath together[1] points to ardent feeling even in his extreme old age. Nor was he in this unlike his Master; for where

[1] Euseb. iii. 28, as handed down from Polycarp.

Digitized by Google

is stronger rebuke than that of the "scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites," in Matt. xxiii.?

The expression "disciple whom Jesus loved" is found with slight variations in five places of John's gospel, and nowhere else in the New Testament. In ch. xiii. 23 we have "now there was reclining in [or leaning on] Jesus' bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved." In xix. 26 we have "the disciple standing by, whom he loved." In xx. 2, "she runneth therefore, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple, whom Jesus loved." In xxi. 7, we read "that disciple, therefore whom Jesus loved saith unto Peter, It is the Lord,"—a passage very interesting, as showing the quicker insight, the more intimate perception, of a beloved person by one in greater sympathy with him than others can attain to. And finally, in verse 20 of this same chapter, it is said that "Peter, turning about, seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following; which also leaned back on his breast at the supper," etc. Whether this last chapter of the gospel was written by John himself as far as to ver. 24, or whether it was added by his friends after his death from his notes, in whole or in part, will be considered in the sequel. Whatever may be thought on this point, there is a pretty general agreement that the apostle himself is as responsible for the facts of this appendix as for any other part of his gospel.

These passages, when they speak of the disciple whom Jesus loved, agree in their phraseology almost exactly, except that in the fourth (xx. 2), the verb translated "loved" is ἐφίλει, while ἠγάπα stands in all the others. This also will be considered hereafter. At present we shall try to answer the question who is pointed at by this disciple, and when he can be supposed to have been first so called.

To the first point the closing verses of the gospel give answer. In v. 20, Peter turns and sees the disciple, so called, following, who is described as leaning on Jesus' bosom at the last supper, and as one of the twelve. No one, who is not prepared to pronounce all this to be a pure invention, will hesitate to identify him with the Apostle John, although there were no more proof of it than what is found in xxi. 24, which may have been written by one of his friends after his death. He is certainly not Peter, and if from the first three gospels any conjecture can be drawn, he must be one whom our Lord employed in various services which show the trust reposed in him. Now in the fourth gospel a disciple (or apostle) who must have written it speaks a number of times of a disciple who has an important part to act, yet without mentioning the name of that disciple, and only calling him the disciple whom Jesus loved, "this disciple." It is remarkable that the author of the fourth gospel makes no mention of himself by name, and that, even when there is no reason discoverable for such a suppression, unless it be a personal one. Thus the fullness of the narrative in i. 37–40 points to a distinct memory of what took place when the writer first saw Jesus; but he is content with naming his own companion, for Andrew could not have been the writer. The same veil put upon his own face is seen in all the passages where the "disciple whom Jesus loved" occurs; and in his epistles he is content with calling himself "the elder." So in xix. 25 he is reserved as it respects his mother, who was probably there. In ch. xxi. 2, he does indeed speak of the two sons of Zebedee, but that was less personal than to say openly James and John. Another instance of this self-concealment is found in John xviii. 15, where Peter and another disciple who was

Digitized by Google

known to the high priest met together, and that disciple spoke to the portress and brought Peter thus into the court. Now this might be Joseph of Arimathea, or some unknown person; but when we compare this with other instances in which John speaks of himself we can hardly doubt that he was both narrator and witness. Comp. Meyer's fifth ed. and B. Weiss, in Meyer's sixth.

Here, however, some one may ask whether, by using this title, he is not placing himself above the other disciples, as held in higher regard than the rest of the twelve. The answer which can fairly be made to this question is that while Jesus loved him with a special and tender love, it does not appear that this title was given him until after the resurrection; and indeed perhaps not until years after that event, and even when a number of the old apostles may have been called to be with Christ. The title, again, must have been affixed to him by others who had heard of the especial regard in which Jesus held him. If this gospel was the latest of the four in its publication, as can scarcely admit of a doubt, it might disclose recollections which at an earlier period would not perhaps have been given to the world.

Nor could the title have been intended to denote that John was the only one of the twelve whom Christ loved: for such a meaning "the *apostle* whom Jesus loved" would have been necessary; it must mean that without standing above the rest of the twelve in some respects, there was a reason, or more than one reason, why he was especially dear to Jesus. A man may have a beautiful and lovely character; he may attract his intimate friends by certain special qualities, and yet be inferior to others of his circle for practical power and activity in his station.

The first thing we notice as to the man "whom Jesus loved" is that he is always called "the disciple." But as this title is found only in the fourth gospel and the word "apostle" is not found there, except in xiii. 16, where it means simply *a person sent*, in contrast to the *sender;* we should not look for it as of course designating one of the twelve. In Matthew, "apostles" is found only once, in x. 2, where it repeats the word "disciples" of ver. 1. In this verse we find having "called to him the twelve disciples," and in ver. 2. the words, "the names of the twelve apostles are these." Elsewhere Matthew speaks of "the disciples," or of "the twelve disciples," or of "the twelve;" and the same is true of Mark's usage, except in the single instance occurring in vi. 30, "and the apostles gather themselves together unto Jesus" on their return from their preaching mission. There is, moreover, a peculiar reason for the use of the word "apostle" in this place, derived from Mark's words in the verse preceding, where it is said "when his disciples heard of it" — that is, *when John's disciples* heard of his death; this made it necessary, in order to avoid an ambiguity, to find some other word, such as "apostles," to denote the twelve disciples of Jesus.

But a doubt may arise in regard to the meaning of "disciple" in these places; is it to be taken in its wider sense, or to refer to one of the twelve? Without question, to the latter. If John had been at a somewhat later time — some time after Christ's death, for instance — known as the person whom Jesus loved, the title must have come by tradition from members of the apostolic body, since it refers to what Jesus did when He was on earth. It was Jesus himself who showed an affection towards this disciple, which caused his fellow-disciples — that is, the apostles — to give him the name. And perhaps the last supper, when John lay on Jesus' breast, gave

Digitized by Google

especial occasion for it. Perhaps, also, the last moments of the life of the Lord Jesus, when He committed his mother to the care of John, fastened the name more permanently upon him.

We may stop a moment at the word "Jesus," in the title "whom Jesus loved," and ask why the name, and this only, was connected with John's title, "the beloved disciple." The cause is to be ascribed without doubt to the intercourse of our Lord with John during his acquaintance with him on earth; to no one event nor to any one quality of the disciple, but to our Lord's discernment of John's character from the beginning of his ministry, and probably before his ministry began. It was an intimacy between the master and the disciple of no short acquaintance; his feeling is denoted in the imperfect tense by ἠγάπα; He loved him with a continuous love. There may also have been a family intimacy and a relationship which carried his knowledge of John back to early youth, as we shall seek to show. He discerned in his disciple lovely traits, as He did in the young ruler, whom He may be said to have loved for the possibilities of high excellence that He saw in him. But his love to John was a tried, strong, personal love, such as the man Jesus could feel for some souls with especial endowments which few possessed. And it was a religious love, which no one could so correctly feel as He who had an intuitive knowledge of hearts. This love was the love of Jesus to one who was made to love in return. It was an earthly love of a heavenly soul, such as the Son of God in the form of a servant would feel beyond all men besides.

We have already seen that in one instance out of five φιλέω expresses this affection of Jesus to the disciple, but that ἀγαπάω is used to convey the same meaning in the others. Here we come to some interesting points touching the use of these verbs in early and classical Greek on the one hand, and in the Septuagint, the Apocryphal books, the New Testament, and the writings influenced by them, on the other. Φιλέω, we need not say, is as early as the earliest Greek literature itself, and as wide in its meaning as our verb *to love*, running through all kinds and degrees of the feeling, from the love of family and friend down to mere liking and to *being wont* to do a thing; and passing over from the sphere of innocent to that of licentious love, whether passionate or merely sensual. With this word, another, not found in Homer, and in good Attic use, στέργω, is chiefly confined to love between parents and children, and to other somewhat analogous relations, such as those of king and people. Nor is it a word of frequent occurrence, like φιλέω.

By the side of these words a third one, as old as Homer, and always in good use, ἀγαπάω, with early kindred forms in -άζω and -άζομαι, is to be met with. This word, connected perhaps with ἄγαν, ἄγαμαι, ἀγαίομαι, is found eight or ten times in Homer and together with several derivatives through the whole course of the literature of Greece.

Thus in Odyss. xxiii. 214, Penelope asks her husband to forgive her, because on first seeing him she did not *welcome* him or treat him with affection (ἀγάπησα, which Eustathius interprets by ἐφιλοφρονησάμην). In xvi. 17, we find "as a father, feeling kindly, embraces or welcomes his son," φίλα φρονέων ἀγαπάζει. Comp. Iliad, xxiv. 464. In Pindar, Pyth. iv. 241, we have "and with mild words (ἀγαπαζοντ'), they welcomed him" or *made much of him*. In Eurip. Suppl. 764, φαίης ἄν, εἰ παρησθ', ὅτ' ἠγάπα νεκροὺς may be rendered, "you would have said so, when he treated lovingly (or made much of) the dead." Paley on this passage says that ἠγάπα here means to show affection by an embrace, which would put

Digitized by Google

into it the sense of ἀμφαγάπαζω; but the thought cannot be so special. Comp. Eurip. Hel. 937; Phœniss. 1332.

In the Attic prose writers this word is not uncommonly used in the sense of *magnificare*, and also in that of *contentum esse* or *acquiescere*. The second of these meanings is not, I believe, to be met with in the Sept. or N. Test. at all, but is easily derived from the notion of making much of, or being well pleased with. It is thus found in Homer once (Odyss. xxi. 289), οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς ὃ ἔκηλος δαίνυσαι, etc.: "Art thou not satisfied that thou art feasting with us, such great people?" This sense is found with the verb in several constructions, as with ὅτι, or εἰ, with a dative, or accusative, and with a participle. It resembles στέργω in taking this sense. In the sense of *making much of*, it is also not infrequently found. Comp. Demosth. Olynth. ii. p. 23, ed. Reiske, τούτους ἀγαπᾷ καὶ περι αὐτον ἔχει, "these he makes much of, and keeps around him;" de Corona, p. 263, 7, "nor did *I value* the gifts . . . of Philip," οὔτε ἠγαπήσα. Here we add that the verbal ἀγαπητὸς with ἐστὶ is used not infrequently, like the verb, in the sense of *being satisfied with*; but although a common word in the N. Test., it never has this meaning there.

The contrast between φιλέω and ἀγαπάω, which is found several times in Greek writers, is important as showing the sense of the latter, before it was used in the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. Thus Xenophon (Memorab. ii. §7, 12) says "they loved him as one who cared for them, and he valued them (thought highly of them) as useful;" ἐφίλουν ὡς κηδεμόνα, ὁ δέ, ὡς ὠφελίμους ἠγάπα. So in Plato's Lysis, 220 D: "It would become manifest that we were highly judging and loving the good" (ἠγαπῶμεν καὶ ἐφιλοῦμεν); where the latter word contains something more of feeling, while the former contains more of regard, and a higher degree of respect. A much later writer, D. Cassius (xliv. 48), gives the same place of greater emphasis to φιλέω, when he says of the Roman people at Julius Cæsar's death, ἐφιλήσατε ὡς πατέρα καὶ ἠγαπήσατε ὡς εὐ-εργέτην, — "highly esteemed him."

In Greek profane literature these two words remained in their old relation to one another, while the Jewish sacred books translated into Greek almost discarded one of them, and that one vastly more in use than the other. Φιλέω takes the background in these translations, while the place of honor and frequent use is ceded to ἀγαπάω. This is not only the case to a greater extent when religious love is concerned, — as when love to God, or God's love is expressed, — but to a considerable extent φιλέω, when used in other senses, gives way to what may be called a new-comer, which in its native region of Greek speakers and writers was comparatively little used.[1] Still more worthy of remark is it that while the noun ἀγάπη is wholly unknown to the Greek of Greece before the Christian era, it appears in the New Testament books as frequently as if it had always been a current word. It is a natural root of verbal forms in άω and αζω, and yet is a stranger to the Greek language until after our era, to a great extent. When a want of some nominal form answering to ἀγαπάω was felt, ἀγάπησις seems to have been first thought of, which is found in somewhat later writers, and is not found in the N. Test., but now and then occurs in the O. Test. and the Apocr. Before the transla-

[1] The verb ἀγαπάω, the verbal and its adv. ἀγαπητός, and -τώς are found in Demosth., as noticed in indices, 22 times; in Plato, 18; in Lysias, 3 times; in Isocrates, 3 times. The use of the verb in the sense of *to be content with* is common; so is that of the verbal, and of ἀγαπητώς.

Digitized by Google

tion of the Septuagint it must have been comparatively unused; for while the verb is as common as it is in the N. Test. the noun, ἀγάπη, is of quite restricted use in the Sept., and a new meaning was in process of time given to it in the early church, that of *love feasts*, ἀγάπαι. The verb ἀγαπάω is found in the Sept. about 252 times, answering to אָהַב in 150 of them, and in the N. Test., 142 times; ἀγάπη in the former 15 times, but in the latter 118; and ἀγαπητός in the Sept. in the meaning of *beloved*, but in the N. Test. 63. Comparing the frequency of occurrence of φιλῶ and its family in the N. Test. with that of ἀγαπῶ, we find φιλῶ used 25 times, φίλος, 29, φιλία and φίλη, once each.

The increased use of ἀγαπάω and its family in the Sept. and in the Christian Scriptures is probably to be accounted for by the frequent use of φιλέω and its derivatives in denoting sensual love, and in covering up foul acts under the veil of words so common and important. Such a change, on this supposition, must have come from a higher condition of moral feeling which may have been first felt by Greek-speaking Jews. The words were too necessary to be dropped out of use in social life; and it does not appear that the other family — that of φιλέω — became much more common for a long time, at least in heathen authors. And so, also, if there grew up a demand for a translation into Latin, which would naturally be called for by Jews at Rome and elsewhere in the West, it would have been made first in following the Septuagint. The same objections would meet the use of *amo*, *amor*, and their kindred; and perhaps the objections to these words were more felt at the end of the republic and under Augustus than at Alexandria, when the Greek translation first appeared. The new set of words in the early Latin translation of the Scriptures were *diligo*, *dilectus* and *dilectio*, *carus*, and the superlatives *dilectissimi* and *carissimi*, with the noun *caritas*. No other words were substituted for these in the translations and other Christian books; and to these the translators seem to have strictly adhered. A multitude of instances where these words occur in the works of Tertullian and of Cyprian, as well in their citations from the sacred books as in their own compositions, show that this use was impressed on the Latin language by Christian writers. *Dilectio* is said to be of later origin than the rest, but it is found in Tertullian.[1]

Notwithstanding this disuse to a great extent of φιλέω in both the Jewish and the Christian Scriptures, it is found a number of times in the N. Test., and especially in John, of which "the Father loveth the Son" (φιλεῖ), v. 20, "the Father loveth you," xvi. 27, and the five places in xxi. 15–17 may serve as instances. So he who "loveth a father more than me" (ὁ φιλῶν), or "a son more than me," Matt. x. 37 *bis*; and 1 Cor. xvi. 22, "if any one loveth not the Lord," οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν K. It is strange that the sphere of this word is not wider. Another passage in John xx. 2 will be noticed hereafter.

In the Septuagint the use of φιλεῶ is more limited. In Prov. v. 19, we find φιλίᾳ, Vulg. *amore*; Prov. vii. 18, φιλίας; x. 12, φιλία, *love* or *friendship*; xv. 17, *dinner of herbs* (πρὸς φιλίαν), "where love is," Vulg.

[1] We may add the remark that the use of words from more than one root in the Latin translations shows that the style was not fixed all at once. The impression is not pleasant, when forms from two roots come together in the same meaning. Comp. John, Epist. i., "carissimi, diligamus invicem, quoniam caritas a Deo," etc., ver. 7; and so vv. 10, 11, 12. *Caritas* may have been in use before *dilectio*

Digitized by Google

cum caritate; xvii. 9, "seeks friendship," φιλίαν; xxvi. 5, "open rebukes are better than secret love," φιλίας.

Here, perhaps, is the place for asking the question whether there is any difference of meaning between φιλῶ and ἀγαπῶ, and if be there any, what? Among those who have discussed this point, Trench, in the first part of his "Synonyms of the New Testament," deserves to be heard on account of his learning and carefulness. He approaches his point from the Latin representatives of the two words, *amo* and *diligo*, and first cites the following passage in Cicero's Epist. ad Fam. vii. 47, "ut scires illum a me non *diligi* solum, verum etiam *amati*." And again he cites the first sentence of the letter to Brutus, Lib. 1, "L. Clodius, tribunus plebis designatus, valde me *diligit*, vel ut ἐμφατικώτερον dicam, valde me *amat*." Comp. Epist. ad Fam. ix. 14, 5: "tantum accessit" (*i. e.*, to the love which I had for thee) "ut mihi nunc denique *amare* videar, antea *dilexisse*." The two words are also united, as in Epist. ad Fam. xv. 7, "te semper *amavi dilexique;*" in these letters *diligo* occurs very often. Ernesti, as Trench thinks, has successfully seized the difference of the words, when he says that "*diligere* magis ad judicium, *amare* vero ad intimum animi sensum pertinet." So that Cicero, in the passage first quoted, means that he does not esteem or value the man merely, but that there is something of passionate warmth of affection in his regard for him. Some have thought that *amare*, which corresponds to φιλεῖν, is stronger than *diligere*, which answers to ἀγαπᾶν; yet it is not a greater strength and intensity in the first word than in the second which accounts for these and for a multitude of similar uses of these words. "Trench adds that the first expresses a more reasoning attachment of choice and selection, from seeing in the object upon which it is bestowed that which is worthy of regard, while the second is more instinctive, more allied to the feelings, implies more passion."

We believe that this is a true statement of the difference between the two words and notions. Grimm, in his Clav. Nov. Test., states his view of the difference in the two cases [sub voce, φιλέω] thus: "Illud (*i. e.*, ἀγαπάω), lege cognationis cum ἄγαμαι, proprie denotat benevolentiam quæ admiratione, veneratione, bona estimatione nititur; latine *diligere*, bene cupere alicui; φιλεῖν autem animi inclinationem sensu et affectu excitatam, latine *amare*. . . . Hinc homines dicuntur deum ἀγαπᾶν, non φιλεῖν; Deus dicitur ἀγαπῆσαι τὸν κόσμον (John iii. 16), Christi cultores φιλεῖν (xvi. 27); Christus, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀγαπᾶν jubet, non φιλεῖν; quia *amor* imperari nequit, sed tantum *dilectio*, sapientia τοὺς ἐμὲ φιλοῦντας ἀγαπῶ. Grimm adds, "nunquam dicitur, nec dici potest *de venereo amore*." But this last remark is not fully borne out by fact. Comp. Lucian, Ver. Hist. ii. 25, Plut. Pericl. xxiv. 2, and even Judges xvi. 4, where in the Sept. we find ἠγάπησε, but in the Vulgate more properly *amavit*. This is one illustration of the difficulty of keeping words within exact bounds, especially where there is a temptation to veil sin under fair words. But this use of ἀγαπάω is exceedingly rare.

We add a few words from Freund's "Lexicon" on the difference between *amo* and *diligo*. Under *amo* he remarks "that through all the different gradations, from the purest love of husband and wife, children and friends, down to immoral, sensual love," the meaning of *amare* extends. It thus has as the radical notion the opposite of *odisse*, while *diligere* expresses the love growing out of respect, admiration, reverence, and the like, in contrast to *spernere*. In a passage from Cicero, Lact. xxvii. 100,

Digitized by Google

"*amare* nihil aliud est nisi eum ipsum *diligere* quem ames, nulla indigentia, nulla utilitate quæsitâ." Thus it would mean loving the object of love on account of its qualities. *Diligo* thus denotes a love founded on esteem. But the distinction between the two is not strictly represented in the Greek of the New Testament by the *odisse* and *spernere* of the Latin, and so μισεῖν is several times made a direct opposite of ἀγαπᾶν. For example, in the Sept. is (Mal. i. 2, 3), "I loved Jacob" (ἠγάπησα), and "I hated Esau" (ἐμίσησα). Comp. Rom. ix. 13; 2 Sam. xiii. 15; Matt. vi. 24, and especially 1 John ii. 9, where ἀγαπᾶν and μισεῖν are as opposite as light and darkness.

There are in the New Testament a few instances where ἀγαπᾶν and φιλεῖν are completely synonymous. In one set of examples the former word falls down to the level of the latter. Thus in Luke xi. 43 we find ἀγαπᾶτε τὴν πρωτοκαθεδρίαν, and in Matt. xxiii. 6, φιλοῦσι πρωτοκλισίαν, although Matthew makes use of φιλεῖν only five times, — once in the sense of *to kiss*. In Luke again, xx. 46, φιλούντων ἀσπασμοὺς is the only instance where that verb occurs, except in xxii. 47, where it is used in the sense of *kissing*. In another set of examples φιλεῖν rises to the highest conception of love. Instances of this are Matt. x. 37, "he who loveth *father* or *son* more than *me*;" "the *Father* loveth the *Son*," John v. 28; "the Father loveth you because you have loved me," John xvi. 27; "if any one loveth not the Lord," οὐ φιλεῖ, 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

Of the few instances in which φιλεῖν is used in the New Testament several are very instructive, as showing the distinction between φιλεῖν and ἀγαπᾶν. In John xi. 3, the sisters of Lazarus sent to the Lord Jesus, who was then on the west side of the Jordan, to tell him of the illness of their brother. "Thou lovest" (φιλεῖς) denotes friendship or warm friendship for Lazarus on the part of Christ. In ver. 5 of the same chapter we find a brief remark as coming from John: ἠγάπα δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν Μάρθαν, etc., and not ἐφίλει, as not the word to be chosen, when speaking of these Christian women. On the other hand, in 1 Cor. xvi. 22, Paul says, "if any one (ὃν φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον) let him be anathema;" and just below, in ver. 23, ἡ ἀγάπη μου μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. The passages in John xx. 2, and the use of φιλῶ five times repeated in xxi. 15–17, will soon call for some further remarks.

We pass now to the passages of the fourth Gospel in which the Apostle John is called "the disciple whom Jesus loved." The first of these is contained in ch. xiii., in the account of the last supper. In the course of the supper our Lord was troubled in spirit, and said, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me." The emotion apparent in Jesus' words, and probably in his demeanor also, may have arisen not so much from the nearness of death as from the deep sense of the horrible treachery of a disciple (comp. xi. 37, 38; xii. 27). When He said, "One of you shall betray me, the disciples looked one on another, doubting of whom he spake." It is possible that Judas Iscariot had already been suspected, and had a doubtful repute among his associates. Perhaps John had for a long time been aware of his worthlessness to some extent. In the sixth chapter, ver. 70, it is recorded that our Lord said to Peter and the rest, "Did I not choose you, the twelve, and one of you is a devil?" It does not seem probable that so startling an expression could have been forgotten or have aroused no suspicions, and yet Judas, living in the holy circle, had already had negotiations with the Jewish leaders for the betrayal of his Master. His remark at the

Digitized by Google

house of Lazarus and his sisters a few days before (xii. 5) was probably heard by John, and may have been interpreted to his discredit; but no one as yet could have thought of his being ready to sell Christ for money.

The curiosity of Peter was awakened by the words of Jesus, and with characteristic boldness he sought to know from the Lord himself who the betrayer was to be. His curiosity showed his own honesty. He might have been led to his lamentable falsehoods by previous self-trust and boldness, but he could not have committed an act of treachery. As he was situated at the table he could not have put a question, even in a low voice, to the Master, which some one else might not hear. It was this curiosity on his part which brings before us the man whom Jesus loved. For John reclined nearer to the Lord himself, and probably could in some way answer Peter's inquiry without being heard by any other person.

The arrangements at the table were something like these: three sofas, forming three sides of a hollow square and inclosing on these three sides the table, with a passage adjoining it, made up the ordinary triclinium. The sofa in front, on the right hand of one looking from the centre of the room, seems to have been that one on which Christ, the master of the feast, lay, in the seat nearest to the outside. The host had the prerogative of arranging the guests (comp. Luke xiv. 8–10), although the persons invited to a dinner of an ordinary character generally chose their seats. Next to our Lord John was placed, probably by a special act of Christ's, who reclined with his left hand supporting the upper part of his body, and with his right hand free. The person next to him had the same position; both being supported, when they wished, by the left hand and partaking of the food with the right. The two persons nearest to one another on the sofa while they lay on the left hand could hold conversation with one another, if they wished, without being overheard.

At an ordinary dinner or supper there were usually nine seats; so that at a larger feast there would be either several triclinia, or a greater number of guests on each sofa. In the last supper there were thirteen persons to be placed at the table; and to put them at a distance from one another at separate triclinia would by no means secure the ends of the feast. If twenty persons met at one passover, which was a common number, they would be probably crowded together on three sofas, or be put on two triclinia. Christ and the disciples might have been placed on three sofas, the two front ones of which might seat four guests, and the rear one five. Horace (Sat. i. 4, 86) says, "saepe tribus lectis videas coenare quaternos;" and that even five were sometimes put on a single sofa is shown by a passage of Cicero's "Oration against Piso," xxvii. 67, "quini in lectulis, saepe plures."

When our Lord, rising up or standing up, said, "Verily, verily I say unto you that one of you shall betray me," his words, which were heard no doubt by all the disciples, caused them to look on one another, "doubting" (or being at a loss) "who it was of whom he spake." It is plain, from these words, that Judas was as yet not generally suspected. Peter had no knowledge of his treachery, and his only way of discovering who was the traitor lay in asking John to put a direct question to the Lord Jesus. It is this hope on Peter's part of discovering the truth in the matter that led John to speak of himself here, in the Gos-

Digitized by Google

pel, as the person to whom Peter's question was put. Peter, it is said by the only person who was aware of all that Peter did at this time, "beckoneth to John and saith, Tell us who it is of whom he speaketh;" (or, as the Revised Version's reading has it,) "beckoneth to him to ask who it could be of whom Jesus speaketh." Receiving the reading chosen by Tischendorf and Westcott, we have the meaning that Peter, being a little way off, first beckons to John, to arrest his attention, and then asks him to learn from the Master the thing desired. We must adopt this sense, or suppose that λέγει . . . τίς ἐστιν περὶ οὗ λέγει is the interpretation, in the Gospel, of Peter's signs. In this case, John, understanding Peter's signs, put the inquiry, but perhaps could not well make it known at once to Peter what Jesus had said. This happened during the amazement of the disciples, and corresponds with the statement of the first two evangelists (Matt. xxvi. 22; Mark xiv. 19), if not of Luke.

John now became aware of the treachery of Judas to the full, when Christ in a low voice told him that the traitor was the one to whom "he should dip the sop and give it." [1] This sop Jesus gave to Judas, without revealing to the disciples his wickedness, which He concealed for the time by adding, "What thou doest do quickly." The apostle adds that no man at the table knew what these words meant; some supposing, because he had the box containing the money of Christ and the disciples, that he was told to buy something for the feast; others, that he was to give something to the poor on behalf of Christ and the disciples. Judas is to be excepted, it is probable, from the ignorance of the other disciples. He knew that Christ knew him to the core. For his own sake he went out from the dreadful presence, and took no part in the Lord's supper. He perhaps did not wish to have the plot of arresting Christ succeed, and thought that if He were the Son of God He could baffle or destroy his enemies. The Jews had the guilt, Christ would have the victory. For it is evident that Judas did not believe that the Jews would manage to have Christ condemned to death. He believed that Christ would prevail in the contest in some way or other. There was then at once in this man's heart a love of money, which led him to sin, a belief that Christ would prevail, and probably a desire to have Him come out of the struggle superior. He was in the same state of mind with the impenitent thief. "Art thou not the Christ? Save thyself and us." He doubted, perhaps hoped, and put the matter to the test. But at any rate he determined to have the pieces of silver.

The next passage in which "the disciple whom Jesus loved" is made mention of occurs in ch. xix. 25–27. As the whole passage puts the love of Jesus towards John and his confidence in him in a stronger light than any other, besides being of great historical importance, it demands to be examined at some length. We insert it here as it is found in the Revised Version. (25.) "But there were standing by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Klopas, and Mary Magdalene. (26.) When therefore Jesus saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold, thy

[1] The word for the piece of bread dipped in the sauce, ψώμιον, used in vv. 26, 27, of ch. xiii., is nowhere else found in the New Testament. Τὸ ψώμιον may denote the bit of bread held by our Lord in his hand at this time, or that which the master of the feast handed to some one of the company. The sauce used on this occasion, and probably elsewhere, was made, it is said, of sweet dried fruits, such as figs and dates.

Digitized by Google

son! (27.) Then saith he to the disciple, Behold, thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home."

A main point, needing to be settled here, is, whether there were four, or only three women in this company. If there were three, the sister of the mother of Jesus is called the wife of Klopas. Comp. for ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, Matt. i. 7, τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου (the wife) of Uriah, and other places where ἡ may point to a daughter, or other near connection of a man whose name is given.

If four women are here spoken of, they are placed in two pairs, like the apostles in the history of Matthew and Mark. And it is not improbable that the last three follow one another in the order of remoteness in family relationship to our Lord's mother. First comes her sister, then the wife of Klopas, then Mary of Magdala, who, so far as appears, was not of kin to our Lord's mother, but seems to have followed Christ and helped to support Him and the apostles out of gratitude to Him for healing her manifold diseases. (Luke viii. 2, 3.) We add that the wife of Klopas seems to be identified with the mother of James the less (or the short, so called as contrasted with James, John's brother) and of Joses (Mark xv. 40, 47; xvi. 1) and of James, son of Alpheus (Matt. x. 3; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13). Thus we are almost compelled to identify Alpheus and Klopas, although the identification is by no means a clear one.

Quite a number of modern interpreters are of the opinion that there were four women in this company, on the ground that if there were three only, the second, being the Virgin Mary's sister, had the same name with her. Meyer *in loco* says that "to give two sisters the same personal name was most improbable in itself, and is supported by no Jewish example." Three women are named as being distant spectators of Christ on the cross, and as afterward preparing spices for the embalming of his body. These three are Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee. (Matt. xxvii. 56.) Of these, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary "sat over against the sepulchre" after the crucifixion, and appear again at the same place early on the Sabbath morning. (Matt. xxvii. 61; xxviii. 1.) Mark speaks of the same women (xv. 41), calling them Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the less and of Joses, and Salome. The first two of these women "beheld where he was laid," and the three, including Salome (xvi. 1), brought spices to the sepulchre, when the Sabbath was past.[1]

In these accounts, the same woman, apparently, is called by Matthew "the mother of Zebedee's children," and by Mark, "Salome." Thus Salome and the mother of James and John seem to be one and the same person. There is nothing strange why she should be near the cross, for she had come from Galilee with Christ and the apostles; she had been on the morning of the same day with "the other Mary;" her own son was with this company at the cross; and we must regard it as very nat-

[1] It may be added that the third companion of Mary Magdalene, and of Mary the mother of James the less and of Joses, who is called "Salome" by Mark xv. 40, and "the mother of Zebedee's children" by Matt. xxvii. 56, disappears after the crucifixion. (Comp. Matt. xxvii. 61, xxviii. 1; Mark xv. 47, xvi. 1.) Is not this well accounted for on the supposition that after the crucifixion she was engaged in sustaining and consoling Mary the mother of Jesus, as being a very near friend or relative?

Digitized by Google

ural that she should desire to see the last days of the Lord in whom she believed. That she was a near relative of our Lord's mother is also rendered probable by her bold request that Jesus would make her sons to have the highest places on his right and his left, when his kingdom should be established. (Matt. xx. 23; comp. Mark x. 35–40.) In Matthew, where this is spoken of, the two sons were with Christ and the apostles on their way from Galilee. She had probably accompanied them until they reached Jerusalem; and here she is found, first at a distance from the cross, and then just before our Lord's death, some one who had been with the two Marys, who seems to have been at once the mother of the sons of Zebedee and to have borne the name of Salome, was here with them still, and with that son of Zebedee whom Jesus especially loved. Was she not the sister of the Virgin Mary? Many modern interpreters believe that she lies concealed, so to speak, in John's narrative as his mother; to whom he points significantly enough to those who knew her well, but in the same way in which he puts a veil before his own face.

This identification of Salome with the Virgin's sister, which involves her being John's mother and of the house of David, is advocated by Wieseler, Lange, Lücke, Ewald, Laurent, Meyer, B. Weiss, and others. Among recent English commentators this opinion finds favor with Alford; Westcott in "The Speaker's Commentary;" Plumtree in the commentary edited by Ellicott; Mulligan in Schaff's popular commentary, and others. Some reject it, as De Wette and his reëditor, Brückner, and Luthardt in his comment. on John, first ed. Luthardt's statement of his reason for so doing amounts to this: that if John were her nephew, to intrust her to him would be almost a matter of course, but would be the more remarkable if she had no near family connection with him than if she were a relative by blood. In a subsequent edition this opinion is, I believe, recalled. Nor ought we to omit mention of Bengel's note on ver. 25 (in his "Gnomon"), written before this opinion had been expressed, or at least gained currency. Speaking of the persons there, under the word εἱστηκείσαν, he says, "matrem suam Johannes modeste non memorat, quæ etiam adstitit." Yet the other point of the blood relationship between Mary and Salome did not occur to him.

Thus the nearest and best known friends of our Lord were gathered, a few moments before his agony, around the cross. Without doubt He wished it to be so, but it must have come to be so, not by any preconcert, but by divine arrangement. Probably as they saw at a distance that the last moments had arrived, they came together, escorted by the apostle, to bid a last farewell to Jesus before his death. As He noticed his mother below the cross, He said to her, "Woman, behold, thy son," and to the disciple, "Behold, thy mother." Two words of agony, "I thirst," and "It is finished," were all that He said besides, ere He bowed his head and gave up the spirit.

Perhaps no one ever read these words thus explained without feeling that the love manifested by our Lord in his last moments towards John must have made the disciple happy all his lifetime. And this last act of the Saviour must have led those who had heard of it to understand how the disciple came to be known abroad as the beloved disciple. He took her to his own home from that hour.[1] These words seem to show that

[1] "From that hour" can only mean that he took the mother of Jesus to a dwelling place at Jerusalem where he lived, and perhaps Salome and James also. Lücke (ed. 1) says that "this is not to be taken strictly. Not until after

Digitized by Google

Jerusalem was in some sense his dwelling place; and perhaps Salome dwelt with them, and James, the Apostle's brother, until his martyrdom.

Let me be pardoned here for making the remark that those who believe that the "brethren of Christ" were children of Mary, and not of some former wife of Joseph's, find something here which ought to perplex them. Our Lord, according to this view, commits his mother to a near relative, it may be, but in so doing decides that her own children are unworthy of performing a duty far more imperative on them than on any one else, — the duty of maintaining, or at least of giving a home to and taking care of their own mother. And still farther, as there were seven of them, four sons and at least three daughters (comp. Matt. xiii. 56, "and his sisters, are they not *all* with us"), would it not be something strange to release her from maternal and then from filial duties? especially as the youngest of them, if they were her own children, must have been in need of her care and influence, and she was their divinely constituted guardian. Thus this touching scene seems to favor very decidedly the earliest opinion in the Christian church, that Mary had no child but Jesus.[1]

The next passage where John is spoken of as "the disciple whom Jesus loved" is contained in xx. 2, where Mary of Magdala, early in the morning of the first day of the week, having found the sepulchre empty, ran and came to Simon Peter καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον μαθητὴν, ὃν ἐφίλει ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Here ἐφίλει appears instead of ἠγάπα, and "the *other* disciple whom Jesus loved" is not entirely clear. The repetition, also, is not easily explained of πρὸς used twice, with Peter, and with the other disciple.

One interesting question touching this passage is whether "she came to Peter and to the other disciple" means that she came to Peter, who was in one place, and to John, who was somewhere else. The disciples may not have been together by night and by day, although they are spoken of as being assembled on the evening of this same day (xx. 19), as well as afterwards (xx. 26). The most natural conclusion is that Peter and John were not together (comp. Thayer's A. Buttmann's Gr. p. 340), but that Mary went to each of the places where she knew that they were lodged. Again, John is called "*the other disciple* whom Jesus loved." Must this mean that she went to find Peter and the other disciple, namely, him whom Jesus loved? — in which case the name of John is suppressed, but

the resurrection, when the feast was ended, John returned, as it seems, to Galilee, where he probably had τὰ ἴδια (οἰκήματα)." Τὰ ἴδια is so wide in its meaning that it need not imply that he necessarily owned or occupied exclusively a house by himself. Paul at Rome lived ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι. Nor would John's τὰ ἴδια imply his living apart from his own mother, or his having a family of his own. Does 1 Cor. ix. 5 prove that "the rest of the apostles and the Lord's brothers and Cephas" had wives and families? or is the sense this — that as the persons mentioned had a right ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν, so Paul and Barnabas had the same right? the proof of which is that not all of them exercised such a right, but some of them. Meyer on this passage says that "it does not follow from this that all the other apostles were married, but the majority had wives." But if only one had a wife, and it was allowed or recognized as his right, was not such allowance enough? As long as Mary lived, John's home must have been her home.

[1] If we suppose the Virgin Mary to have been eighteen or twenty years old in 754 A. U. C., at the birth of Jesus, and if the Jewish rebellion broke out in 819 A. U. C., she would have reached, if living in this latter year, the age of eighty-five. It is very possible that she died before the rebellion, and that it was then that John went to Asia Minor.

Digitized by Google

the appositional clause reveals who he was; or does it mean that Peter was one of the two loved by Jesus, and John the other? Westcott, in "The Speaker's Commentary," makes this remark upon the passage: that the difference of this phrase, "the *other* disciple whom Jesus loved," from that in xxi. 7, "*that* disciple whom Jesus loved" (μαθητὴς ἐκεῖνος) leads to the conclusion that both disciples are here described as objects of the same feeling." If John had written "Simon Peter and the disciple whom Jesus loved," it would or might have implied to some readers that Jesus did not love Peter, and this the delicate perception of John would have led him to avoid.

It is in this place not altogether plain why ἐφίλει is used instead of ἠγάπα. Meyer, in his remark on the passage, says that ἐφίλει expresses the remembrance of Christ with a more tender sensibility, to which B. Weiss seems to assent. Westcott in like manner thinks that a personal affection is more strikingly shown than it would be by ἠγάπα. The Vulg. translates, as elsewhere, by *amabat*. All these explanations concur in something like this: that Jesus was conceived of under the power of a new affection. It was natural that when the Lord showed himself again to his disciples they could not but feel a want of nearness and familiarity, which helped them in their earthly intercourse with Him. Until their faith grew, and they believed more joyfully in their divine master, the human sight and presence were supports which sustained them while away from Him. But ἀγαπῶ returns in xxi. 15 and 20, as to the Divine Saviour, as soon as the presence of Jesus began to be apprehended again by the help of sight. Faith grew stronger, and the loss of Jesus' presence was an enlargement of the sway of the nobler principle, and was no more felt to be an absence. May we not conceive that the strange news of the vacant grave awoke faith and sight together, until sight was made up for by the visible working of the invisible Lord?

The twentieth chapter of John's Gospel is regarded by many as the close of the genuine Gospel; while many hold that it was for a time all that appeared, and was spread abroad as the apostle's own composition. The last verse is generally, and we believe justly, regarded as the close of what was known to the world of this Gospel in the writer's lifetime. Verses 30, 31 are to be regarded as, at first, the original close of the whole Gospel. The "signs" in ver. 30 can hardly refer to the wonderful things performed after the resurrection, giving proof that Jesus was the Son of God, of which by no means all were recorded, but are rather intended to include the whole time since He called together a body of disciples. This is, in fact, a general close of the work, having for its object proofs from the first, by which He showed that He came from heaven. Acts i. 3, which has some similarity to this place, is not parallel, but includes only the forty days until the resurrection.

Such, then, was the temporary close of the Gospel. But an appendix appeared afterwards, sooner or later, containing an account of another interview before the ascension, and indeed soon after the resurrection, in which Christ meets a majority of the twelve at the lake of Tiberias. This account is most remarkable and beautiful, and worthy of preservation, but it does not probably appear here for this reason: it was more probably made public by his friends, on account of a statement circulated abroad among believers that John at this interview was told by Jesus that he would not die until the *parousia*. John must have died before this ap-

Digitized by Google

pendix was written, and a motive for making it public, or even for writing it, must have been to correct a mistake. Another motive may, perhaps, have been to show that Peter was restored or acknowledged to be in full discipleship.

An important point here is whether this chapter was written by John himself, or by his friends, from his mouth in part, and in part by one of their number. There is no agreement and can be none on this point. But as to the last verse, although well attested by the MSS., we must with Meyer (in his fifth ed.), and very many others, deny it to be from John's hand. It is not for us to enter into this question. The interpreter can find in Meyer's John, ed. 5, and in the 6th ed., revised by B. Weiss, the leading opinions on each side of this disputed point. Weiss gives a list of some twenty who contend that it was not written by John, and of more than thirty that he was the author. Meyer thinks that the passage in 1–24 was John's own production; Weiss and many others that it was written by his friends, after his death.

It is impossible to decide confidently between these opposite judgments; yet the writer is obliged to believe that indications from style are on the side of John's being the author, although the verses 24, 25 may have been added, and ver. 25, as we have said, is manifestly spurious. If we gave up this conclusion, we should not unwillingly assume another position: that John's friends took it down in his latter days from his mouth.

We add here a list of resemblances to John's style, tending to show that this mark of his authorship, at least, is preserved in the appendix.

Among the marks of John we notice the asyndetic structure, and the use of οὖν, so much more frequent than in the other Gospels. Comp. for the first point vv. 2, 3, 4, 12, 13, several clauses in vv. 15, 16, 17, where λέγει begins a sentence, and 20, 22. As for οὖν, it is nearly as frequent in this chapter as in other historical portions of this Gospel, in which it is found nearly twice as often as in the three other Gospels put together, being found in the present text in John about 212 times, but in the three together about 113 times. A. Buttmann (in Thayer's transl. §151) calls asyndeton in the narration of historical facts following each other a pre-eminent characteristic of John; but adds that this species of asyndeton has been marred by the copyists times without number, by the insertion of such particles as δε, γὰρ, οὖν, etc. Οὖν in this chapter is as common as it is in the rest of the Gospel.

Other peculiarities of the Gospel found here are such as these: in John vi. 1 and xxi. 1, the lake or sea of Galilee is called the sea of Tiberias, and nowhere else in the N. Test. Peter is called Simon Peter in this chapter five times, and about eleven times besides in this Gospel. Ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν, occurring in xxi. 18, meets us thus repeated 24 times in earlier chapters and nowhere else. "Nathaniel" is found only in ch. 1, five times, and here (v. 2), and is called "of Cana of Galilee" here alone. The name of the apostle Thomas with his surname Didymus occurs in xi. 16, and nowhere else. Ἄλλοι ἐκ with a genitive (v. 2) answers to τινες ἄλλοι ἐξ, Acts xv. 2. Πιάζω, vv. 3, 10, is found six times in John, and four elsewhere in the N. Test. In v. 4, πρωίας ἤδη γινομένας, "when it was already coming to be early morning," is like πρωίας γενομένης, in Matt. xxvii. 1, "when it came to be early morning." Ἑλκῦσαι, and εἵλκυσε (vv. 6 and 11), forms of ἑλκύω, meet us in John four times beside and once in Acts, but only six in all in the N. Test. Διαζώννυμι is confined in the

Digitized by Google

N. Test. to John xiii. 4, 5, and this place. Γυμνὸς is nowhere else found in the N. Test. as denoting "with no upper garment on," but is found in 1 Sam. xix. 24, in the Hebrew and Sept. Comp. Grimm's Lex. In v. 8, the expression ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν διακοσίων has its parallel in John xi. 18, ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων δεκαπέντε. Σύροντες (v. 8) appears thrice in Acts, once here, and once in Apoc. 9. Ἀνθρακιὰν is used by John in xviii. 18 and here in the sense of *a fire of coals*, and in N. Test. 10. Ὀψάριον. Found five times in N. Test., all of them in this Gospel, vi. 9, 13, and xxi. 10, 12, but common in the Greek writers, denotes *cooked*, esp. *roasted*, *fish*, but also fish for roasting. 12. Δεῦτε, 13 times in N. T., in John here and in iv. 39. Ἀριστήσατε, *break your fast*, and so in v. 15. Common, spoken of the morning meal, in Luke used of a later meal, xi. 37, and nowhere else in N. T. Ἐξέτασαι αυτὸν σύ τις εἶ. *Search out, search out by asking who art thou*, so in Matt., ἐξετασάτε περί, ἐξετάσατε τις, and nowhere else in the N. T. 14. Τοῦτο ἤδη τρίτον, as in 2 Cor. xiii. 1, τριτόν τοῦτο ἔρχομαι, literally, "already this third time or for this third time am I coming to you." Ἤδη seems to denote that already, so soon after the resurrection from the dead, He manifested himself, or was manifested. The times referred to, it may be, were the manifestation of himself on the resurrection day, that on the next Sunday when Thomas was present, and this, all of them to apostles; or that on the day of resurrection, that a week after, and this; which three are especially mentioned in this book. 18. Ἧς as in xi. 21, 22, instead of ἦσθα. Γηράσῃς, *shalt become old*, is used of actual old age, and in Heb. viii. 13, of an institution which is going towards decay, used nowhere else in N. T. Ἐκτενεῖς in N. T., always with χεῖρα, but not happening to be found in John's Gospel, — so ζώννυμι, not found in John, except here, occurs in the other Gospels and Acts. 19. Ποίῳ θανάτῳ. So in xii. 33; xviii. 32. 20. Ἐπιστραφεὶς. See Mark. v. 30; viii. 23. 19, 20. Ἀκολούθει μοί. The two senses of this common word, that of following in a path and that of following as a disciple are, as elsewhere, readily expressed in this chapter. Comp. John viii. 12; xii. 38, and ver. 22 below.

There are in this chapter a few words found nowhere else, as is the case in the historical parts of this Gospel and elsewhere in the New Testament. These are ἁλιεύειν (v. 3), προσφάγιον (5), προβάτιον (16), ἐπενδύτης (7). The first and fourth might naturally enter into the dialect of sailors. The second is called by glossarists rather Hellenic than Attic, and answers to the Attic ὄψον, which is represented in John, ch. vi. and xxi., five times by ὀψάριον. Ἁλιεύειν is found in the Sept. Jer. xvi. 16, and is cited as being used by Lucian and Plutarch. Ἐπενδύτης is met with several times, and denotes an *overcoat* or wrapper sometimes made of linen, but not confined to fishermen. In the Septuagint we find it several times. In 2 Sam. xviii. 4, Jonathan exchanges his ἐπενδύτης and other garments with David, as a mark of friendship; and in 1 Sam. xiii. 4, a daughter of David is spoken of as wearing a garment so called. Finally προβάτιον, if it be the true reading, is a term of endearment, like τέκνιον and παίδιον used by our Lord, although this is doubted by some critics, especially Lachmann, while Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort admit it into their editions.

From this examination of the twenty-first chapter, which seems to show that in substance it is written by John himself, we turn next to the two passages which contain the words "the disciple whom Jesus loved." The

Digitized by Google

chapter begins with "after these things," and we are carried by it to the Sea of Galilee, whither, probably not long after the second Lord's day, the disciples had resorted. Why all the apostles were not there together, why the names of two who were there are not given to us, we cannot explain. Andrew, one of the men of business among the apostles, was not there; and Peter appears again in his old standing as the leader among the brethren, having been soon received back after his denial, for which, indeed, at the last supper our Lord had made provision, Luke xxii. 32. Together they meet at the sea near which they had been most of them brought up; and Peter proposes to go a-fishing, to which all the rest agree. They go on board of a small vessel over night, throw out their net, and at the dawning of day have caught nothing. Now, being about two hundred cubits from the shore, and at a time of day when even a well-known person might not yet be recognized, they see a man standing on the shore, who calls to them, "Children, have ye any meat?" or, according to the form in which He puts his question, "Little children, you have not got anything to eat, have you?" His word προσφάγιον (only found nowhere else in the New Test.) means anything eaten with bread, as meat, especially fish. They could hear his voice three hundred feet off, and answered that their night's fishing had been unsuccessful; to which He replied, "Cast the net on the right side of the vessel, and ye shall find." They did so, and the haul of large fishes was so heavy that they could not draw the net along. John, and possibly others, may have been struck by the word "children," remembering the words παίδια and τέκνια used by the Master; and remembering also, — some of them, — how in the early times of his ministry at Capernaum He had told Peter and his partners (Luke v. 5–11), when they had toiled all night and had taken nothing, "to put out into the deep and let down their nets for a draught." John, with his quick perception, and his recollection of that scene on the same water, was the first to think that this was the Lord. Peter, when his friend told him what he thought, felt sure that it must be so; and putting over his tunic an upper garment used by fishermen and others, he swam or waded to the shore. These simple words bring the two apostles before our eyes in a very striking way, — the man of quick perceptions, of insight, and of love; and the man of boldness and eagerness, who wanted the more to see Christ, if it were Christ, on account of his own fall and forgiveness. The other disciples, John among them, came in the little boat (R. V.; in a little ship, A. V.). The little boat attending on the larger fishing smack, as we might call it, was probably able to come nearer to the shore, and thus it was easier to land without having to wade. Some translators make πλοῖον and πλοιάριον to denote the same vessel, and it is not certain that there was more than one boat there, but the greater probability is that there were two.[1]

[1] The apostles came to land ἐν τῷ πλοιαρίῳ. This can mean either *in the small boat*, which attended on the πλοῖον; or it is another word for the πλοῖον, the vessel in which they were, when they first saw Jesus at a distance. If it were a small service boat, they would naturally draw the net through shoal water, where the πλοῖον could not be used. The small boat, then, was used of necessity, and the article τῷ has a meaning. Yet boats or vessels were of such varieties of sizes that the same vessel might have both terms applied to it. The readings in Mark iii. and in John vi. vary much between the two words. In Mark iii. 9 a πλοιάριον waited on him because of the crowd. A πλοῖον might have tempted the crowd to get on board. In Mark iv. 36, 37 the reading is doubtful; πλοῖον is received by Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, etc.,

Digitized by Google

Having dragged the net ashore, they see preparations made for them as by some host, who knew that they would be at the place. All believed Him to be the risen Lord, but there was something in his features which did not exactly remind them of Him as He was before the crucifixion. Their state of mind is expressed by the apostle in an exceedingly skillful way in ver. 12. None of the disciples dared (could venture, or make up his mind) to ask of Him, or to find out by questions who he was, "because they knew that he was the Lord." These words, as far as we can judge, most happily express what they felt. The proofs He gave of his identity made all feel sure who He was, and yet that wonderful event of his resurrection approached to the incredible. It is possible that his face had somewhat changed in its appearance, which can explain, perhaps, how the two who went to Emmaus on the morning of the resurrection day did not recognize Him on their long walk, nor at the table, until the close of the meal. This may be said of what occurred here with less probability, for the apostles had, since his resurrection, seen Him at least twice before. On his first appearance to his disciples "they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they beheld a spirit" (Luke xxiv. 37), and although "he showed them his hands and his feet," "they still disbelieved for joy" (*Ibid.* 40, 41). On the whole, they were in that state of mind that, while they were sure He was the Lord, the tendency to reject what is miraculous lay in their minds, producing a kind of questioning, or conflict of judgments, which is natural to a human being when he sees that which is out of the course of nature.

When they reached the land they saw preparations made for their breakfast: a fire of coals, fish roasting on it, and bread. Jesus acted as master of the feast, and bade them to bring ashore some of the fish that they had caught; upon which Peter, getting up into the boat (or small boat, the Greek being ἀνέβη only), pulled the net holding the fishes up to the land. The fish proved to be large in size, and in number one hundred and fifty-three, — a number which seems to contain no hidden meaning, but to be accounted for by the Apostle John's love of minute particulars. We cannot help believing that the disciples were reminded, by this success in catching the fishes, of the somewhat similar aid from Jesus at the beginning of his ministry (Luke v. 4–11).

After they had partaken of the food, it became evident that one reason for his manifestation of himself at this time was to make it more apparent than He had done before how He felt towards Peter, and that He wished to establish him again in the love and confidence of the other disciples. Our Lord's motive seems to have been to show, by a public act, that He had chosen Peter to follow Him in the work of an apostle until he should honor his Lord by a martyr's death.

When the breakfast was ended, Jesus said before them all, three times in succession, "Lovest thou me?"— at first in the words ἀγαπᾷς με πλεῖον τούτων; then in the first two of the words, ἀγαπᾷς με; then using Peter's words which he had used throughout, φιλεῖς με; The words, "more than these disciples," must refer to what Peter said at the last supper, "Though all should be offended, yet will I never be offended," Matt. xxvi.

and the vessel was going across the lake. In John vi. 17, 19, 21, the πλοῖον crossed the lake. In v. 22, one πλοιάριον was lying near the land; and the people found that Jesus was not in the πλοῖον. Other πλοιάρια came, however, and the ὄχλος got on board and crossed to Capernaum. Comp. for πλοιάριον Aristoph. Ran. 139, and Diod. Sic. 11, p. 157.

Digitized by Google

33. (Comp. Mark xiv. 29–31; Luke xxii. 31, 34; John xiii. 37, 38.) That this was a loving and gentle rebuke of Peter's boldness, and almost boastfulness, seems to be evident. Peter had repented, and had been forgiven. Yet it seems to have been most wise and kind for Jesus publicly to reinstate Peter in the confidence of the unsinning apostles, and to help him thus to put forth all the power and love within him in the Master's cause. As our Lord said in Luke xxii. 32, "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren;" so here, by his manifest trust shown in the words "feed my sheep," "feed my lambs," before the apostles then present, He put Peter back where he was before, and helped him to recover whatever might have been lost of their respect and confidence.

We stop for a moment on these questions of our Lord, and on Peter's answers, simply to ask why our Lord uses ἀγαπάω the first two times, and why Peter adheres throughout to φιλέω. Trench explains the difference thus: "ἀγαπᾷς με sounds too cold to Peter," when all the pulses in his heart are beating with an earnest affection towards his Lord; it does not sufficiently express the warmth of his personal affection. Besides the question itself, which grieves and hurts Peter (verse 17), there is an additional pang in the form which the question takes, as though it were intended to put him at a comparative distance from his Lord, and to keep him there. He therefore in his answer substitutes for it a word of more *personal* love, φιλῶ σε (v. 15).[1]

A difficulty attendant on this explanation is, that when the word so much used for the love of God to men and of man to God is chosen by Christ, Peter should make use of another, because Christ's word is "too cold." We naturally avoid or distrust attaching this quality of coldness to ἀγαπάω or ἀγάπη; and while we ascribe to these words the consent of the will and benevolent regard, we do not strip them of feeling (comp. Luthardt on vv. 14, 15). May we not rather consider it to be more probable that Peter felt his love to Christ to be too human, too much like a friend's love to a friend, and ventured not on this solemn occasion to give it the name more appropriate to a love such as did not reach the point of ἀγάπη? Hence it is humility and a feeling of unworthiness which leads Peter to choose another expression; that one which his consciousness and his conduct might both justify. Christ's words in the first question are, "Simon, son of Joannes (or Joanes), lovest thou me more than these?" Here, possibly, there is a reference to the name Cephas, or Peter, i. 42, and if so, there is a certain degree of rebuke in the question; but it would seem more probable that the words rather point to the passage preserved by Luke xxi. 31, 32, ending "and when once thou hast turned again strengthen thy brethren," but especially to Matt. xxvi. 33, and Mark xiv. 29, "If all shall be offended in thee, yet will not I." There is thus in this interview a purpose of rebuking effectually but lovingly. Peter replied, "Thou knowest that I love thee," and received for answer, "Feed my lambs." If thou lovest me I call thee to the office and honor of feeding those who belong to my flock, especially to the younger ones of the fold. Here some of the passages of the beautiful chapter, John ix., especially "I lay down my life for my sheep," might be thought of by the apostle. The second time He saith to him the same or nearly the same words, and Peter returned an answer as before, appealing to Christ's knowledge as being the best evi-

[1] I have abridged or omitted some of the remarks of Trench. *Synon. of New Testament*, i. 65. Amer. ed.

Digitized by Google

dence that could be desired. But Christ still again asked the same question, only putting φιλεῖς με in the place of Christ's ἀγαπᾷς με. In the three answers of our Lord we have in succession "Feed my lambs" (or, "my dear little lambs"), "Tend my sheep" (or, "my dear sheep," according to another reading), and again, "Feed my sheep." As already remarked, these threefold admonitions imply his restoration to his place, not only as a believer, but as an apostle of Christ also. This was his great honor and office, and ever afterwards he was himself kept from falling, and led others to Christ whilst he lived. We find him, under the same metaphor, saying to Christian elders, "Tend the flock of God which is among you," — and when the chief shepherd shall be manifested "ye shall receive the crown of glory that fadeth not away" (1 Pet. ii. 25; v. 4).

These words were probably said within the hearing of all the disciples that were present, and they must have restored Peter to his former place in their affections, as well as saved him from overmuch grief. In ver. 17 we are told that "Peter was grieved because he said unto him the third time, 'Lovest thou me?'" Was this grief awakened by the recollection of the words, "The cock shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice"? It is natural so to understand it; and the repeated emphasis on "*Lovest thou*" would without fail touch Peter's inmost soul. We may suppose also that this scene would have awakened deep grief, if Peter had heard the same words from Jesus when they were alone, but it was a blessing every way to Peter that the other disciples were witnesses.

Whether the next words also were uttered within the hearing of any besides John may be doubted, since Jesus had removed a little from the main body of the disciples, and the words related to Peter and John only. That which was said to Peter has no great connection with the preceding verses, but must have borne with power on the remainder of his life. It is introduced with ἀμὴν ἀμὴν, which is used, thus repeated, twenty-five times, but in John's Gospel only. The substance of it is that Peter when he was younger was wont to gird himself, that is, to prepare himself for walking and going abroad, as he saw fit, by raising a part of the tunic above the girdle and thus giving more free movement to the lower limbs; but when he should become older he would stretch forth his hands, and another would gird him and carry him whither he would not. These words, as here interpreted by John, refer to the death by which he should glorify God, but they are not without their difficulties. The last clause in the second part of the contrast, "shall carry thee whither thou wouldest not," precedes instead of following the arrangements for his crucifixion, or for whatever death he might be called to endure. It cannot, therefore, refer to his stretching out his hands when lifted on the cross. Meyer's view of the passage is that in the first half of the verse, ὅτε ἦς νεώτερος answers to ὅταν γηράσῃς; ἐζώννυες σεαυτὸν to ἄλλος σε ζώσει taken together with ἐκτενεῖς τὰς χεῖράς σου; and περιεπάτεις ὅπου ἤθελες to οἴσει ὅπου οὐ θέλεις. Thus the stretching out of Peter's hands would denote no independent separate act, but the expression of his unresisting surrender of himself to those who had the power of death. Thus the place in the sentence of the last clause, "carry thee whither thou wouldest not," would imply also the carrying of him to the place of execution. And the kind of martyrdom would not be distinctly specified; nor could the words, "by what manner of death he should glorify God" explain the form of death, whether it

Digitized by Google

might be crucifixion, or some other, such as beheading, and could only mean in general his death as a martyr. If, then, Peter, in the year of our Lord 65, suffered crucifixion about the age of seventy (on the supposition that he was somewhat older than our Lord), ὅταν γηράσῃς would be justified, and ποίῳ θανάτῳ be fairly explained. To notice other views would take more space than we can well afford.

When our Lord had said this to Peter, He added, ἀκολούθει μοι (ver. 19). This has been understood either as meaning the following of the Master through life, until he should glorify God by death, or as meaning nothing more than to follow Him now to a distance; as if Christ wished to hold a conversation with him which the other disciples could not be admitted to hear. It seems necessary to take ἀκολούθει μοι in the spiritual sense; but in the next verse ακολουθοῦντα has, of course, the sense of following from behind in order to join Christ and Peter. John, without doubt, understood the word spiritually; for he would surely not have intruded himself upon a private discourse, and Peter *sees* him *following* (ver. 20). The writer, whether he was John or one of John's disciples and friends, explains the words of Christ, which we suppose to mean "follow me until you glorify God by a death like mine." Just then Peter turned about and saw John following from behind. And here comes in a description of John without his name, but with a reference to John's part at the last supper, which shows its source clearly in ch. xiii. of the Gospel, but is cited from memory. "Peter, turning about, sees the disciple whom Jesus loved following, who also leaned back on his breast at the supper, and said, Who is he that betrayeth thee?" In xiii. 25 we find ἐπιπεσὼν οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, λέγει αὐτῷ· Κύριε, τίς ἐστιν; yet in the original passage ἀναπεσὼν is found in several important MSS., and has the support of several excellent editors. Instead, also, of Κύριε, τίς ἐστιν ὁ παραδιδούς σε, as here, we find τίς ἐστιν in xiii. 25. This shows citation from memory, but may be John's recollection of his own words as naturally as the recollection of one of his friends.

When Peter found that John was following close behind him, — Christ being by Peter's side, — he says to the Master, "Lord, but this man what?" (*i. e.*, what shall befall him? Comp. Thayer's Buttm. p. 338). Our Lord reproves Peter's bold question by the words, "If I will that he remain on earth till I come, what is that to thee?" *Remain* refers to the same place, to which Peter well understood that the Lord was to come, *i. e.*, to the reappearance of Christ on earth. To this he adds, reprovingly, "What is that to you?" and then closes his interview with the reiterated words, "Follow thou me," in the same sense which they bear in v. 19. The emphatic words in v. 22 are σύ and μοι. Thou askest what shall be the lot of this man. But it is not important for thee to know this. *Follow thou me.* This is the important thing for thee to know. So Tisch., Westc. and H. read σύ μοι ἀκολούθει, but in the older eds. we find σύ ἀκολούθει μοι, which weakens the force of μοι.

Christ now disappears, and the wonderful scene closes, as far as it relates to the apostles and to Christ. But the words which close the interview were not fully understood, and the question put by Peter was one which did not need an answer. Christ therefore gave him a somewhat ambiguous reply, "If I will that he remain until my reappearance, what is that to thee?" In this form it came forth among the disciples, but John, who would not ordinarily say much of himself, must — perhaps some time afterwards — have corrected the mistake himself, or through his friends.

Digitized by Google

It can hardly be doubted that the friends of John, following his wishes and aided by his materials after his death, added the appendix, as we may call it, down to the last verse of ch. xxi. Verse 24 of that chapter for a time seems to have been the simple close of the materials which John and his friends appended to ch. xx. In verses 30, 31 of ch. xx. the hand of John is to be seen. But he says in ver. 31, impersonally, ταῦτα γέγραπται, not γεγράφαμεν. The close of ch. xxi. to v. 24 points distinctly to John as the author until verse 24; and there are then two sources to whom the remaining verses must be ascribed. In ver. 24, by using οἴδαμεν, it is made clear that several persons join in giving their testimony to the apostle as the writer. The general, and, without doubt, the true opinion is that this verse belongs to John's disciples, who say, in the simplest manner, that the disciple who gave "his testimony concerning these things, and wrote them," is known by them to have given a true testimony. Here they come to a close. But now appears in the last verse a single person, as οἶμαι makes evident in the form οἴομαι, which occurs twice in the N. Test. (James i. 7, Philip. i. 17), who follows the witnesses of v. 24. This person gives no testimony, but merely makes a remark on the multitude of the works of Jesus: so great in number they are, he says, that he thinks that even the world itself could not contain the book that could be written. The comments on this verse, and especially on the word χωρήσειν (χωρῆσαι) show the difficulties that many have found here. Tischendorf strikes out the 25th verse as added by a copyist; and οἶμαι, "in my opinion," or "as I think," shows that the readers may consider what he says to be a hyperbole, and therefore he softens down his extravagant expressions. Euthymius, while he accepts the verse, says, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁ λόγος, ἐμφαίνων τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πεπραγμένων τῷ Κυρίῳ. Bengel remarks, "hoc non de capacitate geometricâ sed morali accipiendum est." It is enough to say that this must be an addition which some copyist added to the appendix as a suitable ending, with which John's friends could have nothing to do. But a close more formal than "we know that his testimony is true" was felt to be needed, and was probably inserted in order to follow the close of ch. xx.; but it contains little of the spirit of the genuine close. This last verse has done injury by contributing to the belief that the whole of this wonderful passage must be looked on with suspicion. But this very beautiful chapter carries the defense of its genuineness in itself, and no part of the narrative shows more clearly that it came from John than the closing chapter, with the exception of the last verse.

Theodore D. Woolsey.

New Haven, Conn.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Vol. I. 1882–1883. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co. 1885. Pp. vii. 262.

It is now generally known that for the past three years an American School of Classical Studies has been in operation at Athens. This school was projected by the Archæological Institute of America, and established

Digitized by Google

upon a temporary basis by the united effort of about a dozen of our leading colleges. After some unavoidable delay the first fruits of the new enterprise have been given to the public, in accordance with the regulation of the school, that a volume of papers shall be published annually, "to be made up from the work of the director and of the students during the preceding school year." This volume contains, however, only a part of the results of the first year's work; the remainder will appear in the second volume, to be published before the end of the year.

About half of the present volume is devoted to "Inscriptions of Assos (collected by the expedition sent out by the Archæological Institute of America) and of Tralleis," edited by J. R. S. Sterrett, Ph. D. A brief quotation from the editor's preface will indicate the character and value of the Assos inscriptions, many of the originals of which are now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

"Although the actual historic gain to be derived from these inscriptions may not be great, still it is hoped that the glimpse which they give of the life of a quiet Greek town in Asia Minor, with its Senate and People passing decrees as grand as those of Athens, and with its local magnates, women as well as men, earning the public gratitude by their gifts, will be welcome to all scholars." It will seem a trivial thing that "the Æolic dialect has been enriched by one important verbal form," but it is not a small matter that "the first collection of inscriptions ever made by an American expedition in classic lands" is now in print, and we may certainly hope that a new era in our national scholarship has begun.

The remaining papers are: "The Theatre of Dionysus," by James R. Wheeler; "The Olympieion at Athens," by Louis Bevier; "The Erechtheion at Athens," by Harold N. Fowler; and "The Battle of Salamis," by Professor William W. Goodwin.

Professor Goodwin, the director of the school for the first year of its existence, shows in his paper that the usual account of the position and movements of the hostile fleets in the battle of Salamis (based wholly upon statements of Herodotus) is untenable, because contradicted by "some of the most obvious facts of the topography, as well as the best testimony of the ancients." The testimony of Aeschylus, who was an eye-witness, is confirmed by Diodorus, who borrows his account from Ephorus, and by Plutarch, and is supported by the topography. The common interpretation of a couple of obscure passages in Herodotus must certainly give way before this clear and decisive testimony. Professor Goodwin's treatment of this famous battle is a convincing proof of the advantages which accrue to classical history when it is studied on classical soil.

The remaining papers, written by students of the school, embody the results of minute and thorough investigation, and do credit to the institution in whose name they are issued. Mr. Wheeler's paper is of special importance, because he deals with a subject which, in spite of the fact that more than twenty years have elapsed since the excavation of the Dionysiac Theatre was begun, receives at his hands its first adequate and satisfactory treatment in English.

To give an intelligible *resumé* of these discussions would lead beyond the necessary limits of this review; but it is a pleasure to commend this volume of "Papers" to the attention of all who rejoice in the advancement of American scholarship, and the opportunity is all the more eagerly seized because an effort is now making to put the American school at

Digitized by Google

Athens upon a permanent financial basis. The school has demonstrated its right to live in spite of lack of funds and the drawback of an annual change in the directorship. It is for the friends of classical culture to decide whether it shall continue to eke out an existence or be put upon an ample foundation. Now is the propitious moment for those who wish to help. The Greek government has just offered the school a lot of land on Lycabettus, but the offer cannot now be accepted because of lack of means for the erection of a building. For this purpose $20,000 is wanted. But the school needs more than a building. In order to be thoroughly equipped for its work, it must have the income of at least $100,000, to pay the salary of a permanent director, to replenish the library, and furnish all necessary facilities for study. The public, to whom this appeal is made, ought to be reminded, too, that the advantages of the school at Athens are offered free of expense to all American students who are competent to use them, and that its doors are also hospitably open to all transient visitors who are interested in classical learning.

Shall American students "who wish to study Greek art, architecture, history, or letters, amid the inspiring associations of Greece," have such advantages as a well-endowed American school at Athens can give them? The considerations presented by the managers in their recent appeal for funds can hardly fail to elicit the proper answer.

"The French and German governments have maintained schools at Athens for many years; and now England is about to establish her school there, and erect a building on a site which has just been granted by the government of Greece. Such a school is still more necessary for us, unless we are willing to fall hopelessly behind other nations in our standard of classic learning. It is now an acknowledged fact, amply attested by the various national schools at Athens and at Rome, that those who are to teach Greek letters and art in our universities must draw their inspiration from some source higher than books. The old-fashioned equipment of grammar and metres, with the bare facts of history and geography, will no longer suffice, and a more living knowledge is now demanded at every seat of learning in which Greek is not suffered to remain a 'dead' language."

The question is, Shall every means be employed to make American scholarship sound, broad, and progressive? Shall America have a fair chance in this generous rivalry of the nations? Now is the time to answer it.

F. E. Woodruff.

SACRORUM CONCILIORUM NOVA ET AMPLISSIMA COLLECTIO quam post PH. LABBEUM, G. COSSARTIUM, N. COLETIUM aliosque eruditissimos viros edidit JOANNES DOMINICUS MANSI. Editio Instaurata. Parisiis: Victor Palmé Bolandistarum Editor. 1885.

OURS is eminently an age of manifestation. The things that have been hidden are revealed, and the things that have been done in secret are proclaimed from the housetops. The spade lays bare the sites of old civilizations, and the testimony of buried witnesses becomes decisive of questions that have long been in controversy. Secret state-papers, the musty manuscripts in old monastic libraries, the private diaries of men and women whose influence was potential, are brought to light and placed at the disposal of the historic student.

All parties are learning that the exact truth is better than exaggeration

Digitized by Google

or garbled statement. A half century ago Ranke said of the policy of excluding scholars from the great treasures of the Vatican archives, "No search can bring to light anything worse than what is already assumed by unfounded conjecture and received by the world as established truth." Hence all thoughtful scholars must rejoice in the changes that fifty years have wrought, and all must heartily indorse the policy of the Italian government in making accessible this great depository of the documentary history of the Roman pontiffs. But until some great editor or guild of scholars shall put this material into such form that it may find its way to the shelves of many of our public libraries the historian must use such other helps as are at hand.

Among the noblest of these monuments of industry and scholarship must be reckoned Mansi's "Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio," which first appeared in 1759. From the time of Constantine to the Reformation of the sixteenth century it is well known that the Councils of the Christian church are an important factor in the history of western Europe. From the reign of the first Christian Emperor it became imperative for the ecclesiastical body to model its constitution after that of the Roman Empire, while during the Middle Ages the interests of church and state were most intimately blended. For both these reasons the discussions and conclusions of the church Councils directly and powerfully influenced secular almost equally with ecclesiastical history. Indeed, in the absence of these conciliary decisions it would be quite impossible adequately to construct the history of western Europe for twelve centuries.

Hence much had been done to make public the business of these important assemblies; yet the earlier collections of the Councils were imperfect and difficult to use, from their lack of arrangement and of careful editorial preparation. The collection of Mansi, on the contrary, evinced great editorial fidelity and thoroughness on every page. Not only was the arrangement ingenious and convenient, but the new matter, also, which he discovered and incorporated makes Mansi's "Collectio" absolutely indispensable. The highest indorsement of the work is found in the fact of its continuous use, in an age when historical criticism has been reduced to a science, by the great writers of secular history, as Ranke, von Raumer, Gregorovius, etc., as well as by every noted historian of the Church from the date of its appearance to the present time. From the Apostolic times to 1439 the ecumenical and the national, the episcopal and the provincial, councils are fully treated, and the historical student is greatly aided in his attempts to construct the history of a period beset with peculiar difficulties.

The necessity of a new edition of this great work is shown from the fact that it is out of print and no longer to be found in the market. Moreover the few stray copies that by chance come to the book trade are held at a price entirely beyond the ability of the ordinary scholar to pay. Besides, as is well known, the spirit of historic inquiry is becoming more and more widely diffused, making the need of just such works increasingly urgent.

It is, therefore, most gratifying to notice the announcement of a new edition of Mansi's work under the title "Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio," etc., by Victor Palmé, of Paris, which is to be completed in thirty-one volumes folio. These volumes are to be published bimonthly at the price of thirty-five francs or twenty-eight shillings sterling per volume. The great advantage of this edition is that, by a newly in-

Digitized by Google

vented process, it is to be a facsimile of the old, thus preserving the full value of citations from the original that have been made for the past one hundred and twenty years. It is to be hoped that the very moderate price at which this monumental work is afforded will cause it to be placed in very many of the libraries of America, and within easy reach of earnest students of history. By special arrangement S. Calvary & Co., of Berlin, are appointed agents for Germany, to which house subscriptions may be forwarded.

Charles W. Bennett.

Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois.

Paradise Found. A Study of the Prehistoric World. By William F. Warren, S. T. D., LL. D. 12mo, pp. xxiv., 505. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

We are not surprised that this book should have achieved a great success. The charm of its title pervades its contents. Multitudes to-day are like the prince of Hans Andersen's fairy tale named by the author in his preface. They wish to know where the Garden of Eden was, and cannot find a book to tell them. This want Dr. Warren seeks, in all seriousness, to meet. He is confident that he has done so by his theory that the North Pole was the Cradle of the Human Race.

Skepticism, if not ridicule, he expects for this "most incredible of all wild and willful paradoxes." He therefore proceeds to buttress it with arguments. First he disposes of counter theories, including that of Friedrich Delitzsch. Then he adduces the testimony of the seven sciences to be satisfied. Among these that of Palæontological Botany should be singled out. There we read, in italics, "All the floral types and forms revealed in the oldest fossils of the earth originated in the region of the North Pole, and thence spread first over the Northern and then over the Southern Hemisphere, proceeding from North to South." The names of Gray, Heer, Hooker, Kuntze, Saporta, are associated with this stupendous discovery of recent science. In those miocene times a tropical climate and vegetation existed where now the Ice-king reigns. Scientific geogony, astronomical geography and physiographical geology, prehistoric climatology, palæontological zoölogy and anthropology, general ethnology, are made to speak the same language. Here, for the most part, the marshaling of facts is clear, compact, candid, and convincing. The last sentence on page 86 is open to objections. It is optimistic, not scientific.

Dr. Warren proceeds to confirm the hypothesis thus tested by upwards of threescore pages of ethnic tradition. Exceptions might be taken by Egyptologists to the position that Amenti, the home of the dead, is in the South. They would make it in the West. It is doubtful, also, whether Dr. Warren is justified in disputing Lenormant's statement concerning the hollowness of the earth underneath, according to the Akkadian magical formulæ. In general these pages are full of value to the student of comparative mythology and religion. The range of reading is enormous. The thought of Japan, China, Hindustan, Iran, Assyria, Babylonia, and Greece stands out in liveliest colors. To many this portion of the work will seem the strongest.

Others will be drawn toward the chapter on the central tree of the Garden of Eden. The Yggdrasil of the Northmen, the Tat-pillar of the Egyptians, the winged oak of the Phœnicians, the Bodhi tree of the

Digitized by Google

Buddhists, the Irmensul of the Saxons, become his witnesses. Very interestingly they are cited to the point that the primeval home-country was the land of light and glory at the Arctic Pole. We are almost, if not altogether, persuaded to accept the ingenious and elaborate theory. It approves itself worthy of being dedicated, by permission, to Max Müller. Sober second thought, however, must pronounce this section more fanciful and less rational than the foregoing.

Last come four instructive chapters of results. Rightly here the author deplores the narrowness of the biologist, and offers the true antidote in historic and prehistoric thought. The latest generalization of palæontology he shows has been anticipated in two Persian myths. Homer's cosmology may shine in a new light to the relief of many a Hellenist. Against the Fetish theory should be set the Pan-ethnic no less than the Biblical doctrine of the origin of religion. The philosophy of history and the development of civilization are not to be shut up between the bounds of Buckle and Tylor, of Lubbock and Vogt. "The documents of opening Genesis may be fragments of the Sacred Scriptures of the Antediluvian Patriarchal Church!"

Our chief criticism on the book is its frequent technicality of diction and occasional chasms in logic. Its sterling merit is the breadth of its erudition in handling themes which appeal to the scientific, the classic, and the theologic mind. The accomplished author has honored his university and served his age by a fascinating treatise. We may or may not indorse his theory. We must be grateful for his work.

John Phelps Taylor.

Inspiration. A Clerical Symposium on "In what sense, and within what limits, is the Bible the Word of God." By the Ven. Archdeacon Farrar, Principal Cairns, Prebendary Stanley Leathes, Rev. Edward White, and others. 16mo, pp. 242. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1885. $1.50. Prof. Radford Thompson opens this. He attaches more importance to Revelation than Inspiration. Revelation is mainly concentrated in two epochs, that of Moses, and that of Christ. Inspiration is diffused between. The sudden post-apostolic lapse shows that just before truth has been communicated from God, now it is left to be painfully apprehended by man. The church and the Bible support each other. Revelation is infallible, but men, though inspired, do not thereby become infallible. In Christ alone, the living Word, is the human absolutely responsive to the divine. Dr. Leathes remarks that to say that the Bible *contains* the word of God, meaning that it is not an objective norm of that word, is fallacious. We cannot refuse this character to the Old Testament without essentially impairing the authority of the New, and of Christ himself, though every part may not in itself be vital. "The feeble members are members still." In the New Testament, of course, Christ's own sayings are the very Word of God. As to the Apostles, they certainly declare their own message to be the Word of God. Its subjective proof is, of course, its regenerating efficacy, which nothing else has, except derivatively. Errors of transcription are confessedly not vital, therefore the acknowledgment of these makes no vital difference. And doubtless vast veins of virgin ore still await discovery. Principal Cairns says that of course very many things in every book were known before being written there. The Bible is also truly the word of man. Coming through the soul, as well as the pen, it is more human, and not less divine. Variation of doctrinal type is allowed, but even rationalism is getting shy of charging apostles with inconclusive reasoning, or essential difference. The admissions of historical accuracy are broadening. As Bishop Temple says, there are many inspiring books, but there is only one Sovereign Book, conducting us into the very presence of God. Mr. Mackennal says that those divine communications called the Word of God, are never, in Scripture, con-

Digitized by Google

founded with the written record of them. The New Testament speakers quote the Old as their Bible, but never speak of it by the collective name of the Word of God. The Rev. Page Hopps says that God everywhere gives his Word and Spirit as men can receive it, and uniquely through the Bible, but nowhere finally, and nowhere exclusively. The Rev. Mr. Barlow sets forth what seems to be the New Church doctrine of correspondences as applied to the Bible. Professor Olver says that the Bible is to theology what Nature is to medicine. Rev. Edward White says that each book was written for itself, and our mechanical consolidation of them was not completed until Protestants wanted an artificial infallibility to fight an artificial infallibility. Dr. Abrahams gives current Jewish views, none, he remarks, binding. Bishop Weathers says that Rome holds the Bible to be in all things infallibly true, the Vulgate being, not an infallible, but an authentic, translation. Archdeacon Farrar sums up, showing the difficulty of finding a precise formula of Inspiration, and saying that He of whose advancing self-communication the Bible is the central record is with us still, to discriminate, and to set home. — *Personal Traits of British Authors.* Scott, Hogg, Campbell, Chalmers, Wilson, De Quincey, Jeffrey, Hood, Macaulay, Sydney Smith, Jerrold, Dickens, Charlotte Brontë, Thackeray. Edited by Edward T. Mason. With Portraits. 2 v., 16mo, pp. vi., 345; vii., 334. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885. Each volume, $1.50. These anecdotes, from many sources, are so arranged as to throw a concentrated light on each main point of the author's character. We might better spare a biography than these portraits. They are peculiarly happy as to Scott and Thackeray. The large and healthy completeness of the one, contentedly bounding itself within purely secular aims, and the deeper soul of the other, which would not be so content, and therefore is called cynical by those who have the consciousness that to hate worldliness is to hate them. Here and there, as a deep chorus, come in Carlyle's mighty tones, exalting himself everywhere by loving to tread on the great. A curious exception is the unreservedness of his praise of Dickens, whose geniality and absence of all deep convictions gave no hold for detraction, even to a Carlyle. His sneer at De Quincey's talk, "as inconclusive and long-winded," is as naively unconscious as if it had no nearer application. Dickens's intense vulgarity fairly stands out from the page, but his imperious selfishness is left more in the shade than is the wont of the book. Jeffrey is a fading figure, whom no light of anecdote can make tangible. Jerrold, again, is hard to seize, while Hood stands out, a great mind and a noble soul. Campbell is saved from the charge of drunkenness, and impaled on the clear proof of malignant insincerity. The editor's prefaces commonly strike the white. The leonine grandeur of Christopher North crosses, without contradicting, the venerable and most Christian figure of Chalmers. There certainly need be no discount in commending this series. — *China.* By Robert K. Douglas, of the British Museum, Professor of Chinese at King's College, London. "China as a nation makes the whole world her debtor." With many Illustrations and an Index. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co., Franklin & Hawley Streets. Pp. 557. A clear, popular presentation of China and the Chinese. The new points are: the abundant evidence that the Chinese came from near the Caspian, some 2,500 years B. C.; that their civilization is of Accadian foundation; that their language even now is by no means absolutely monosyllabic, and was once largely polysyllabic; and that Confucius was rather a somewhat ineffectual idealist of the Chinese system than the founder of a new stage of it. — *Alaska, Its Southern Coast and the Sitkan Archipelago.* By E. Ruhamah Scidmore. With Map and Illustrations. "Berlin, September 5. We have seen of Germany enough to show that its climate is neither so genial, nor its soil so fertile, nor its resources of forests and mines so rich as those of Southern Alaska" (William H. Seward). Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. Pp. 333. Some of the statements of this book have already filtered through the press, and assisted the growing apprehension that our Russian purchase has been a thoroughly good investment. The important mines, mighty forests, vast fisheries and sea, grounds, and immense pastures of Alaska are set forth with due authentication

Digitized by Google

of figures. The mildness of the climate is certified by thermometrical records, very seldom going below zero. The extraordinary beauty of these northern archipelagoes, farther south than Norway, and vastly more magnificent, pervades the book. — *New Light on Mormonism.* By Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson. With Introduction by Thurlow Weed. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1885. Pp. 272. This gives a very full account of the rise of Mormonism. It brings out in full light the disreputable vagabondage and conscious imposture — hereditary qualities — of its founder. Its description of the Kirtland Temple, however, is highly idealized. On the contrary, the tentative incoherence and essential coarseness of the whole movement under Smith appear to us to be clearly stamped on this, its first sanctuary, as well as expressed in the pertinaciously voluble old hag who still acts as portress. The rest of the book is a condensed but distinct account of the later abominations of Utah.

Charles C. Starbuck.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. The Journals of Major-General C. G. Gordon, C. B., at Kartoum, printed from the original MSS. Introduction and Notes by A. Egmont Hake, author of "The Story of Chinese Gordon," etc. With Portrait, two Maps, and thirty Illustrations after sketches by General Gordon. Crown 8vo, pp. lxiv., 479. 1885. $2.00.

Estes & Lauriat, Boston. The Dæmon of Darwin. By the author of "Biogen." Pp. 64; — A Buddhist Catechism. According to the Canon of the Southern Church. By Henry S. Olcott, President of the Theosophical Society, etc. Approved and recommended for use in Buddhist schools by H. Sumangala, High Priest of the Sripada and Galle, and Principal of the Widyodaya Parivena. First American Edition, from the Sinhalese Fourteenth Thousand. Edited, with Notes, by Elliott Coues. Pp. 84.

H. L. Hastings, Boston. Atheism and Arithmetic; or Mathematical Law in Nature. Arithmetic in Plants and Planets. Mathematics in Musical Science. Number in Vital Action. By H. L. Hastings, Editor of "The Christian," Boston. Pp. 63. 1885. 25 cents. The same in paper covers, 15 cents.

Phillips & Sons, New York. Christian Thought. Lectures and Papers on Philosophy, Christian Evidence, Biblical Elucidation, Second Series. Edited by Charles F. Deems, LL. D., President of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy. Pp. iv., 476.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. The Two Hundredth Birthday of Bishop George Berkeley. A Discourse given at Yale College on the 12th of March, 1885. By Noah Porter. Pp. vii., 84. 1885; — The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity. By Otto Pfleiderer, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated by J. Frederick Smith. [The Hibbert Lectures, 1885.] Pp. vii., 238. 1885. $2.00.

H. B. Garner, Philadelphia. Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology. Based on Hagenbach and Krauth. By Revere Franklin Weidner, M. A., Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod at Rock Island, Ill., etc. Part I. Introduction and Exegetical Theology. Pp. viii., 183. 1885. $1.25.

Digitized by Google

THE

ANDOVER REVIEW:

A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

VOL. IV. — SEPTEMBER, 1885. — No. XXI.

THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM OF THE COUNTRY TOWN.

IV.

THE preceding articles of this series have pointed in various ways to the suppression of the family in the growth of the local church and its congregational tendencies. The explanations that have been either directly given, or else implied in what has been otherwise said on the subject, have doubtless seemed to many minds more or less inadequate. This working of our local churches appears to be so inevitable that it suggests the existence of some constitutional defect in the system itself. It seems best, therefore, to conclude the series with a study of this particular point. For this reason, I now ask attention to the bearing of certain historical influences upon the present state of things in the country town, drawn from a study of the development of social institutions.

Reference has already been made to the indefiniteness of the ideas many have concerning the practical uses the church may make of the family. The historical evidence of the contributions of the family to the early Christian churches also needs to be more clearly perceived by all who would understand the religious problems of our American society. In our gratitude to Christianity for its rescue of the family from the loathsome corruption of the times, we are apt to lose sight of another very important fact. For we do not take in, as we should, the significance of those ideas which flowed from the great Aryan fountain through Grecian and Roman institutions into the springs of the ecclesiastical history that begins with the time of the Apostles. But since history in its old field has become almost a new science, and especially since the historical method has been applied to the

Copyright, 1885, by HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO.

Digitized by Google

study of early institutions and introduced to English and American readers under the leadership of Sir Henry Sumner Maine, we are in a better position to understand the beginnings of ecclesiastical history in certain of their phases, and are thus enabled to get much light upon the living issues of our own time and country. While it is my wish now to do something towards calling attention to the importance of special studies in this direction, it is my chief purpose to sketch some historic causes of the relative suppression of the family that has come about in the general use of the local church. At the risk of telling in a poor way what many of my readers know far better than I do, and of making mistakes in some of the details, I must begin with a few leading points in the history of the social institutions that preceded the early Christian churches.

M. Fustel de Coulanges,[1] a brilliant and suggestive writer on the early society of the Aryans of the Mediterranean regions, holds the opinion that religion lay so near the source of the family as to seem to be almost, if not entirely, the very occasion of its existence in the first glimpses historic records give us of Indo-European society. While many, perhaps, will differ with him over this point, there is general agreement in respect to the very close relation between religion and the family in the earliest times, and also of the extent to which the two were identified. We see this close approach to identity in the word father, or *pater*, which was used to designate the priestly office in the household. De Coulanges goes so far as to claim that the religious office was the dominant one, and says that the domestic idea of a father, familiar to our own thought, was the mere incident of the other. However much this may be doubted, we do know that the perpetuation of the ancestral worship was a leading object of the family. There was *at first* no such thing as public worship. There was no public life to make it necessary or possible. The wife, and even the child, as intimated in the preceding article, did not become such until inducted into the household through the mysteries of the sacred rites. A quotation from this author, however, will best tell us how completely religion and the family were wedded in the life of the early Roman, though the aim of the author in the passage is only to show the place of religion in that life: —

"His house was for him what a temple is for us. He finds there his worship and his gods. His fire is a god; the walls, the doors, the thresholds are gods; the boundary marks which surround his fields are

[1] In *The Ancient City*, translated by Willard Small.

Digitized by Google

also gods. The tomb is an altar, and his ancestors are divine beings. Each one of his daily actions is a rite. His whole day belongs to his religion. Morning and evening he invokes his fire, his penates, and his ancestors; and in leaving and entering his house he addresses a prayer to them. Every meal is a domestic act which he shares with his domestic divinities. Birth, initiation, the taking of the toga, marriage, and the anniversaries of all these events are the solemn acts of his worship. . . . Every day he sacrifices in his house, every month in his cury, several months a year with his gens or his tribe. Above all these gods he must offer worship to those of the city." [1]

The form of society that existed with this religious system was at the first chiefly domestic, the social and religious elements almost exactly fitting into each other. It was only as the tribe or clan, the phratry of the Greeks and the curia and century of the Romans, — the latter strongly suggesting the hundred of the Germans, — came into prominence, and then the ancient city, that the higher and public but more seldom worship, to which reference is made in the last sentence of the quotation above, became prevalent. It does not specially concern us here to know just how the gens or clan grew, nor how it passed into the city of the Grecians and the municipality of the Romans. But we are interested in this ancient city and its later history. It was a natural growth, closely akin to, or composed of, the village communities which made up much of India, and which resemble strongly the house communities of the Sclavonians in our own day. Primarily these cities were often little villages of allied households. Each family had its own religion, but the whole had common rites which formed a bond of both religious and political union. Not infrequently several villages, sometimes a score or more of them, made up one city. They were self-governed bodies and to all intents and purposes independent states. Early Grecian history is largely the story of the growth, combinations and struggles of these city states, as we should call them, with each other and their outlying rural populations. Politics, as the word itself implies, was originally the science of the city, coming into being with its prevalence. These cities, as all know, were sometimes founded in the migration of an entire people with their possessions, their religion and their laws to a new spot. The story of Rome for a long time is the record of the way by which these cities grew into Italian unity, then overcame the Grecian cities and states which lay between Eastern despotisms and the Western world, and finally became merged in the vast empire.

[1] *Ancient City*, p. 281.

Digitized by Google

I have said that these cities were originally independent states. They were about as much so as our own towns and cities would be without any state or federal government above them. And this was very largely true down to a late period. For we must not regard the Roman Empire in the light of a modern state. Mommsen tells us that "the idea of organically incorporating the community as a subordinate political unit in the higher unity of the state was originally foreign to antiquity; city and state were throughout the Helleno-Italian world necessarily coincident; and it was otherwise only under an Oriental despotism. In so far there was no proper municipal system from the outset either in Greece or Italy. The Roman policy especially adhered to this view with its peculiar tenacious consistency." The foundation of anything like a true municipal *system*, that is, an organic, legal incorporation of the city into the state, yet so as to give the former its own distinct functions, was chiefly, he again says, the great work of Sulla in the early part of the century before Christ. Julius Cæsar extended it in the provinces about forty years later, scarcely a century before the missionary work of the Apostles. The system in its newness must have done comparatively little to obliterate the real power of the old political forms. When Christianity began its work, nearly the whole empire traversed by the Apostles and their immediate successors was covered with the highest civilization — the word is again significant — which the world had then known. Commerce had grown to vast proportions, with wealth, luxury, and magnificent cities as the inevitable concomitants of one another. Along the great highways of the empire, pastoral life, pastoral society and its ideas were probably so infrequently met by most travelers that the earlier social principles and forms either were lost from the popular thought in the centres or were submerged under the ruling ideas of the city and empire. The early idea of the family and of the clan still held some of its old ground; for the piety of the house and its associations are the most deeply rooted, the most lasting of all religious or social ideas. The old house spirit, which in later times compelled some of the popes to tolerate the worship of ancestors, and which is said to linger in the patron saint of Southern Europe and in other guises, yet kept its hold upon many. But this was far stronger among the people living remote from large towns, who are always conservative in politics and religion, than it was in the towns themselves. And this fact probably helped determine the early Christians to choose the cities for their work. But as a whole

Digitized by Google

the Roman world at the beginning of the Christian era was substantially an empire in which a high civilization, founded on a congeries of cities holding the principle of self-government in open assembly, had but slowly and scantily yielded the ground to the inter-organization of the political units with a central power. The bond of the empire was military much more than legal and social. Society had got far away from the pastoral beginnings of political institutions, but had not possessed itself of the idea of the modern state resting on territorial sovereignty. Roughly making these three general stages of social development in the Aryan world according as some one of three social ideas is dominant, — that of the family, the city, or the state, — society may be said to to have been in the second of the three stages at the beginning of the Christian era. For it was still organized according to the civic idea mainly, though it had begun to approach the strictly municipal stage of an inter-organization of the independent, self-governed cities with the province and empire. But the political and religious functions of the family had been pretty well effaced by the rise of those of the city, while the latter were not yet profoundly affected by the political functions of a central government. Self-government in popular assemblies was still the familiar form.

Christianity first dropped its seeds into the social soil when it was in this particular condition. It first touched society when the latter was in the civic or second of the three general divisions I have made for present convenience. The first Christian converts were gathered in the cities or municipalities of ancient Greece and Rome and of Asia Minor. The entire region of the labors of the early Christians was thickly studded with such cities, modified in their spirit and traditions by recent political revolutions and by commerce and luxury, but not feeling much the influence of the very early domestic life that lay far back of their present. Even Judea and the surrounding country had been deeply affected by the same general conditions. For both Grecian and Roman civilization had taken deep root throughout the country. The peculiar history of Palestine should itself be noted in this connection. The conquest and resettlement of Canaan was a departure from the usual order of national growth. For the Hebrew nation did not seem to grow like most nations. The settlement of the country had come about through the transportation of a vast population from Egyptian civilization. Then the household forms of life had existed in the midst of densely populated cities, and had

Digitized by Google

been kept alive in the wilderness by the masterly statesmanhip of Moses rather than by the power of the pastoral system itself. Their worship from the first was in a great congregation and was always strongly centralized. It broke up into small assemblies under the compulsion of growing civilization, and did not begin with these at its dawn, as was usually the case. The restoration from the Babylonish captivity had led to similar conditions of social order. It favored central places of meeting for religious purposes; and in breaking into settlements, had dotted the land with towns and villages, where synagogues sprang up and did much to prepare the way for the final overthrow of the central worship of the Temple. In this way, from Græco-Roman influences beyond Palestine, and from the same within it, supported by the large contributions of Judaic history itself, the whole world touched by the Apostles and their successors was pervaded with the sociological form represented in the local assembly with its officers and methods. It prevailed in political and religious institutions. It had reached the field of economics. Of course, this widely varied. But the variations were, like those in any representative class of natural life, in general harmony with the common type and clearly distinct from the lower or higher social forms.

Now this produced a deep impression on the organizations which the early Christians formed. From its very nature Christian polity must be the subject of modification from the principles of social order, and especially of those prevalent at its introduction. Christianity first addressed separate individuals as a social necessity, as well as on account of its conception of religion as an individual concern. This was the most natural way in which men in ancient forms of society broke off from the old bodies of which they were members. Writers on social institutions tell us that new religions, and by consequence new social groups, are constantly being formed in this way in India at the present time. To many a Grecian or Roman convert — unless he had been long far gone in atheism as regards his old religion — conversion to Christianity implied a radical change in his entire social and political status. Among the more conservative in the country districts, where the old faith held its grip upon the people more firmly, Christianity must have seemed to many like the organization of a new gens, in spite of the great care the Lord had taken to point out the spiritual nature of his kingdom. There was sometimes, doubtless, a far deeper meaning in the eating of meat offered to idols, and in joining in the meals

Digitized by Google

of their acquaintances, than the moral significance we commonly attach to it. The point for us to note here is that the method of the collection of the first converts, one by one, was a social necessity in all communities outside Judaism, which we see repeated on heathen ground today, and also in Christian lands in the gathering of a new sect. And the same was true in the work of making Christian converts out of Jews and Jewish proselytes.

Natural affiliation brought the first disciples together. But soon the question of organization came up. It is hard from the sociological point of view to detect any principles of organization among the first disciples that are not based on the idea of a mere voluntary assembly making its own rules and selecting its own officers as naturally as any other collection of people would do. There was the Holy Spirit, not to be forgotten for a moment; but the outcome of his work was as natural here as it was in the material world. With the facts noted in this sketch in mind, from the point of view afforded by the study of social institutions it was the most natural thing in the world for the early Christians to form themselves into assemblies through which they carried on much of their worship, taught Christian truth, observed the ordinances and did a great deal of their work, and which gradually became moral equivalents of political societies. They simply adopted the essentials which they needed of the institutions around them, and which were apparently made ready for their use. Their very word for church was borrowed from the Grecian cities, a word which Jesus himself had taken up in the Gospels only two or three times, and used in a natural way. It was an *ecclesia* that was in an uproar at Ephesus over the work of St. Paul. And a little later he sends for the elders of the *ecclesia* of this same Ephesus. In a word, the synagogue of the Jews, and the assembly of the Mediterranean cities, seem to have supplied the form of the early ecclesiastical organizations. Sometimes these organizations lay in their ancient germs in the households of the scattered believers; and as the work increased and the disciples multiplied, they were gathered into the larger and more public assemblies. Yet nowhere for a considerable period, it is said, could more than one church be found in a single city.

From this point of view the form of the early churches was no foreign thing to the social ideas of the times. The pattern of it was not "shown in the Mount," and put into the hands of the people once for all time. It was a perfectly natural use by practical men of what they saw and what was suggested from the institutions

Digitized by Google

around them. Like most who have urgent business in hand, they did the thing that seemed convenient to their high purpose. And, as already intimated, there was nothing in the Gospels that could stand in the way of their doing so. The principles, but not the form of the new society, had been set forth by Christ. Indeed, such a step as strict ecclesiasticism implies was utterly foreign both to his teaching and his work. It was the peculiar social condition of the ancient world, more than anything else, that determined the early forms of Christian organization. And the work was as scientific as all great practical beginnings are. In truth, it was as much so as all the great movements of the kingdom of God have been from the times of Abraham and Moses to the present day. It was the spirit of God taking the world it found.

With Roman law and Roman authority pervading the world, and with these forms of social order in its hands, Christianity went forth to its work in the early centuries. Later it had a gathered store of inspired truth and history which it held in supreme reverence. This was blended with the record of the early polity and its practical applications. Doctrine and polity grew together and into each other during succeeding centuries. Both grew into society, and society grew into them both. Politics shaped Christian polities, and polities dominated over politics and states. Civil and Christian history bear witness to the magnitude, similarity, and interaction of the common principles and forms underlying the temporal and spiritual kingdoms that grew up. Reformations came, touching now theologies and now polities. Both had their seasons of fresh return to the Scriptures for original principles, with results of mingled truth and error. Both have tried to grasp the exact form, hoping thereby to find the true principle and the living spirit. Both have succeeded in the attempt, and both have failed of complete success. And in both it is science from without, as well as faith within, that is pointing to the error and urging on inquiry in the interests and with the promise of a larger, better life.

The settlement of this country took place at the time of one of these returns to the polity of the New Testament, and was made by men who represented such a movement. Nearly all admit that the men of the Mayflower were the most representative of our settlers. They came with their Bible, with their own history as they knew it, bringing their own church — and in it, most have said, the germs of American political institutions. The indebtedness of the founders of our government to the church, through the town-meet-

Digitized by Google

ing, and the story of Jefferson taking the suggestion of the little Baptist church near his home, have been frequently told. More recently, the study of social institutions has traced — to quote the title of Dr. Adams's able demonstration of the fact — "The Germanic Origin of New England Towns," and shown how the great Aryan stream came to us from the German forests.[1] But with all respect for these high authorities, one cannot help thinking that they have not exhausted the subject. I venture to claim that the Aryan stream was tapped still nearer its source, and that this earlier supply flowing down through the church of the New Testament powerfully affected the political organization of New England and of the country, though not in the exact way the earlier writers have said that it did.

The forefathers knew that their church did not originate on the sea or in Leyden or at Scrooby. But they did not know, as Dr. Adams and others have shown to be the fact, that their social compact — the old town-meeting and its larger political developments — came from far back of their Mayflower, far back of old England from the forests of Germany. Neither did they know how much these institutions took up of the forms that had been carefully wrought out on the shores of the Mediterranean and in Judea in that long period of social development and preparation by which the Providence of God had made ready for his great work through historic Christianity. They knew nothing of the process by which early political institutions had first imprinted their outlines upon the church as on a photographic plate waiting the touch that should bring out the features. And so, when they took the church of the New Testament for their guide, and began a political structure after its pattern, they did not perceive that they were also reconstructing these old political institutions on an earlier model than the English or the German. Yet such seems to be the fact. Like most others who do the best work of God, "they builded better than they knew." And when the story of New England is fully told, these things must be made a part of it. For after saying all else we may of it, that old town-meeting in which the affairs of their common life were all discussed in general assembly and decided by popular vote, was also the substantial, though unconscious reproduction of the social institutions of the great Mediterranean countries. Through their faith in the New Testament these men had opened the great Aryan fountain farther back than its springs

[1] *Johns Hopkins University Studies.* First series, number two. By Professor H. B. Adams, Ph. D.

Digitized by Google

in the German forests, and in both church and town they had thereby powerfully swollen the stream that came through English channels. The scattered settlements of a people mainly given to agriculture and strictly domestic manufactures, the small beginnings of their commerce, their life in families apart from each other or in small neighborhoods, had more or less direct connection with English law and English customs modified by later Roman law and European history, but at the same time gave domestic character to a society whose religious polity had strongly-marked civic features. From the Teutonic source they got the principles of organic political union, which the Grecian polity could not supply. From the Græco-Roman civilization through the ecclesiastical polity of the New Testament they drew principles of local independence, which were naturally more clearly stamped upon their church life than on their political institutions, though not without profoundly affecting the latter. Or to put the matter in another form, their sturdy English heritage insured a strongly conservative use of the civic idea in their political institutions, but was less influential in their religious institutions, for reasons that will soon be mentioned.[1]

Such, in outline, it seems to me, is the leading sociological explanation of the genesis of the early Christian churches and its bearing upon the origin and form of the early churches and political institutions of New England. As already intimated, the details may not, in all instances, be correctly given, but I cannot doubt the general truthfulness of the sketch. And we must not fail to observe that, in this modern revival of the Mediterranean political forms in their middle stage, we see again the work of practical Christians seizing upon resources close at hand. In their simple confidence in the forms of the Bible, the colonists had none the less picked up these historic political treasures of which they knew little and cared even less. But other important and highly practical considerations may be noted. Two or three only can be compressed within my limits.

First, we get some light from this study on the relative deficiency in the development of the family, both in respect of its idea and its work, compared with the individual and the church. There is, as I have pointed out in another Review,[2] a vast net-

[1] See Professor John Fiske's extremely valuable little book, entitled *American Political Ideas.* I have added a sentence or two to this paper here and further on, which his clear exposition of Grecian and German political ideas enabled me to do. I had not, however, seen the contents of his book, originally published in *Harper's Monthly*, until after this paper was written.

[2] In the *Princeton Review* for March, 1884 ; also reprinted, pp. 177–190.

Digitized by Google

work of legal, industrial, and ethical influences at work on the family besides the one here described. But we are now considering this one in particular. Christianity itself has been profoundly affected by the fact that it entered the world when society was at the height of its middle or civic stage of the development of political forms. The *ecclesia*, which was the expression of this civic idea and organization, was the best known and most available institution for the uses of the early Christians. It was essentially, as we have already seen, the common form of social order in the Jewish and Pagan world. Jewish synagogue, Grecian assembly and Christian church were of close social kinship. The real state had not appeared. The early beginning of Christianity with the individual and the slow collection of converts, one by one, was far more than either the theological or simply religious necessity it is commonly said to have been. It was the only method that could meet the social exigency. This congregational idea, growing out of the natural method of the assembly of the disciples, did a noble work in the early centuries because it was natural in the safest use of this latter word. No other, apparently, could have been put in its place. Not even the family could have then taken the work of those times. The early family was largely buried, though not wholly, as I take pains to repeat, under the individualistic and other rubbish of those times of decay.

But what was at first the free, natural use of social moulds, as they then existed, came in time to be the hardened shell of literalism in interpretation, under the influence of the traditional spirit and method. And now it is the practical assumption of large numbers of Christians that all departures from those exact forms which a strict exegesis finds in the New Testament are unchristian, both in spirit and in method, and contain the seeds of inevitable mischief, and that the only safe course lies in fidelity to the definite congregational form. The congregational way generally has been eager to cut out the exact pattern of the scriptural *ecclesia*, literally explained, and lay it upon the surface of society in the form of local churches, as they may be gathered on the voluntary principle without much regard to a territorial basis and with little thought of the social fit or misfit in the particular instance. For we have applied it to the great city, to the village population and to the rural districts, with little alteration to suit the circumstances. The churches in the larger communities have generally set the standard to which the church of village and country has

Digitized by Google

striven to conform. And this, from the point of view the study of social institutions historically and comparatively affords, does much to account for the numerous and often large patches of the country in city and rural districts which are known as neglected neighborhoods. Had not our life been larger than our patterns, we should have been in a sad plight. As noted in the second article,[1] our practical life has wisely stretched the theories of ecclesiasticism or ignored them altogether, in order to meet those blessed emergencies that enlarge thought through the work of practical Christianity. The old Congregationalism of New England did its noble work because it was then, on the whole, admirably adapted to the entire social condition, religious, economic, and political. It has yielded, in part, to other churches, because of defects in social directions as it was worked at the time, and partly because of the social developments in the century following our national independence. The early domestic organization of New England life has not been kept strong by a vigorous culture of the family to meet the multiplied and more intensely congregational activities of the last fifty years, whose spirit and methods in industrial, educational, and religious directions have all worked against the family. And our misunderstanding of scriptural example and historic precedent has misled us in our judgments of the causes of the evils which all lament.

Secondly, we can better understand the elements of one of our most difficult and pressing religious problems. The American multiplication of churches and Christian sects, from the point of view this study of social institutions gives us, is full of peril unless it be led on at some early day towards a wholesome union. These churches and sects secure most of their growth on the principle of the pure election of individuals, without carrying families or entire groups of families with them. This is a matter of graver concern to religion, as well as to society in general, than we commonly seem to think. A practical effect of it is seen in the increasing distinctness of the line that separates the church-going part of the population from the rest of it. There is serious meaning in the fact that the increased *membership* of the churches is not equaled by a corresponding gain in church *attendance.* The practical operation of the common idea of the church needs attention. Socially, it works very much in this way: It brings people into the congregation, one by one, and then aims to work those within this group into a kind of homogeneity. This

[1] *Andover Review*, January, 1885, p. 45.

Digitized by Google

process tends to work out of the congregation those who do not yield to the last-named part of the effort, and increases the isolation from the body of those who do not accept the former part of it. It increases membership and tends to isolate from it all who do not become members of the church. Whether the course of the churches be correct religiously or not, is not a question that is discussed here. I am simply calling attention to a law of social institutions, which Christianity cannot escape so long as its work has the nature of a social process.

Nor is this all. The same law is operative among those outside our congregations. And the broader sociological aspects of this great heterogeneous class of our population would seem to demand careful study. The repelled and chaotic elements of the unchurched masses suggest the probability, sooner or later, of dangerous combinations, of which the apparent increase of non-Christian associations of all sorts is the merest beginning. The formation and re-formation of churches, with the inevitable strifes and the consequent evils to those outside, are already reproducing some of the effects that followed the similar developments of the early political and religious societies that were based on the same essentially congregational idea. The religious nondescripts of New England and other communities, inside and outside our congregations, bear a striking resemblance to the "dwellers in the place" and the "dwellers in the vicinity" of the early Grecian cities, who had no political part or lot in them and were a source of constant trouble. In some directions, at least, it seems as if American politics, both in matters of science and practice, had made greater advance than either the science or practical working of our Christian polity. We seem to be nearer the Teutonic idea in politics; but in church polity we are tied more closely to the Greek political method and share in its defects. Politically following the German method, we escape the evils of the Grecian "dwellers" of both classes, for all are citizens. But following the Greeks in our religion, our churches are attended with the presence of these classes and the Grecian evils of independency.[1] I suggest that a misapprehension of the amount and kind of contributions which the social environment of the early churches made to ecclesiastical polity has prevented the more rapid progress of Christianity in our country. We have not yet done for the polity of the Christian religion anything like the work which has made our political suc-

[1] I am again indebted to Professor Fisk for the suggestion which has led to this particular comparison.

Digitized by Google

cess one of the wonders of the civilized world. For our local churches are greatly weakened by the peculiar social conditions which beset the political life of the cities of ancient Greece.

Thirdly, the need of beginning reconstructive work in these old rural towns with the family gets additional proof. If the historical method brings modern society any one lesson more distinctly than any other on this subject, it is that no form of social order can be sprung upon a people without careful adjustment to existing social conditions, except on peril of winning a temporary success at cost of ultimate failure. The social life of a people must have its infancy, childhood, and youth before it can be safely trusted with the powers and responsibilities of manhood. Nor can society have a vigorous maturity unless it retain the contributions of healthy youth. Social tone is the outcome of a stage of growth. Have not the most permanent Christian civilizations been either those in which the method of Christianity began in the closest harmony with the social system it met, or those where Christianity has been compelled to wait for its development on the growth of popular institutions already on the ground? And can we expect the Christian polity that fitted so well into the social order of the Western civilization of its times to be equally successful, without change in either form or method, when applied to the systems of Oriental and African peoples, judged by the standard of permanent social results? The first work of Christianity was to make conquests rather than to rebuild society on its primitive foundations. The civic congregationalism of the times was admirably fitted for this first work. But these social and political movements hurried the church on towards the spiritual reproduction of the kingdom and empire. It had no time to go back to first principles. Here, in part, may be the explanation of the decay that marked Christian civilization in the East as it followed the westward march of empire, except where a strong domestic life had preceded the coming of Christianity itself. If society is more than a rope of sand, it cannot become Christian without its own new birth — itself entering the kingdom of heaven as a little child. In other words, the recuperation of decayed social life must begin at the primary cells, in the families of the people. All use of the larger organisms must keep this constantly in mind. If I am correctly informed, many statesmen of all parties, and most students of the history of political institutions, are becoming more and more decided in their distrust of our political tendencies to centralization. The conviction is stronger than ever

Digitized by Google

that the safety of our system of government depends mainly on our ability to keep the more elementary political forms strong and active. Modern life is so broad, so cosmopolitan, that the tendency to the absorption of the functions of state and municipality by the national government will keep the central power from becoming less. The sectional spirit culminated with the war of secession. The very patriotism that fought it may now distrust its opposite, and wisely build strongly the minor political forms. But the family is, politically considered, a nonentity. It has no political functions. And yet does not every principle that leads us to rejoice in our happy distribution of political functions, which Mr. Arnold has favorably compared with the English system, also urge us to a profound interest in the question of the political status of the family? As a people we are forgetting the historical debt of the civic communities to the family, — if, indeed, we ever learned it, — and for very much the same reason that the family has been obscured religiously by the exaggeration of the local church. Everything that has put the family out of religious thought has helped get it out of the political mind. And, consequently, all that the Christian church can do for the family and through the family will be a positive contribution to the political institutions of the country at a time when they stand in sore need of just this kind of support. But when brought to the test of other social institutions, our American church system seems to be behind them and behind the needs of the times. For it is still in the middle stage of development, where it is not downright clannish, and it has neither legal nor morally-defined territorial basis. Protestant America as a whole has hardly begun to grapple seriously with the problem of finding a polity that shall give due place to the rights of individual choice as to Christian essentials and to the relative places of the family, the local church, a national religion, and the universal kingdom of God that is wide as humanity itself, so that each shall have its own fullest development in the perfection of all the other parts. The churches of great cities have been badly hampered with the traditional idea of what constitutes a true church and its equipment. They need and are seeking a better social adjustment to their work, which is necessarily unlike that of the country church. But they must face towards the twentieth century, and not towards the first and second. The talk of a return to the methods of the early centuries, and of a concentration of attention upon the cities, if it implies a copying of early forms, and the thought that thereby we shall best hold the coun-

Digitized by Google

try, seems to me a sociological mistake. We might as well throw away the mariner's compass and the steam-engine under pretense of returning to apostolic methods of missionary work. The church of this century must meet its own problems and solve them in its own way and with its own instruments. It may reverently claim to understand the modern city, its work and relation to the country, a good deal better than the men of the first and second centuries can interpret them for us. To deny this is to turn our backs on history, and say that Christian science has accomplished nothing in the field that is only second in importance to theology. And it may justly claim that until the order of the social growth that creates modern civilization is reversed, the religious problem of the country town holds in its solution the key to many urban and national religious questions, and that any advance upon the city that is not supported by equally or more vigorous work in the country is a grave mistake.

In this last article of what has proved to be a series of papers, I have tried to show the historical source of some of the difficulties that confront our present Christian work in these country towns. If the lessons of the study of social institutions here given are substantially correct, they certainly should be heeded more than they have been. It is generally acknowledged that we must study theology in its environment of ecclesiastical polity. We do well to go farther, and study ecclesiastical polity in its social environment. The application of the statistical, historical, and comparative methods to the study of the religious polity of New England may prepare the way for great enlargement of its usefulness.

Samuel W. Dike.

Royalton, Vt.

A ROMAN MARTYR.

Not a Sebastian, not a Rienzi nor a Cairoli, this Roman martyr of whom I have to tell, and yet he endured a longer and, as it seems to me, a far harder trial of faith than any of these. His body lies in a newly-made grave in the crowded, commonplace cemetery of S. Lorenzo, where strangers in Rome bought a modest place that his bones might lie in peace beyond the ten years which is the time of rest in the grave allotted to the poorer Romans. On a simple slab set in the wall above his grave is the

Digitized by Google

following inscription, which was written, I may say, by a prelate of high rank in the Roman hierarchy, one who had known him well from his early manhood:

A ☧ Ω

TO THE DEAR AND VENERATED MEMORY
OF PAOLO PANZANI
LATE BROTHER ANDREA D'ALTAGENE OF THE CAPUCHINS
A PRIEST WITHOUT SPOT
STRONG AND UNCONQUERABLE
HUNGERING AFTER RIGHTEOUSNESS AND TRUTH
HE LIVED ONLY FOR GOD AND FOR HIS COUNTRY
PERSECUTED BY MAN
WELL PLEASING TO GOD
STRENGTHENED BY THE HOLY SACRAMENTS
CALLED FOR WITH ARDENT LONGING
AMIDST THE PITYING COMFORTING OF FRIENDS
IN THIS CITY OF ROME WHERE HE SUFFERED SUCH GREAT THINGS
IN THE 65TH YEAR OF HIS AGE
HE BREATHED OUT HIS GREAT AND GENEROUS SOUL
ON THE 28TH OF NOVEMBER IN THE YEAR OF HIS LORD 1884

He came to Rome in 1820 from Corsica. His parents were small proprietors in the village of Altagene — poor as all their neighbors were, but independent, patriotic, and intensely religious. Two of the sons devoted themselves to the monastic life. Paolo was twenty years old when his feet carried him within the gates of Rome, a devout pilgrim full of faith and enthusiasm. He entered as a monk in the Capuchin convent in the Piazza Barberini under the name of Fra Andrea d' Altagene, and looked forward, doubtless, to having his turn in due time in the holy earth from Jerusalem which fills the convent crypts, and finally to decorating its ghastly walls with his dry bones. He gave himself to study with hungry eagerness, and reading with unremitting diligence soon acquired an immense mass of unsystematic learning. He was ordained to the priesthood as soon as he was of legal age.

But his learning, he thought, ought to be used; was not something for his own intellectual gratification simply, but was to be brought to bear on the life about him. And his duty was the clearer in the case, because few of his brethren had or cared to have any learning at all. Before he studied from books, too, he had learned in his Corsican boyhood to observe closely the men and things about him. So as he drew breath from the first eager rush forward in the fields of written knowledge, and began to take in more of the life about him in Rome, he was star-

Digitized by Google

tled and dismayed by what he saw of the state of his Church. Instead of the "city of God" that he had read and dreamed of, instead of the Bride of Christ, without spot or blemish, nursing the souls of men, he saw a great ecclesiastical despotism, in which all the great spiritual interests of mankind were held wholly secondary to the material interests of the wretched temporal sovereignty of the Popes, and were freely bartered for place or gain; and in which the clergy, from the highest to the lowest, were almost universally abandoned to dissolute living. The distress and pain of this awakening was terrible. His whole soul was shaken with tremendous doubts. It could not be otherwise to one of his intense truthfulness and simple honesty. He presently, however, came off conqueror in this inward trial of faith; and strengthened thereby with might in the inner man was made ready to meet the singularly hard outward trial of faith that was before him, and which ended only with his life in the flesh.

He set himself then to observe carefully the situation, and study the causes that had led to the grievous corruption and abuses which afflicted the Church; if so be by God's grace they might be withstood and corrected. The temporal power he felt to be an evil, as well as the whole system of ecclesiastical imperialism which had grown up about the Vatican. But the thing to be reached was that which had made such corruptions possible; and this root evil he found in the law of clerical celibacy and the vows of perpetual chastity required by the Roman discipline.

He wrote out a lengthy and exhaustive argument on this subject, and without giving his name, sent it to the Pope (Pius IX.), begging him to submit it to the examination of the Catholic episcopate, that they might by their united wisdom find some remedy which would serve for the purification of the Church and the pacification of the world; for this poor monk had seen with alarm the growing estrangement between the Church and society, and foreseen with prophetic insight the evils that would follow to religion if the Church, refusing to reform herself, should provoke the civil power to open antagonism and to trying to reform the more intolerable abuses by the clumsy and violent hand of the civil law. This was in 1854, when the bishops of the Roman obedience had been summoned to Rome to carry out the Pope's will in the matter of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The only result of this letter was to alarm the Pope, always jealous of the episcopal claims to the teaching power. It even led him to forbid at the episcopal gath-

Digitized by Google

ering any discussion of the needs of the Church, and to shorten it as much as possible. Twice again in the following year Panzani urged the Pope, with new letters and arguments, to give his attention to this matter; but the latter thought that he had found a remedy for all possible evils by bribing the Blessed Virgin to his side by the personal flattery of his solemn decree in her honor, and that with her aid he was far more than a match for modern society.

But Panzani's conscience would not let him rest. The bishops after all were the teaching body of the Church; and if he could not reach them through their recognized head, he would reach them through other channels. So he betook himself to those who were foremost for learning and character among the doctors of his Church, that their influence and reputation might gain a hearing for the truth and open a way for the entering of reform — to men like Perrone, Patrizi and Passaglia. They heard him, admitted the sad truth in regard to the evil state of the Church, agreed with his general views, but told him to be silent. He could do nothing. The mountains were too great for him to move by any efforts or any suffering. But this man could not be silent. He felt himself responsible for the light he had received, and that no woe could be so great to him as failing to shine it forth to men. "I have never known," said to me this winter a Roman Catholic archbishop, "a soul so passionately in love with truth and righteousness. It consumed him, and made him, who ordinarily was one of the gentlest and most submissive of men, terrible and at times even violent in his denunciation of wrong." So he would not yield to the advice of these who intended to be his friends. He worked his way to Paris, and managed to get a copy of his book into the hands of Napoleon III. He visited Turin and himself placed a copy in the hands of Cavour. He hoped through them to get a hearing from the French and Italian bishops. This poor Capuchin brother began to be alarming with his intense beliefs and his awkward readiness to do and dare everything for them. Manifestly the dungeons of the Inquisition were the safest place for him. Still he had done nothing worthy of bonds. He was quite within his right in writing of the evils that afflicted the Church and threatened her with greater losses, and in appealing to the recognized heads of the Church to find and apply a remedy. Nay, all that he had done was only that which every good son of the Church was bound theoretically to do.

Finally in 1859, all other means having been tried in vain, he

Digitized by Google

determined to print his writings, in the shape of a cry to the Catholic episcopate, and send them to the several bishops. The false friend to whom he intrusted their printing turned informer and carried them to Cardinal Antonelli. Fra Andrea was forthwith seized in his cell at midnight and thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition. The frightened monks were powerless to help him, but stood by watching the police ransack his cell with closest search and carry off every scrap of writing. The Father General of the order appeared on the scene, and protested warmly against the violation of his convent, but to no purpose. He however insisted on a minute inventory being taken of the papers and other things that were carried off, which was thereupon made and witnessed by several of the monks.

For six months Panzani was kept in the prison of S. Michele, badgered through a long and secret trial by the Inquisition. But no charge of *heresy* could be made out from his writings. He was found, after the closest examination, "perfect (*integerrimo*) as regards the faith." Neither had he been guilty of any act of *schism*. His life had been without reproach, and his obedience in his order without fault. He was highly esteemed and much loved by his Capuchin brethren. The judges, as well they might, hesitated to condemn him, and the president carried the case to the Pope, proposing to recommend his release. But the latter, with his ambition already reaching forward to the definition of the papal infallibility, felt this monk to be a very dangerous man. The appeal to the Catholic episcopate was, to his thinking, in itself the most damnable of heresies. There was also a chapter in the unpublished book which touched the self-admiring Pope to the quick. It is entitled "How the Pope would be more glorious covered with a sack, in the heart of the Catacombs, than clad in brocade and shining with gold, in the midst of soldiers." Pius IX. cut short the very beginning of the recommendation for clemency, — or justice rather, — saying, "You know what I think in the case. Do your duty." He added that he prayed daily for Fra Andrea's conversion. So by the Pope's arbitrary order, this perfectly guiltless man was sentenced to twelve years of forced labor, and to perpetual suspension from his priestly ministry. Guarded by mounted gendarmes, he was marched off on foot as a common malefactor to the galleys at Corneto, where for more than two years he suffered a merciless imprisonment.

Among the papers seized in his cell when he was arrested was a sealed packet addressed to the French emperor. His brother

Digitized by Google

monks conveyed information of this to the French ambassador, who was all powerful at a court whose only real support at that time was the bayonets of French soldiers. The ambassador demanded this packet for his emperor. The Pope denied its existence. But the monks were able to satisfy the ambassador that at least it had existed. The result of this was that after long and unsatisfactory negotiations the French ambassador at last peremptorily demanded the release of the prisoner Padre Andrea d'Altagene as a French subject. Under these circumstances this was promptly effected. The Pope himself went to the Capuchin convent, and gave to the Father General the order for his release. But, indeed, it was to pass only from one kind of imprisonment to another. He was sent under special surveillance to a convent near Viterbo, where he had no friends, and was looked on as a disgraced and degraded monk; for the part of his sentence that deprived him of his priestly faculties had not been remitted. Here an object of prejudice and suspicion to the bigoted brethren, and unable under pain of again falling into the hands of the Inquisition to say a single word in his own defense or justification, the situation became so intolerable that after five months of suffering he fled with the connivance of the abbot, who was afraid that his life would be practiced against, out of the papal dominions to Leghorn, where under the Italian government the Inquisition was powerless to follow him with material persecutions. This act was the first breach in any way on his part of the discipline of his Church.

He joined himself to a convent of his own order at Leghorn, and took upon him the lowest menial duties of a lay brother. The papal enmity, however, followed him here, and he was called on to retract what he had written. Refusing, his Superior was forced to put him under the ban. He betook himself then to his native Corsica, and joined himself to an extremely poor convent as a lay servant, and in this capacity he was allowed a short period of rest. Sadly needed it must have been, for his mind had been strained almost to breaking, not so much by the wrongs put upon him personally, but because through all these trials he had been forced to see Christ, as it were, denied and sold and bound in the person of his truth, and found himself utterly powerless to help his Lord and Master.

Presently came upon him here a new trial of faith that few could have resisted. The Pope, moved by what compunction I know not, sent the message that he should return to his convent

Digitized by Google

in Rome, and that he should be fully rehabilitated in his priesthood, a ministry dear to him as life itself. His friends in the order urged him to accept this truce. No retraction was asked of him now; only outward submission and silence. He answered that the evils against which he had cried aloud had not ceased in the Church, and that only when they were remedied could he be silent. Upon this his poor Corsican brethren, who to this day hold his name in unfeigned respect, were forced to drive him from their company. He went to Turin, and now for the first time giving up his conventual habit, which had not been stripped from him even in his imprisonment, he supported himself working with his own hands as a gardener. But he ceased to work for the Church as little as St. Paul did when reduced to a like necessity. He sent a general letter to the Catholic episcopate urging them to raise the standard of reform, and claiming that his book should be recovered from the Inquisition and given to the light, or rather to the knowledge of the bishops. No result, of course, came from this; and so, with infinite pains and patience, he rewrote from memory — for all his notes had been sequestrated — the work which the Inquisition had suppressed, and added to it many like words; and with what he could save from his scanty wages, and some help from his brothers, he published this, with some introductory documents, under the title of "The Public Confession of a Prisoner of the Roman Inquisition, and The Origin of the Evils of the Catholic Church." (660 pp. Turin, 1865.) The work was diffuse, going over much ground that had already been worked, and was somewhat rugged in thought, and uncouth in style; but it is the work of a profound and powerful thinker, and there are parts of it that are as fine gold tried in the furnace. It took no hold of the popular mind in Italy. The writer saw his work fall on barren ground. The Italian people, excited to the last degree with political hopes and ambitions, were quite indifferent to religious issues. They were utterly sick of everything ecclesiastical; wanted to hear nothing about such things, to have nothing to do with them.

But Panzani's courage was equal still to this reverse. He had done his duty, had given to the world the truth that he had in charge. He could wait now with patience for the precious fruit, even until the latter rain. So he went on with his work in gardening at Turin, hoping even against hope, until at last the freeing of Rome in 1870 opened the way for his return thither with safety to his life and conscience, and gave him the occasion for renewed efforts for the reform of the Church. The Vatican

Digitized by Google

Council had turned men's thoughts for the moment toward ecclesiastical matters, and the Old Catholic movement seemed to herald the dawn of a reawakening of conscience in the Church. He came into relations of correspondence with various leaders of this movement, and of particular friendship with M. Loyson, who was that winter in Rome; but this movement, too, disappointed his hopes. Instead of turning the Vatican toward reform, it rather drove it to the extreme of more defiant self-assertion.

I first met Panzani in 1871. He came to me introduced by a Capuchin friend, who told me "This man is of the very salt of the earth." He was eager to see a newspaper or review started in Rome which should advocate the cause of reform within the Church. He never asked any help for himself. He never, indeed, thought of himself. His mind was wholly taken up with the needs of the Church and of the times. He saw the former driving madly on to certain final wreck, and the country looking indifferently on, and no one would heed his desperate signals of danger. He had found work in an iron-dealer's shop at six dollars the month, and later, when this work became too heavy for him, in a small fancy store in the Corso at eight dollars a month. On this meagre pay he lived for the twelve years following his return to Rome, but he never spent it all on himself. Out of it he always put apart something wherewith to publish pamphlets that might help the times, and all his spare hours went to study and writing. He produced during these years a great store of manuscripts, by painful diligence, for he was not a ready writer. Whatever he did in this way cost him hard and real work. One unusually cold winter, seeing that he was insufficiently clad, I got him twenty-five dollars, and told him to get himself some warm clothing. Ten days later he brought me the first copies of a new pamphlet. Twenty dollars of that given him had gone toward printing this pamphlet, and five had been used for clothing. Later, when I wanted to help him in the same way, I took the precaution to make him order the clothing, promising to pay for it when I saw him in it. He came presently in a new suit and overcoat, showing almost a child's pleasure in the unaccustomed physical comfort it gave him, but not quite easy in his conscience about his right to such luxury at a time when there was so much that the world ought to hear waiting to be printed. For twelve years I have known this man endure hardness thus in Rome, depriving himself of sufficient food and clothing, in order to lay by his pennies to publish writings that contained truth which he thought it was his

Digitized by Google

duty to bring to light. What wonder that men who had never cared or suffered for truth could not understand him, and began to think him insane! In all this time I never knew him to lose faith or courage. He looked inexpressibly weary at times, but when spoken to by a friend his worn face would lighten up with a smile so beautiful that it revealed a soul kept in perfect peace. He was a very simple-minded man, notwithstanding his powerful intellect, possessed of that long-suffering — I had almost said dumb — patience, which we see often in the peasantry and in domestic animals. He could never understand why other men did not see and care for the truth as he did. He saw that they did not. He knew that some men had no power to see truth, but it was wholly inexplicable to him. This he knew, however, whatever others could or would not see, *his* duty was clear; and though many were blind or false, still God could bring light out of darkness and order out of confusion, and would somehow in the end shape all things far better than he, Fra Andrea, could. So the years went hardly by, seen as through a glass very darkly; but still with him abided *faith* — yes, and I think, too, *hope*, of a certain kind, and *always charity*, the never failing.

Two years or so ago, seeing that he was failing in health under his hard life, I undertook to provide for him a small support as priest-sacristan in charge of the rooms of St. Paul's Italian Catholic mission, started a short time before, under the Count di Campello. Partly to insure his taking proper food, partly from some mistrust of what his later writings might be, I made it a condition that during his service in this capacity he should publish nothing whatever without my express consent. He accepted the condition with a sort of patient wonderment, and kept it faithfully; but he went on writing all the same, working about nineteen hours a day, and, as I found out afterwards, putting always aside from his small pay something to send to the poor children of his brothers in Corsica, to repay, in some measure, the money which the latter had put with him into the unsuccessful venture of his first book, published in Turin in 1865. So, in spite of my precautions, he deprived himself of the food which his advancing years required.

On returning to Rome, in October last, I was startled to notice a great change for the worse in his health. It failed rapidly, so that in a few weeks he was unable to take his place in the choir. The able and estimable physician of the German embassy, Dr. Erhardt, kindly undertook his case as a labor of love, and did all for him that medical skill could do. It proved, however, that he

Digitized by Google

was suffering from an internal cancer, brought on by long use of very coarse and insufficient food, and that his days were numbered. The ever-charitable heads of the American legation in Rome supplied him with the best that their kitchens and cellars afforded. Two nurses from St. Paul's House for Trained Nurses volunteered their efficient help, and this poor man found himself, at his end, surrounded with a care and with comforts such as he had never by any chance known in all his long life of hardness. He appreciated this keenly, when he thought of others and their goodness; but when he thought of himself — his unworthiness — it disquieted him. As he simply expressed it to me, it seemed to him "in some way not right that he should find such unlooked for kindness and be so well cared for in his last hours, when his Lord had been denied and deserted and cruelly tortured as He entered the valley of the Shadow of Death."

I have been called on to see many men die, in circumstances the most varied, but never any to whom death came more as a victory. His only care was for the writings — a great mass — that he should leave behind him. In some way he conceived the idea that his death would bring all these before the world; that by his death attention would be challenged to the truths which he had tried in vain to set clearly before men all through his life, and that so at last they would all be published, and accomplish their work. "We must die," he said to me one night, "to conquer, as the Lord did;" and so up to the very last he worked over his writings, arranging them and giving such directions for their disposition as he thought would make them most serviceable in the cause of reform.[1]

I found him one evening apparently at the last gasp. The physician warned me that he would not pass the night in the flesh. He felt himself to be at the very threshold of death, and was troubled lest he should cross it before he received the sacrament, there having been some little delay in bringing the priest who was to give it to him. When this was assured, I left him about eight o'clock. Toward midnight I called in again, supposing it would be to consult in regard to his funeral. But as I came near his bed, he opened his eyes wide, and said with a firm voice, "The sacrament has raised me up." And so it was. Some change had been suddenly wrought which gave him a great accession of strength and nearly two weeks more of life.

[1] The greater part of these he left to the Count di Campello, who watched over his last hours with the devotion of a long and tried friendship.

Digitized by Google

Both at this time and just before his death, the last ministrations of the Church were given him by Monsignore Savarne. An archbishop in full standing in the Roman communion supplied the consecrated oil for extreme unction; another sent him his solemn benediction *in extremis*. This archbishop told me of this himself, saying that Panzani had wished it, but adding, "Panzani had no need of my benediction; I needed his far more." Both of these prelates would have given much to stand by his dying bed, but both were afraid of compromising themselves with their Church by doing so. And both of them recognized in this poor monk — for had they been as true to their convictions of truth as he was to his, they, too, had both long since been outcasts from the papal synagogue — their spiritual superior. And as his long struggle to die went on, all about him were forced to recognize the spiritual greatness of this poor man. He was rugged in appearance and in speech. He had always been poor. A large part of his life had been spent in hard manual, often menial, labor. Not only the world had not known him, but even those about him in the mission chapel in which he filled the comparatively humble position of priest-sacristan had not known what was in him. Now it was as if their eyes had been suddenly opened to see the greatness of him who had been walking among them in such humble guise.

His end was not like an approaching death. It was as of one under orders to report for special duty at headquarters. A friend said to him, as he spoke with dying inspiration of the glory of the truth, "Well, you will see the Christ to-night or in the morning. You will tell Him that even in Rome there are still some who love his word as He spake it, and would, if need be, die for it, even as so many of his first followers did here." And he accepted the words, with a glad light in his eyes, simply, as a message which he had no doubt that he should presently deliver. He seemed to be moving in a world of the sublimest truths inspired by the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, whose best words were constantly in his mouth, not as empty forms of speech, but applied with living reality to the circumstances through which he was passing. And at last he departed, recognized by all who had looked on these things as one that must needs be very great in the kingdom of God. Certainly I have met no man, bishop, priest, or layman, in any nation, of any church, who, as far as human eye could reach, has better endured hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, never entangling himself with the affairs of this life, careful only and always to please Him who had chosen him to be a soldier.

Digitized by Google

By one of those providences which we call strange coincidences, over his dying bed, in the long schoolroom, to which I had had him carried one night to have the benefit of a better ventilation than was possible in his own small room, was the illuminated text in Italian, "FIGHT THE GOOD FIGHT OF FAITH." The disciple to whom these words were first addressed finished his course, it is claimed, in Rome; at least, his ashes are preserved there now as the object of a superstitious worship that he himself would have utterly repudiated; but I do not believe that Timothy himself fought his fight better, kept the faith more firmly, was in any way more truly a martyr for Him who said "I am the Truth," than Paolo Panzani.

He was buried, as I said above, in the cemetery of S. Lorenzo. Within the church itself are deposited the remains of the vain-glorious pontiff who had hunted him down with unjust persecution. Of the two men — the persecutor and the persecuted — the latter has, as so often happens, unquestionably come off the conqueror. The temporal power of the papacy, one of the great evils which Fra Andrea attacked, and which to Pius IX. was dearer than life itself, came to its just end fourteen years before, and is remembered now but as a hideous nightmare of past darkness. The body of Pius IX. reached its last resting place in headlong flight before an angry rabble, who heaped mud and curses upon it in its midnight course through the city where he had played the tyrant for over a quarter of a century; a rabble led by men who had suffered cruel wrong — bonds, imprisonment, banishment, the loss of all but their lives — at his hands. Fra Andrea, the prisoner of the Inquisition, was buried openly, with every rite befitting his Christian and priestly character, and the benediction over his grave was given — without a hand raised to resist their right to do so — by Catholic priests who have dared to take their stand in Rome in brave and open protest for the faith once delivered unto the saints.

It is true the "Society for the Promotion of Catholic Interests," which represents everything that is most papal in Rome, has already set itself to prepare the apotheosis of Pius IX. The plain sarcophagus, in which after the loss of the temporal power he directed his body to be placed, is to be enshrined in a special chapel of rarest marbles, enriched with a great wealth of mosaic. And besides this material glorification, it is understood that his early canonization has been fully determined upon. Rumors of miracles worked at his tomb are already in the air. The "Pray

Digitized by Google

for him," now written on it, will be changed presently, by the authority of the Church which he did so much to corrupt, to "Pray to him." But what weight, suppose you, will the decree of the Vatican recognizing him as a saint have when the "witness" Fra Andrea d' Altagene is called before the throne of God?

R. J. Nevin.

St. Paul's Church, Rome.

PRIVATE AID TO PUBLIC CHARITIES.

It was said long ago by Seneca that the good-will of the benefactor is of the essence of a benefit, and though the saying be trite enough, the truth it contains is as fundamental as it is generally forgotten. For, as he goes on to say, this good-will is not a mere impulse, which would make benefits the work of passion or of chance, but is controlled by the judgment, so that to be a benefit an act must be done with a due regard to time, place, substance, cause, the character of the recipient, and the like. It is an enlightened and rational good-will, therefore, that gives its virtue to a benefit; and it is the absence of this kind of benevolence that turns so many intended or nominal benefits into actual injuries.

It hardly needs the teaching of experience to show that the dispensation of alms by the officers of government is not likely to be influenced by a very exalted benevolence. Those unfortunate persons who are reduced to a dependence upon public charity are seldom of a character to excite the affectionate regard of their fellow-creatures, and the necessary exercise of authority over them is only too apt to degenerate into tyranny. There are many distinguished exceptions, but in general it would be quite as reasonable to look for an intelligent sympathy in the machines that are used to administer nourishment to animals as to expect a discriminating benevolence in the hired officers of a public almshouse.

If the saving quality of good-will be not found in the deeds of the functionaries that distribute the alms of the public, it is most certainly lacking in the public that contributes those alms. They are extorted from the property-holders by force of law, and if the Lord loveth only the cheerful giver He expends no affection here. Men may lay down their lives with enthusiasm at their country's

Digitized by Google

call; they may lavish their fortunes in patriotic schemes, but they will never pay their taxes without murmuring. The solitary satisfaction to be derived from that operation is when the amount is found to be less than was anticipated. It is impossible to contend that such giving as this is charity; and though we give all our goods to the tax-gatherer to feed the poor, and have not charity, it profiteth us nothing.

To all this, however, it might very well be replied, It is true that charitable institutions supported at the public expense may not be benefits in the moral sense so far as their supporters are concerned, although the public spirit that maintains them is certainly of a generous character; but the important matter is that they be benefits to those who are relieved. If it appears that the most pressing wants of the needy are actually supplied, and physical suffering from cold and hunger is actually prevented, it is, perhaps, not a very serious thing if no one can claim that he is thereby more meritorious. The state has a practical end to gain, and it must perforce gain it through practical measures. Those who wish to be charitable in the sentimental sense will find no trouble about indulging their virtuous propensities in numberless private enterprises. To most of us probably this reply would seem sufficient. We are not apt to be interested in poverty that does not thrust itself upon our personal notice. We have no reason to suppose that the poor are not well cared for by the proper authorities, and until we have reason to think otherwise we are indisposed to meddle in what does not directly concern us. Hundreds of thousands of people have read "Oliver Twist" with bitter wrath or tender sympathy, but probably very few of them have been led to inquire into the management of the poor-house in their own community. We think of the abuses described in that book as taking place during a darker time and in a foreign country, and it does not occur to most readers that they could prevail here and now.

Revelations accidentally occur, however, from time to time, showing that this comfortable feeling that things which we have not looked after are probably going on well may be wholly unwarranted. The argument upon which it rests is fallacious, for all experience shows that when those who have others under their power are not held constantly to a strict responsibility they are sure to become oppressive; particularly so when the subjects are at once exasperating and feeble, while the rulers have no interest in their prosperity. It has been a common custom to farm out

Digitized by Google

paupers to the lowest bidder. The man that undertakes such work on such terms is not likely to be a very generous or even a kindly ruler; for he would scarcely undertake the work except from interest, and it is not his interest to be either. Nor are the officers in the large public institutions often of a character to make it probable that their behavior will be particularly humane, for they are generally appointed through political influence or personal favor, although it must in justice be stated that their inhumanity is due to lack of intelligence, and to the force of circumstances, rather than to willful cruelty. In short, it is impossible that such offices as are required by the poor should be rendered without the animating principle of charity. If this is to be found neither in those who supply the alms nor in those who administer them, it must be introduced in some other way, or neglect, cruelty, and other abuses will prevail.

Experience has been found to confirm what has been here advanced. So long ago as 1844 Miss D. L. Dix made a personal examination of many of the county poor-houses of the State of New York, and presented an appeal to the legislature on account of their deplorable condition. In 1857 a committee of the Senate reported as the conclusion reached after their examination that "the great mass of the poor-houses which we have inspected are most disgraceful memorials of public charity. Common domestic animals are usually more humanely provided for than the paupers in some of these institutions." In 1865 another report, based upon returns made by physicians throughout the State, described the condition of affairs as unchanged for the better. In 1867 a State board of charities was established with power to inspect institutions receiving aid from the State and to report the results of their inspection to the legislature, with such suggestions as they might deem practical. Considerable reforms were brought about by this body, but it was not until 1872 that a movement was organized which has been conducted upon such enlightened principles and attended with such gratifying results as to be of profound interest to all who care for the amelioration of the condition of the poor.

This movement seems to have had its origin indirectly in the civil war. The work undertaken in connection with the Sanitary Commission and the hospitals called forth among the women of our country an enthusiasm and a heroism not inferior to that displayed by the men. But it did more, — it produced a practical enfranchisement of the sex, making those who participated in it

Digitized by Google

feel that they need no longer hold aloof from public affairs from any sense that they were incapable of taking part in them. It taught them that all public institutions, unless constantly inspected by others than public inspectors, are prone to evil as the sparks fly upward. It suggested to them that the line of duties that they had taken up would not end with the war, nor, indeed, until what were known as public charities should have become animated by the spirit of charity. It caused them to realize the density of the ignorance of even the most benevolent citizens concerning the condition of the poor in these institutions, and the importance of not only dispelling this ignorance, but also of determining the lines upon which reform should be carried out. But little investigation was needed to show that evils of so serious a character were in existence that a vigorous organization was indispensable.

A society was accordingly formed under the name of "The State Charities Aid Association," its objects being formally declared to be: "1st. To promote an active public interest in the New York State Institutions of Public Charities, with a view to the physical, mental, and moral improvement of their pauper inmates. 2d. To make the present pauper system more efficient, and to bring about such reforms in it as may be in accordance with the most enlightened views of Christianity, science, and philanthropy." More explicitly defined, the first of these objects was to call the attention of benevolent persons to their responsibility for the condition of the poor-houses in their own neighborhood. With great justice the promoters of the association thought that both the principles of local self-government and the principles of Christianity required that the citizens of every county should interest themselves actively in the administration of public charity within their own territorial limits. By their position they are enabled to exercise a more continuous and effective scrutiny than can possibly result from the rare and perfunctory visits of paid State inspectors, even when such officers exist, and the fact that some of the inmates of almost every poor-house are of respectable antecedents and of families well known in their own communities, but reduced to want by misfortune, renders the expression of neighborly sympathy peculiarly appropriate. Abuses in any institution are seldom corrected except in response to the demands of an intelligent local public opinion.

The second object of the association was really to obtain the advantages arising from the coöperation of a large number of scattered workers and thinkers. It is not often the case that

Digitized by Google

there is an actual deficiency of the spirit of kindness in any community. People are willing to do, but they do not know how to do. They do not know what abuses are likely to exist, how they are likely to be concealed, how they can be detected, or what course should be taken to correct them. They are ignorant of what has been done in other parts of the country and in other countries; and in their ignorance they are in danger of repeating mistakes of which the pernicious character has been already discovered. Too often the discouragement arising from the failure of well-meant but ill-conceived schemes of reform makes the work more hopeless than ever. It therefore seemed necessary that there should be a central bureau or office, where meetings of those actively interested in the work could be held, and where information should be collected and made available to the most isolated. Under this system no one need remain in ignorance of the lessons of experience, and every attempt at reform, even in the most retired community, could enjoy the advantage of starting in the light of all that had preceded it.

It is neither irrelevant nor uninteresting to observe that the leaders in this beneficent enterprise belonged to a class that occupies in our civilization a somewhat anomalous position. An untitled aristocracy has few means of distinguishing itself except by the display of wealth; and the display of wealth, where fortunes are made so quickly and so dishonorably, is generally looked upon as the badge of vulgarity. Public office when obtained by the prevalent methods not conferring an enviable fame, and mere antiquity of family counting for little, an important element of society finds itself condemned to an irksome obscurity. It is not always, however, that the members of this class are content to feed themselves upon family pride and to maintain or profess an arrogant contempt for all that takes place outside of an exclusive circle, and in the present instance we have a brilliant example of how the truest distinction may be won, — not by serving the public at its own wish, but by serving it in its own despite. The only permanent basis of an aristocracy is its virtue and intelligence; and where these exist the unworthy trustees of public interests, unworthily selected, can be made to feel that they are amenable to a higher power than the sovereign people. In the early history of our country few names are more honorably distinguished than those of Hamilton and Schuyler, and it is a legitimate source of patriotic gratification that to a descendant of the union of these families, Miss Schuyler, is due the honor of origi-

Digitized by Google

nating this movement; nor without her continuing and most self-sacrificing labors would it have been carried to success.

The society began its work in New York and the adjacent county of Westchester, and found at once that there was work enough to do. The experience of several of its members in the military hospitals during the war perhaps led them to visit first the well-known Bellevue Hospital in New York city, an institution that annually receives some eight thousand poor patients. The number of deaths due to hospital poisons was found to be painfully large, but as the only remedy for this evil is in the erection of new buildings, the visitors were unable to do more than call public attention to the need of improvement. Many smaller reforms were, however, brought about, one of which has had consequences so important as to require especial mention. It is the custom in New York to commit abandoned women who are drunk and disorderly to the jail on Blackwell's Island for the term of ten days. It is generally only the lowest and most diseased members of this unfortunate class that render themselves obnoxious to the police; nevertheless, at the time when the visitation of which we are speaking took place, the nursing in Bellevue Hospital was done in great part by these "ten-days women." This fact was sufficiently remarkable; it was more remarkable that many of the hospital physicians were reluctant to consent to the reform of this abuse. They were apprehensive that trained nurses might undertake to discharge the functions of doctors, — a difficulty which could not possibly arise under the existing circumstances.

Shocked at the spectacles of ignorance and brutality that daily fell under their notice, the members of the association determined to exert themselves to establish a school for nurses in connection with Bellevue Hospital. One of their number, Dr. W. G. Wylie, formerly one of the resident staff of the hospital, visited Europe, at his own expense, for the purpose of learning whatever was known of the subject, and made a careful and extended inquiry. Upon consultation with Florence Nightingale, he found that the testimonial of £50,000 contributed in honor of her services in the Crimean War by her grateful countrymen had been, at her request, devoted to the foundation of a training school for nurses. The success of this establishment and others of like character showed that there was nothing visionary in the project of the association, and the necessary funds being quickly furnished in response to a public appeal, the proposed school was opened, and became at once indispensable. Our space does not allow us to

Digitized by Google

refer further to it, or to like schools that have sprung from it, and we can only quote the words of Dr. Austin Flint, addressed to the graduating class at the close of the ninth year of the institution.

"I believe that I express the opinion of my brethren of the medical profession of New York when I say that the advent of nurses trained in Bellevue Hospital was an important epoch in the practice of medicine and surgery in this city. Heretofore, nurses were proverbial for ignorance, stupidity, coarseness, and audacious effrontery. True, there were bright exceptional instances, but the exceptions did not invalidate the rule. The character of Mrs. Gamp, as delineated by Dickens, was a life portrait, and typical of a large number of those to whom was intrusted the care of fellow beings in the extremities and helplessness of disease.

"It is difficult now to understand why such an incongruity (to use a mild term) should have continued so long. All honor to those who have been instrumental in bringing about a reform which will not suffer by comparison with any other having reference to human welfare in human life."

In the formation of county visiting committees the association was at once successful. Its members were able to put themselves in communication with the most enlightened and influential members of the communities addressed, and at the close of the second year of work over one thousand visitors were actually enrolled, while at the present time visiting committees exist in most of the counties of the State. An organizing secretary has been quite steadily engaged in traveling from county to county for the purpose of arousing interest in the enterprise, and giving practical suggestions as to the methods to be pursued. From the reports of these visits it appears that as a rule the poor-houses had been completely forgotten, even by the most benevolent citizens. A curious illustration of this may be given. Some of the members of the association, on making their first visit to one of the county poor-houses, found as usual that their mission was unprecedented, and upon inquiring who could be interested in the work, they were referred to a certain lady well known for her benevolence. This lady had for years occupied a place bordering on the poor-farm, where she had regularly entertained a number of the poor children of New York city, but it had never occurred to her that the poor of her own neighborhood might not be well cared for. The painful revelations of her first visit made her at once aware of the importance of the work to be done, and although a change of residence has rendered it an onerous task to continue her visits, they

Digitized by Google

have never since been remitted, and their results have been most wholesome.

The evils that were generally, indeed universally, prevalent were of the following character: In few cases were there any provisions made for religious services, so that not only was there no Sunday observance, but even the dead were buried with no Christian rites. As a rule, there was no classification of inmates, frequently an imperfect separation of the sexes. Criminals convicted of minor offences, tramps, paralytics, imbeciles, lunatics, abandoned women, were found mingled in a hideous confusion with the respectable poor and with children of all ages. A total lack of employment, at least during the winter months, allowed this pestilent mass to fester in idleness, until young children were found to attain such horrible proficiency in vice as cannot be told in words. Having none to learn from but the vicious characters with whom they were surrounded, who had naught to teach them but their own wickedness, it is not strange that their progress was rapid. Had these institutions been maintained for the purpose of breeding a race of hereditary paupers and criminals, diseased in body, mind, and soul, they could not in many instances have been more successful. And all this was going on in enlightened Christian communities, slumbering in peaceful ignorance of the blood that was crying out against them from the ground.

It would be unreasonable to expect that such inveterate abuses should be at once remedied, but the reformatory forces that were put in motion by this association have had a steady influence for good, and upon the whole the condition of charitable institutions has been greatly improved. In the first place, young children can no longer be lawfully exposed to the corrupting influences that we have described. Not only has the passage of an act been procured, rendering it unlawful to detain children between the ages of two and sixteen in the county almshouses, and providing for their reception in the various refuges and juvenile homes, but public interest has been aroused in the kindly work of providing for these innocent victims of the stern laws of nature true homes in the families of respectable citizens, and of watching over them when thus transplanted. The practice of committing criminals to the poor-houses has been to a great extent checked. The separation of the sexes has been rendered more complete, and hospital buildings have been in many cases erected, so that births and deaths no longer take place in the publicity of the common living-room. In one instance, at least, a trained nurse from the Bellevue school has

Digitized by Google

been employed with most excellent results upon the whole tone of the institution. Nor is it unworthy to be mentioned that the very appearance of friendly visitors, conveying to the unfortunate inmates of these establishments the assurance that they were not wholly forgotten and unpitied, has been of itself a blessing. Not only have the formal offices of our religion been extended to them in the shape of Sunday exercises and burial services, but more vital manifestations of Christianity have been called out and kind deeds have followed abundantly upon kind words.

Over one evil a prolonged struggle has been carried on. The expense of maintaining lunatics in the asylums provided especially for them being much greater than that of maintaining paupers, the county authorities are under a constant pressure from the taxpayers to commit the insane to the poor-house. It is not only impossible that sufferers of this class should receive proper care in such establishments, but their presence there is an outrage upon the other inmates. Some years since the secretary of the association happened to visit a county poor-house at the time of the election in November. The keeper was necessarily absent at the polls, working for the reëlection of the superintendent of the poor, who had given him his office, and whose defeat would mean the loss of his position. In fact this political duty had called him away from his charge for several weeks. In consequence of his absence the more dangerous lunatics were confined in underground cells, without fire, although the weather was severe, and with insufficient clothing. One of them being released revenged himself for this cruel treatment by a savage attack upon an inoffensive pauper, and laid him senseless and covered with blood at the feet of the horrified visitor. Such scenes are not likely to be often witnessed by outsiders, but the accounts received from those who are most familiar with these institutions show that even more revolting sights are not uncommon. It is gratifying to learn that much has been done toward securing separate quarters and better treatment for this peculiarly unfortunate class.

Out of this preëminently Christian association a marvelous growth of good works, wholly unthought of by the originators, has sprung. One thing has led to another. Correspondence with those interested in practical benevolence in all parts of the world, study of what has elsewhere been attempted and accomplished, mutual conference and counsel have stimulated activity and thought in unforeseen directions. The daily collection of newspapers and periodicals for the sick in hospitals is one example of the

Digitized by Google

incidental results of such a union. The instruction of large numbers of persons, railway employees, and workmen in other dangerous employments in the treatment of wounds and other cases of accident is a still more striking illustration. So vigorous has this latter movement become that large classes trained by skillful surgeons are now regularly examined, with gratifying results, in the saving of lives that would otherwise have been lost, and the "First Aid to the Injured Society" is now an independent, although not self-supporting, body. The number of these collateral activities is in fact so great that it is impossible here to enumerate them, but their combined result has certainly been considerable, both in the good that they have brought to the poor of the city and in the interest in charitable labor that they have aroused. The annual reports of the association are filled with suggestions of interest, and its publications upon various social reforms constitute a small but valuable library.

We have stated the results of the formation of this society at such length, not for the purpose of glorifying its achievements, but to draw attention to the powerful forces that its methods call out. It is not very easy for a person to bring about any reform without the aid of an organized body of helpers, and for the lack of such assistance many excellent movements are quickly spent. On the other hand an organization is very apt to kill the spirit of true benevolence. The work has a tendency to get into the hands of paid officers, and become a business with which those that are not thoroughly informed feel that it is presumptuous for them to meddle. The vow of poverty ought to be taken by benevolent societies if they are to retain the apostolic spirit. The work ought to be done by those who do it for love, with only such a force of assistants as will utilize and economize their labors. When these principles are observed there is a spontaneity and strength in the activity of those interested that is thoroughly healthful. No matter how isolated the situation of the benevolent worker, how apathetic the community, how helplessly ignorant he may feel, here is a band of earnest people upon whom he can call for advice, information, sympathy, with the assurance that whatever can be done for him will be done willingly, and not unwisely, for there are sure to be some that have met and conquered the very difficulties that confront him. Letters of inquiry are received by the society of which we have spoken from half the States in the Union. But the responsibility is left with him and with those among whom he dwells. If the inhabitants of a community will do nothing to

Digitized by Google

remedy abuses in the management of their local institutions the responsibility is theirs. But if they really wish to inquire into the conditions of the poor, to know how to meet the resistance active and passive that they will certainly arouse at first, to reply to the objections that practical people will surely raise, to prosecute the work with the least risk of failure, such unions as we have described are of great value. Their necessity varies in different parts of the country, but there is not a State in which they would not be of service. There are always dark places, and whatever will bring to them the kindly light is to be welcomed.

D. McG. Means.

NEW YORK CITY.

JAMES MADISON.

A DEBT of gratitude is due to Mr. Gay for his life of our fourth President.[1] He has opened the ponderous and marble jaws of the Rives biography, where Madison has been quietly inurned, and has thus permitted that distinguished statesman to revisit once more the glimpses of the moon. There is hardly a life in the series to which this volume belongs that so much needed to be written. Madison was one of the most conspicuous figures of his time. He held easily the second place in his party, and though he cannot be ranked with Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Adams, or Marshall, he was a statesman of a fine type, and followed close upon these great leaders. His services were important in themselves and lasting in their results. Yet with all this, and despite the many great offices which he held, Madison is neither familiar nor vivid to posterity. Hence the especial value of such an excellent biography as that by Mr. Gay.

That Madison is comparatively ill understood and imperfectly appreciated is not altogether due, by any means, to the fact that he fell into the hands of Mr. Rives, and thus became the subject of one of the most solemn, learned, and highly respectable biographies ever penned by man. The real trouble is in Madison himself. He is an extremely difficult subject, historically speaking, as can be seen even in Mr. Gay's most interesting volume. Mr. Gay writes with a skillful and practiced hand. There are very few better chapters in our history than those in which he has dis-

[1] *James Madison.* By Sydney Howard Gay. American Statesmen Series. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston. 1884.

Digitized by Google

cussed the relations of parties and the French question during Washington's administration. But it is obvious that Mr. Gay has a keen sense of both the humorous and the picturesque; and, although it may be but fancy, one seems to detect a feeling of weariness in the author just because he possesses this gift. The narrative flows rapidly and closely, dealing more perhaps with public questions than with Madison, until the downfall of the Federalists. After that, although the merit of the work does not diminish in the least, the story goes forward with long strides, and five chapters suffice to cover the administrations of Jefferson and Madison and the twenty years of quiet which followed the latter's retirement from public life.

It is not matter for surprise that Mr. Gay should have become weary. It would have been strange indeed if he had not, for Madison, however highly we may rank his abilities and his services, is solemn and dry to the last degree as an historical character. This arises chiefly from a defect which seems to have been common to the men of that day, but which reached its highest development in Madison. Nothing is more striking in studying the period of the Revolution and of the establishment of the government of the United States than the absence of humor among the really great men of that time. It is not that the mirth of that age has lost its savor in ours. The humor of Fielding and Smollett and the wit of Sheridan appeal to us as keenly as to their contemporaries. It is the same with our own great countryman, Franklin, whose vein of strong, quiet humor has delighted generations of readers. But among the builders of the government of the United States Gouverneur Morris seems to have been the solitary possessor of a genuine sense of humor, and his speeches, as a natural consequence, seem to gleam on the printed pages of constitutional debates in singular contrast to the gray sobriety of his fellows. Fisher Ames had humor, but it was of a melancholy and sardonic sort, while the savage wit of John Randolph and the effective sarcasms of Quincy belong to a later period. John Adams and in a less degree Jefferson are in very different ways often unconsciously amusing, but here the list must end. Although Hamilton had evidently a hearty love of fun, no humor appears in his letters, yet he is vivid and picturesque by the force of passion and the energy of a strong nature. This is true, also, of such men as John Quincy Adams, Timothy Pickering, and John Marshall. Madison, however, had no such redeeming trait. Mr. Rives cites as proof of Madison's humor a letter

Digitized by Google

written by Ellery and Madison jointly to some fellow-members of Congress. This production is, at best, harmless fun, a species of labored grinning through a horse-collar, and is, moreover, obviously the work of Ellery from beginning to end. There is no other testimony now in existence on the strength of which Madison can be accused of humor in any form. He was, in fact, utterly destitute of that most valuable of human gifts, and this lack was not at all supplied by high animal spirits or by a strong and passionate temperament. Madison, indeed, seems never to have had any boyhood or youth. When he left college his health was poor, he was very studious, very serious, and very busy. He was only twenty-three when he wrote to his friend Bradford, "Poetry, wit, criticism, plays, etc., captivated me much, but I began to discover that they deserve but a small portion of a mortal's time, and that something more substantial, more durable, and more profitable befits a riper age." So this ripe young gentleman of twenty-three freshened his mind by an extended course of theological study, and then plunged into that public career in which he was to play such a useful and distinguished part. A man so constituted was, of course, cold and calm. Mr. Gay says, in speaking of Madison's letter announcing the victory of Yorktown: "Neither is there a word of sympathetic warmth and patriotic fervor which at that moment made the heart of a whole people beat quicker at the news of a great victory." The disappointment he met with in his first love affair tells the whole story. Madison was then young, well-looking, a gentleman of refined and cultivated manners, a scholar, and already a highly distinguished man. He offered everything that could tempt a woman's ambition or gratify her pride. Yet Miss Floyd broke her engagement with him to marry an obscure clergyman. Madison did not interest her, and posterity has felt a good deal like Miss Floyd. Many years later Madison married very happily, winning his bride, as Mr. Rives tells us, by his "rare colloquial accomplishments," — a portentous sort of wooing which explains perhaps Miss Floyd's feelings.

When, however, we pass from the qualities which touch the heart or kindle the imagination Madison appears very differently. He had some great and many useful faculties. He was wonderfully industrious and painstaking. He was not a versatile man, and, except for an amateur fondness for natural history, he cared for nothing but politics and the science of government, especially as applied to the United States. With everything which could

Digitized by Google

by any possibility have the remotest bearing on these topics he was thoroughly familiar, and his familiarity was that of the scholar and not of the man rapidly crammed for the occasion. The result was, that in his own field no one surpassed him, and he still remains one of the best known and most trusted expounders of our system of constitutional law.

As in constitutions and government, so in the current political questions of his day, Madison touched a good many without adorning them, but never without manifesting a thorough knowledge and conveying much information to his hearers. He was eminently reasonable and practical, and although not a brilliant speaker, he was a convincing and effective leader in debate. The chief cause of his success, not only in Congress but elsewhere, was the soundness of his views on all questions. He never made mistakes of judgment, except when from party stress he acted on the opinions of other people. This wisdom, accompanied by a certain amount of shrewd foresight, was the source of the confidence that he enjoyed, and of all the popular strength he ever obtained. But he had other and nobler qualities than these. He was candid, conscientious, just, and, as a rule, high-minded. Nothing impresses one more in studying Madison's correspondence than the almost entire absence of personalities either hostile or friendly. He seems never to have undertaken to analyze character either for his own benefit or for that of his friends. He had no warm friendships apparently, except with Jefferson and Monroe, and he was equally free from bitter enmities. If not a good lover, he was still less a good hater. The strongest hostility he ever showed was toward Hamilton, whom he pursued at one period with a cold hatred of a rather active and ugly kind. Yet in his later years his inborn sense of justice reasserted itself, and he wrote even of Hamilton: "That he possessed intellectual powers of the first order, and the moral qualifications of integrity and honor in a captivating degree, has been decreed to him by a suffrage now universal. If his theory of government deviated from the republican standard, he had the candor to avow it, and the greater merit of coöperating faithfully in maturing and supporting a system which was not his choice."

The first public question that seems to have drawn Madison's attention was in regard to religious freedom. The petty persecutions of the Established Church in Virginia aroused his indignation, and he left his mark on the Virginian Bill of Rights in the clause which secured religious liberty. Toleration he resisted as imply-

Digitized by Google

ing the right of the state to meddle with men's consciences, and he would accept nothing but absolute freedom. In this matter he not only won a victory in the Bill of Rights, but in later years he finally defeated various attempts to establish certain religious privileges in favor of the dominant church.

Madison entered public life at an early age, but it was a time when men developed rapidly, and he was always mature. He passed rapidly from the legislature to the council of Virginia, and thence to Congress at the close of the war. The soundness of his opinions and the ripeness of his wisdom in these first years of public life were most remarkable, and for all we can see now he was as skilled a statesman then as when he laid down the Presidency after forty years of public life. Not only on the matter of religious freedom, but on all other public questions in regard to which popular opinion fluctuated constantly, he was ever just, steady, and true. In the councils of his own State he fought against the curse of paper money, revised and condensed the laws, strove to have the treaty kept in regard to British debts, and labored zealously for intelligent commercial legislation and for all other useful reforms. In Congress he worked day and night to overcome the hopeless difficulties of the confederation. He grappled with the debt and with the revenue, and sought to give strength to the imbecile central government of which he was a part. In regard to the Mississippi he held right opinions and took enlarged views at a time when there was a strong pressure to sacrifice our interests in the great river for the sake of peace with Spain. In that matter Madison showed plenty of courage, as he always did when he felt sure he was right. This was conspicuously the case in regard to slavery. In 1785 he wrote: "Another of my wishes is to depend as little as possible on the labor of slaves." The system of human bondage was indeed odious to his gentle and liberal nature, and he was courageous in his treatment of it. He would have liked to abolish the "peculiar institution," but then he shrank back, probably because he saw that it was a task beyond any man's strength. But his influence was always against it, and when the abolition petitions appeared in the first Congress he wished to have those petitions respectfully referred and then rejected after a simple presentation of the constitutional objections. This was advanced ground to take at that day, and if the South had followed Madison's advice they would have fared much better than by trying to strangle the right of petition and thus arousing a spirit which never slumbered nor slept until the whole infamous system went down in utter ruin.

Digitized by Google

Madison's great work however, as well as his chief title to fame and gratitude, comes from his share in forming the Constitution. No one did more in this momentous achievement, and only two others as much as he. From the time when they first came together in Congress Hamilton and Madison labored with equal zeal for the establishment of a better government. They saw the fatal defects in the fading system of the confederation. They were imbued with the same ideas as to the proper remedies. One at the North, the other at the South, they reached out their hands to each other, and backed by the quiet but masterful influence of Washington they finally succeeded, and carried through one of the greatest triumphs of modern statesmanship. To Madison in Virginia, alert and attentive, came the first opportunity. With great adroitness he seized the slender chance held out by the conferences of Virginia and Maryland, and obtained the call for the Annapolis convention. Hamilton responded in an instant. The convention met. It was an unpromising beginning, but it gave Hamilton and Madison the point for the lever by which they could move their world. They pried with all their might to raise the inert mass of the States, and the result was the convention at Philadelphia. Side by side they fought for the adoption of a strong and energetic government, and when the Constitution was completed they together wrote "The Federalist," and in their respective States fought two of the decisive and most desperate battles of the whole struggle in behalf of union and national existence.

The new government was established, the machinery began to move, and then Madison and Hamilton separated, never to meet again except as foes. This was the turning point of Madison's life, and Mr. Gay has analyzed the question with skill and justice. In his old age Madison was much nettled by charges of inconsistency, and passed a good deal of time in showing that he was always perfectly consistent. Why he should have been so sensitive on this point it is not easy to see. He had never "ratted," nor had he ever sold himself or betrayed his party from mean motives. But his change of front was certainly marked, and the inconsistency between his natural opinions and his public actions from 1790 to 1800 is strikingly obvious. Madison was by nature and instinct a "Federalist." Indeed, it was he who established, if he did not coin, the word itself. He was a cautious man, with no popular gifts or attractions, a lover of a strong, well-ordered government, not given to experiments or to new ideas, the very reverse of sentimental, and not at all imbued with the notions about human-

Digitized by Google

ity then swarming out of France. Thus formed by nature, he acted all his life as one of the leaders of the Democratic party, and became its second choice for the Presidency and a recognized exponent of the Jeffersonian theories, which then constituted Democracy in the party sense. A very brief comparison of Madison's opinions before 1789 with those which he advocated afterwards shows the extent of the change which he made in his course as a public man.

Madison believed in the first place that property should be represented, and that manhood suffrage ought to control one branch of the legislature and property suffrage the other. This theory he advocated both in youth and old age, and apparently never changed his mind about it. All that can be said on this point is that Madison's view was certainly not democratic. He believed in a strong central government, and wrote and said over and over again that he considered an absolute negative on all State laws whatsoever essential to any effective system. He proposed to give this vast power either to Congress, the President, or the national judiciary. Hamilton has been always criticised for his proposition to give the appointments of governors of States to the President, but this was merely reaching the veto power in another way. In details they differed, but Madison and Hamilton agreed in the fundamental point, that the central government must control absolutely the legislation of the States. If a more centralizing theory than this of Madison's existed it was not put forward, and it reads oddly enough when placed side by side with the Virginia resolutions of '98. In regard to finance, the point on which everything then hinged, Madison believed in the fullest provision for the debt; he was one of the earliest supporters of a permanent revenue; he favored funding; he opposed discrimination among holders of the domestic debt, and in 1783 and 1785 he argued strongly in favor of the principle of assumption of the State debts. In 1787, when the work of forming the Constitution fairly began, we are able to trace his opinions very clearly. He wrote to Randolph that the individual independence of the States was incompatible with the idea of an aggregate sovereignty; he defended the negative on the States, and wished to extend national supremacy to the courts. In another letter he described the party adverse to the Constitution as bent on the dissolution of the Union. A little later he wrote that equality of votes among the States must cease in order to secure a *national* instead of a *federal* government, and he also declared against the ratification of the new system by the States, and wished to have it referred directly to the people.

Digitized by Google

In the debates of the convention Madison's national and centralizing principles come out even more strongly and plainly. He urged three years as the proper term for members of Congress, dwelt on the instability of republics and the danger that the House would overwhelm the Senate, and opposed the proposition to restrict the right of originating money bills to the popular branch. After the introduction of the so-called New Jersey plan Hamilton made his great speech of June 18, one principal object being to counteract the weakening effect of the system outlined by Mr. Patterson. The next day Madison followed Hamilton with a strong speech in the same direction. A little later he declared that there was no objection in principle to our great republic, but merely considerations of inconvenience and impracticability. He was not in favor of forbidding members of Congress to hold other offices, and he advocated a property qualification for electors of the senators, for whom he thought a term of nine years none too long. In another speech he urged that the true policy for the small States was in a system which would reduce the States to the level of counties. He believed in a strong executive, opposed zealously the equality of votes in the Senate, and on the question of representation employed the language of Hamilton in regard to large and small States. Indeed, at a later day he went further than Hamilton, arguing boldly that the freeholders would be the safest depositaries of republican liberty. He was also against giving the States any power to control the election of congressmen; he favored placing the State militia in the power of the general government; and he believed in taxing exports.

On these principles he continued to act after the adjournment of the convention. He contributed to "The Federalist," referring constantly to the British Constitution as a standard, and then returned to Virginia to lead the fight for the new system. Defeated for the Senate through Henry's exertions, he succeeded after a sharp contest with Monroe in securing an election to the lower House. In the new Congress he easily took the lead, and there is no change apparent in his attitude throughout the first session. Indeed, he continued to write to Jefferson and his other friends that the danger still to be apprehended was from the strength of the States and the feebleness of the general government.

Madison's complete change dates from the beginning of the second session of the first Congress; in other words, from the appearance of the report on the Public Credit. The turning about was complete and decided. Madison did not go gradually into oppo-

Digitized by Google

sition because he did not fancy the scheme of policy developed by Hamilton. In his later years he was fond of thinking that this was the case; but in reality he opposed it step by step, and from the very outset. If it had devolved on Madison to mark out a policy for the administration, there is no reason to suppose that it would have differed in principle from the one actually undertaken. Yet the very instant Hamilton began to strike out the bold and masterly policy which was to convert the dry clauses of the Constitution into a strong and living organism Madison began to resist. No one differed as to the foreign debt, but on the domestic debt Madison took a position in favor of discrimination, and produced a scheme as impracticable as could well be conceived. The sharpness of the change is best shown by the fact that Hamilton in arguing against discrimination in his report found his best support in quoting Madison's own words on that subject sent forth to the country some years before in the address to the States.

It is easy to show the sudden and complete change made by Madison. It is much more difficult to account for it. His action, as is usually the case, was probably due to a variety of motives. In the first place, there were two points on which Madison was consistent throughout his life. Despite his national views and his labors for the Constitution he was always in the last resort a Virginian first, a Southerner next, and an American last. In that day and generation there was nothing either peculiar or discreditable about this. With the exception of Washington, who by largeness of mind rose above all local prejudices, and of Hamilton, who was born without them and was too broad to acquire them, all the men of that day were in a greater or less degree sectional. It was human nature, that was all. They loved their States, which had always existed for them, and they had only a theoretic and reasoned devotion to the Union, which was a thing of yesterday. When their party or their section was in power they were strongly national; when they were in the minority the reverse was the case. Madison was as fervent in his State feeling as it was possible for him to be in anything. With his calm sense he saw clearly, as few others did, that the real contest in the convention was not between large and small States, but between the North and South, between freedom and slavery. When the new government began to move he saw the financial policy enriching the North, and not the South; and he saw, too, the rise of the North to political power under Washington. Here was one powerful reason for opposition.

Digitized by Google

The other point on which Madison never swerved was in regard to France. He belonged to the school which had a deep sentimental prejudice in favor of that country. He showed this feeling strongly in the debates of 1782–83, and he never could get rid either of his prejudice or of the old colonial habit of clinging to foreign politics for guidance and inspiration. This was also the view of Jefferson, and speedily became that of the party which he and Madison formed and led.

On the other hand the Federalists, as Mr. Gay points out, were the first American party. Their policy was to avoid any connection with any power across the water, and to treat all alike, allowing the dead past to bury its dead. Such an attitude was odious to Madison. He and all the rest of his friends undertook to say that they resisted the Federalists because the Federalists wished to favor England. In reality they resisted because the Federalists were not willing to enter into close connection with France. In course of time, under the stress of party warfare and with minds distorted by hatred of the French Revolution, the Federalists became as colonial in politics as their opponents, and talked about England as Jefferson used to talk about France. But this was in their last and worse day, and while the Federalists were led by Washington, Hamilton, and Adams they were a purely national and American party. His French prejudices before many years elapsed drove Madison into the most eager partisanship of which he was capable, but when he first changed they did not, of course, play a very strong part.

Other influences, however, were at work in 1790. Virginia, as Madison had reason to know, was, in the main, anti-Federalist. Henry had defeated him for the Senate, and then nearly snuffed out his political light by making a district which would not send him to Congress, thus anticipating by twenty years the ingenious scheme which bears the name of Elbridge Gerry. Madison loved public life. He cared, indeed, for nothing else. He preferred to be in sympathy with his State, and that preference was sharpened when lack of sympathy portended a serious check. It was a case where sentiment fortified by interest clashed with well-reasoned opinions, and the former prevailed.

The final impulse which spurred Madison to turn sharply a corner which he was surely steadily approaching was of a more personal kind. He and Hamilton had fought the battle of the Constitution side by side. Now the latter came in, and with bold and resolute hand was driving along a vigorous and far-

Digitized by Google

reaching policy. Madison was deeply ambitious in his calm, reticent way. He had done more than any one except Washington and Hamilton to build up the Constitution. That done he went to Congress because he felt that there better than anywhere else he could make the great experiment a success. He found the task taken from his hands. The guiding force of the new government came from the administration, not from Congress. That he should feel disappointed and nettled was natural enough, and his irritation turned against the man who seemed to be doing the work and reaping the harvest of glory which belonged to himself. To say that it was personal envy of another's success which led Madison into opposition would be unjust. Yet it is at least certain that from the moment of the appearance of the first report on the Public Credit Madison began to be hostile to its author. His feelings strengthened fast, and he soon showed toward Hamilton a cold jealousy and a frigid but active hatred which led him into a course of action foreign to his real nature and unworthy of his pure character and well-balanced mind. Personal hostility urged him on, and his admiration for Jefferson, the one strong friendship of his life, impelled him in the same direction.

Thus, from a mixture of motives, Madison arrayed himself in opposition to the men, the party, and the measures with which he naturally sympathized. Local associations, State pride, sectional feeling, sentiment, interest, personal friendship, and personal hostility all combined to the same end. Once started he moved quickly enough. Support of discrimination in the domestic debt was followed by resistance to assumption. Not long before he had advanced and defended the principle of assumption, and the motives at work within him come out curiously in his new attitude on this important question. In 1790 he writes that he is not opposed to the principle of assumption, but it bears hard on Virginia. In all his fierce resistance to this measure the fact that it did not profit Virginia was the controlling influence. So in regard to the site of the Federal city, in which he took an intense interest. He discusses the situation of the capital as if the fate of the nation hung upon it, and is always dilating upon the infamous combinations of the Eastern and Middle States to deprive the South of this advantage and honor. He had a keen dislike of New England, and this feeling is concentrated in a curious way upon John Adams, of whom he always speaks in a bitter and contemptuous way for which it is difficult to find adequate cause, except that he regarded that sturdy fighter as peculiarly representative of the North and East.

Digitized by Google

Madison was not fitted for a partisan, but unsuccessful opposition made him one, and for years he opposed everything emanating from the administration or its friends, a course in which he was much aided by his devotion to France, whose affairs soon came to play a leading part in our politics. He easily adopted all Jefferson's jargon about "Anglicans, monarchists, and a corrupt squadron." He opposed the National Bank as unconstitutional, and assailed Hamilton's report on manufactures as in every way wrong. When Genet arrived he was at first delighted and then he mourned over that gentleman's follies as serious misfortunes. He was opposed to the neutrality policy, and when Hamilton defended it as "Pacificus" he replied as "Helvidices" to those "who hate our Republican government and the French Revolution." It is pleasant to think how impossible it now would be to couple the United States in that way with any foreign nation. Yet Madison found no difficulty in doing it, and Mr. Rives declares that these essays of "Helvidices" crushed Hamilton. In view of this fact it is not a little curious to note that when Hamilton wrote "Camillus" and Jefferson invited Madison to again enter the lists that gentleman prudently declined.

The nature of the opposition to which Madison committed himself comes out most strongly in certain personal matters. Jefferson has repelled with indignation the idea that there was anything political in Freneau's case. Madison is much franker. He wanted an opposition newspaper, and while he helped to get subscriptions he wished also to encourage the editor with a government office. For this reason he was instrumental in bringing Freneau to Philadelphia and to the State Department. Mr. Rives, with Virginian grandiloquence, calls Freneau a "rare genius," but Madison, one may venture to think, considered him simply a useful and clever journalist, and as such employed him.

Setting up an opposition newspaper was harmless enough, but the attempt to ruin Hamilton was a contemptible business, which was well punished by the ridiculous way in which it broke down. Madison never appeared to less advantage than when drawing resolutions and putting forward a tool like Giles to make an ugly and ruinous attack upon a man whom he acknowledged in his old age to be of captivating integrity. All that can be said for Madison on this point is that Jefferson, and not he, was the real originator of the precious scheme. In the same vein, however, he writes of Hamilton, in 1795: "It is pompously announced in the newspapers that poverty drives him back to the Bar for a live-

Digitized by Google

lihood." Whether pompously announced or not it was the truth, and the sneer came with poor grace from a man who could retire to a plantation and be supported by the labor of a drove of slaves. The hatred of opposition, however, reached a higher point than this. In 1796 Madison was rejoicing that the House refused to adjourn for half an hour on February 22d to pay their respects to Washington. At this same period, too, he adopts his party's trick of sorrowing over Washington's weakness and the manner in which that great man fell a prey to designing men, which was a kind of contemptuous pity a thousand times more offensive than any direct attack.

But it was in this way that Madison, gentle and just by nature, was carried on from point to point, and was involved in deeper and deeper inconsistencies. He assailed Hamilton's debt, but resisted all plans to reduce it, especially when the taxes proposed seemed likely to reach Virginia. He hated England and wished to attack her, but when Sedgwick, leading the Federalists, proposed to arm he resisted their measures and impugned their motives. He wanted a navy, but was opposed to beginning to build one, and thought it best to buy peace of Algiers. He sneered at the whiskey rebellion, and sought excuses for the French in the disgraceful X. Y. Z. affair. It may be said that all this is simply political opposition, which is true enough. The trouble is that it was not work for which Madison was fitted, and that he did not rest here, but allowed his opposition to culminate at last in an act which sat heavy on his soul down to the day of his death. In 1798 he wrote the famous Virginia resolutions, and the next year reaffirmed their doctrine, in his report on the replies from the other States. It boots not to inquire whether Jefferson consulted him as to the Kentucky resolutions. Madison strenuously denied that the god of his political idolatry had used the fatal words "nullify or nullification," but the tell-tale MSS. showed that he was mistaken, and that Jefferson has the honor of first using that famous expression. The word was really of little consequence, although Madison rested his own defense on the fact that he did not employ it. His word was "interpose," and he saw so vast a difference, so great a gulf fixed between that and "nullification," that he fought upon this theme against his South Carolina imitators of 1830 with all the vigor of his early days. It was vain quibbling. The Hartford convention only wished to "interpose," but Madison had no question as to what the Hartford convention intended. Their "interposition" meant to him nullification and

Digitized by Google

threatened secession. His own resolution meant the same thing, and with all his subtlety of distinction he could not change it. He urged "interposing" the power and rights of the States to check the general government, and, by whatever fine name it might be called, the road he pointed out was the highway of separatism and led straight to secession. There was no distinction in principle between the Virginia resolutions and the South Carolina movement as Madison contended, but there was a wide difference between the Madison of 1798 expounding other men's separatist views, and the Madison of 1830 explaining his own national principles. Had he really believed in the doctrines of '98 he never would have tried to excuse and explain them away.

These resolutions marked high water in the change which began for Madison in 1790. With the new century his party came into power. From that time a contrary movement set in and Madison moved back steadily to his former ground, until in his old age he was again the Madison of the constitutional convention. It is curious to mark this reverse process. Madison never needed the sobering influence which great responsibility brings to all men, but power killed the party spirit which with him was at best but a carefully cultivated exotic. During Jefferson's two terms Madison, trusted and beloved as he was by his chief, played a purely subordinate part. Jefferson was a political autocrat, and his administration was his own. Madison did the work of his department as he did all work, faithfully, conscientiously, and well. His state papers are dignified and able, and so is his elaborate pamphlet on the British doctrine in regard to neutrals. But his letters are colorless during this time, and the foreign policy was that of Jefferson. Madison, however, waited patiently to some purpose. When Jefferson was ready to retire he named as his successor his faithful friend and Secretary of State, and the well-drilled party accepted the edict without a murmur. It was the goal of Madison's ambition, but when he grasped the glittering prize of the Presidency he must have felt that it had its drawbacks. There was a strange irony in fate's thrusting Madison into command when the ship of state was tossing on the stormiest seas she has ever faced except in 1861. Madison was preëminently a man of peace, and here he was on the verge of war, England and France snarling at him on one side, and a hot-headed war party goading him on the other. He kept on clutching at peace with desperate hands, but all in vain. It would be useless and indeed impossible to follow the tedious twistings of our foreign relations during

Digitized by Google

Madison's first term. All that concerns us here is to note the way in which he plunged on from one Federalist measure to another, embracing once more the principles which were really congenial to him, and which he had passed ten years of his life in reviling. By 1811 he was ready to accept the hated bank, and a few years later he signed the bill establishing a new one, and wrote that the State banks ought to unite with the National Bank in restoring health to the currency. Obviously Hamilton had some method in his madness on that point at least.

Then dangers of foreign hostilities began to draw nearer, and the clamors of the war party grew ever louder. Yet in the spring of 1812 we find Madison sneering at Congress because they talked of war and would neither raise a sufficient army, nor build a navy, nor strengthen the executive. This too smacked sadly of Federalism. Madison, of course, wished and hoped to avoid war, but he had to choose between that and political ruin. Whether Clay and others went to him and threatened to deprive him of the nomination or not is of no great consequence. Madison did not need to be told that if he could not lead the war party some one else would. He fell in with the dominant element of his party and went to war. He liked it about as well as Bob Acres liked dueling, and once in he worked night and day to get out. The Federalists used to call it "Madison's war," and a grimmer satire was never uttered. There was not a Federalist to be found who hated the war half as much as the unfortunate gentleman whose name it bore. Madison made a very poor war President. His heart was not in the thing in the first place, and with all his great abilities and fine qualities he was not a fighting man. However, he struggled along as best he could, and finally made peace, a wise peace no doubt, but concluded on terms which made the Jay treaty and still more the Monroe treaty, so cavalierly rejected by Jefferson, seem the highest triumphs of vigorous diplomacy. It is just possible that there may have been moments when Madison thought that after all Washington and Hamilton were not so wholly weak and foolish as he had supposed when they gulped down the Jay treaty and persuaded the country to do the same.

So the war closed, greatly to the relief of Madison, who then proceeded to sign the Bank Bill, and also the first avowedly protective tariff. One cannot help wondering if he remembered, in performing the latter act, his observations upon a certain report on Manufactures. Probably he did not, for he was now acting in consonance with that national policy which was natural

Digitized by Google

to him. The Jeffersonian theory of a simple government, without armies or navies, or loans, or anything else in particular, had broken down under the stress of circumstances. Madison, relieved from this theory, was now able to proceed as he liked, and his administration, after the Treaty of Ghent, was wise, moderate, and successful. He had managed to get rid of a number of annoying persons who had been bequeathed to him by Jefferson, and his last years of office were years of well-earned peace.

When his second term ended he sought a dignified retirement on his estate, and there, among his friends and his books, he passed a happy and useful and honored old age. His keen love of political and constitutional questions could only die with him, and, in a quiet way, by means of letters, he continued to take a good deal of a part in public affairs. He threw the great weight of his name, and all the force of his influence, in favor of the protective policy. Abstractly, he thought that freedom of trade was best. Practically, he believed that protection for nascent industries was essential to the United States. In a word, he did not differ materially from Hamilton on this great question, and if he could have then renewed his youth he would have been a staunch Whig. When the nullification of South Carolina shook the country he came forward nobly and strongly for the Union, and did all in his power to undo the teachings of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions. In the soft, clear sunset of his life his sectional prejudices dropped away, and he fixed his hopes and his affections upon the Union. To love the Union was, indeed, his last message to his countrymen.

Madison's political career is, in some ways, a very curious one, and can be summed up in very few words. By nature and reason he was a Federalist and a nationalist. By circumstances he became a Democrat, and at one time a separatist. He was entirely faithful to the party which he espoused, but he was not in full and entire sympathy with it. The result was, that he founded no school and had no personal following. The party which he led honored and trusted him, and it is to their honor and credit that they did so. But they neither loved him nor were in sympathy with him. The party with which he really sympathized opposed him throughout his life. Politically speaking, he was a lonely man, and that loneliness has continued until to-day. No party has placed him among its heroes for stated or occasional worship. He seems to stand aloof in history as he did in life, respected and honored by all, loved and followed by none. With such a nature

Digitized by Google

as Madison's it could not well be otherwise, and his career was possible only to a man as cold, as conscientious, and as liberal as he was. He was a poor partisan, but a great and useful statesman. He did some unworthy things, he made mistakes, like the rest of humanity, but his abilities and his character are an honor to his country and to his State. Statues may not rise to him in the market-place, political parties may not enshrine him as a patron saint, but by his labors in the establishment of the government and the Constitution of the United States, and by a pure and dignified character and career, he has built himself a monument more enduring than any of brass or marble.

Henry Cabot Lodge.

NAHANT, MASS.

Digitized by Google

EDITORIAL.

"THE RELATION OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES TO THEIR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES."

We do not propose to discuss at length the subject which we have borrowed as the title of this article. Any adequate treatment of the subject would quite exceed our present limits. We refer to it now to call the attention of our readers to a very remarkable document bearing the above title, prepared by request of the Committee of the Alumni of Hartford Theological Seminary, and read before the body of Alumni at their meeting May 13, 1885, and published and circulated by the Pastoral Union, the "responsible" board in the management of Hartford Theological Seminary. The pamphlet as mailed to Congregational clergymen is accompanied by an official statement of the condition and wants of the seminary, carrying with it an appeal to the churches for increased funds. The appeal is based upon what is assumed to be the peculiar relationship of the churches to that seminary through the "Pastoral Union," and upon the peculiar confidence which the churches, because of this relationship, can place in the administration and teachings of that seminary.

We have characterized the pamphlet as a "very remarkable document." We offer no other characterization of it in its spirit or method or purpose, except as its contents invite some obvious reflections.

The ostensible object of this address, given before the Alumni of Hartford Theological Seminary, was to show the superior merit of the method of administering theological seminaries through what is known as a "Pastoral Union," of which Hartford offers the exclusive illustration. The method is specially urged as effective in "securing from abuse the sacred funds which pious members of the Congregational order have given to perpetuate the truths of our ancient faith." And to give point to this recommendation, the *origin* of the method is brought out through the following arraignment of the past administration of Yale Divinity School and impeachment of the personal honor of the Professor of Dogmatic Theology in that School from 1822 to 1858 — Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor: —

"Some have supposed the Hartford Seminary was established merely to give emphasis to a certain doctrine, or to two or three doctrines. Such an opinion does grave injustice to the far-seeing founders. They intended, to be sure, to propagate certain truths. But they were alarmed at the discovery that the churches and pastors of Connecticut had no potent voice in the affairs of their ancient seat of theological learning. They knew this, of course, before; but the truth was driven in upon them like a new discovery by the fact that a *man could sign a document, written in the English language, with a well-known meaning, and at the same time teach doctrines which the founders believed were contrary to that*

Digitized by Google

same document. So it was not only a doctrine at stake but a principle. It is another doctrine that is now at issue, but it is the same principle ; that principle of honesty in the use and interpretation of language which binds together not only the visible Church, but also all human society. So the fathers came together and founded a seminary answerable to those who established it ; a seminary in which a teacher's sense of honor might, if it grew weak, be reinforced by the sense of honor common to the ministry at large. They drew up a creed embodying their belief. They signed it. They agreed to propagate its doctrines by literature, and by training a generation of ministers who should proclaim them. They founded a seminary. They required every trustee to assent to the creed. The trustees then went out of office every year, and if any one came back by reëlection the first thing he did was to assent to the creed ; and it is still the first thing he does. Every professor assented to the creed, not once only, but every year. This universal assent to our permanent creed is an important feature of our government. But with it goes another important feature — its legal twin. It is this : The Board of Trust did not create itself and it does not exist by virtue of its own power. It is entirely the creation of the Pastoral Union. It is responsible to that Union. And it is wholly in the power of the Pastoral Union so to revolutionize the government of this seminary that of the men who now sit in its corporate Board, not one would be in office three years hence. This is the only seminary in the East that has this power or any similar power of self-defense. We have never done sufficient honor to our fathers who marked out for us this path of safety."

And the method is further recommended in most sympathetic language, as meeting the wants of all seminaries whose condition at the present time may be supposed to suggest anxiety or alarm : —

"Let us sympathize, in true Christian love, with those who are anxious and troubled concerning the institutions out of which they came, even as we should need their sympathy were this seminary distrusted without or torn by dissension within.

"Above all, let us remember that no heavy blow can fall on any one of our sacred seven seminaries without injuring all. If one member suffer, all the members will suffer with it. If one seminary is wounded, all, soon or late, will feel the sting. If the close of this century repeats the sad history of its beginning, and Harvard Divinity School is followed by a second defection, we cannot escape uninjured. In uncertainty concerning the use of cherished funds, in diminished public confidence, in a fast lessening number of those who decide to preach the gospel as their life-work, in many strifes and dissensions, all seminaries and all churches would feel the loss or betrayal of a single institution.

"Your devoted service here will help all the rest. Anything you can do to save another seminary, to preserve its fiduciary honor, its doctrinal soundness, and its spiritual life, will be a positive blessing to your own Alma Mater."

We might multiply extracts to show more fully our author's way of introducing the "Pastoral Union" to the attention of the seminaries and churches, but these must suffice for the present. And before passing to consider the method of administration recommended we will point out one or two undesigned but very obvious inferences from the pamphlet

Digitized by Google

before us. We conceive that these undesigned but obvious inferences will be quite as useful at the present time as the more serious conclusion of our author's argument and appeal.

The pamphlet will accomplish, through its wide circulation in the Congregational ministry, the very desirable object of showing the actual value of those charges of intellectual and moral dishonesty which are so freely preferred in times of theological controversy — as seen in the light of history. Here was a most serious charge brought against a seminary and its accredited teacher of theology. The matter was so serious that it was deemed necessary to establish another seminary, not merely to give emphasis to a doctrine, but to vindicate a principle. "It was not only a doctrine at stake, but a principle, . . . that principle of honesty in the use and interpretation of language which binds together not only the visible Church, but also all human society. So the fathers came together and founded a seminary, answerable to those who established it; a seminary in which a teacher's sense of honor might, if it grew weak, be reinforced by the sense of honor common to the ministry at large." Who was this teacher "whose sense of honor grew so weak" as to need to be reinforced by that of the ministry at large? Who was it whose teachings violated "the principle of honesty in the use and interpretation of language?" Who was the "man who could sign a document written in the English language, with a well-known meaning, and at the same time teach doctrines which the founders believed were contrary to that same document?" The Reverend Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor. How strangely the charge sounds when revived in the ears of this generation! Who is not surprised and shocked at this aspersion of the memory of so revered and trusted and accepted a teacher and preacher? We marvel at this revival of ancient animosities under the apparent sanction of the "Pastoral Union" of Hartford Theological Seminary. It was hoped, and generally understood, that with the transfer of the Theological Institute of Connecticut from East Windsor to Hartford by-gones would be allowed to be by-gones, and that the seminary would be reëstablished upon a broader basis and become representative of wider interests. Are we to understand that this pamphlet in its statements and in its insinuations has the unanimous and considerate indorsement of the members of the "Pastoral Union?" We will not believe this, although the pamphlet bears upon its face the imprint of the "Pastoral Union." However, the pamphlet has been issued and is teaching widely the lesson to which we now refer, — a lesson as to the exact and permanent value of the charges of personal and professional dishonesty which issue so freely from overheated partisans in times of theological controversy. We have to thank our author for the timeliness of his reminder of this episode in the history of the churches of Connecticut.

We are also indebted to the pamphlet before us for the historic light which it incidentally throws upon the vexed question of the relation of the founders of our theological seminaries to the course of theological

Digitized by Google

investigation and discussion. The immediate successors of the founders of Yale College, in establishing, in 1753, a chair of divinity, naturally made the Assembly's Shorter Catechism the theological standard, and required from the professor of divinity the customary assent to it. Now it is said that it was found to be a fact "that a man could sign a document, written in the English language, with a well-known meaning, and at the same time teach doctrines which the founders believed were contrary to that same document," and that in consequence of this discovery Hartford Seminary was founded and surrounded with the safeguards which at present distinguish it. The reference here, as we have seen, is to the teachings of Dr. Taylor, 1822–1858; and the assumption is that the founders, by adopting the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, precluded the possibility of such teachings — an assumption which begs the whole question. For the teachings of Dr. Taylor raised new issues, concerning which the founders never pronounced an opinion, and concerning which, had they been living, they could have had no opinion except as the result of careful and protracted thought. Who, then, had the right to say what these men would think about questions concerning which they had never been called upon to think? It is natural for each party to a present controversy to claim the support of the past, especially if that support seems to involve the question of fidelity or loyalty. And it is not difficult to see how each party can often consistently claim that support, if it be allowed its own interpretation of the controversy. We have been greatly impressed with this fact in reading some of the more recent interpretations of the "New Haven Controversy."[1] What Dr. Taylor actually taught, the ground and motive of his teachings, the proportions of his systems, the truth contended for as well as the truth to be modified — all these appear in different lights, according to the interpreter. And the fact suggests the thought that side by side with the question, Who shall interpret the mind of the founders? lies another question of equal moment, Who shall interpret to the founders, or to their representatives, the ground and motive of any present contention, — who shall lay open the heart of an existing controversy?

The author of the pamphlet has seen fit to call attention, in this connection, to the "Andover Controversy." We accept the illustration. The Andover issue would scarcely be recognized as the same thing under the conflicting statements of friends and opponents. To its opponents the supreme truth at stake is that of retribution. To its friends this is purely incidental, and in no wise affected in its essential principle. To them the supreme truth involved is nothing less than that of historic Christianity as the absolute and final religion for man. Ask now the founders of Andover Seminary if they wish to maintain the doctrine of retribution, and they would of course answer, Yes. Ask them if they wish to maintain historic Christianity as against the return to rationalism

[1] See articles on Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor and on Dr. Bennet Tyler in *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge.*

Digitized by Google

and naturalism in religion, and who doubts their emphatic reply? We quote from one of the more recent statements of the issue. "The real issue is between Christianity as a supernatural redemption and mere naturalism. Can Christianity be maintained at the point where its adherents place it? Can the doctrine be made good that Christ is a revelation from God, and the supreme, final, universal revelation? Is he more than Jesus of Nazareth, the teacher and founder of one religion among many religions? Can all the attempts that are made to reduce the significance of the Person and work of Christ be successfully resisted? Do we stand on firm ground in passing over from the Jesus of history to the Christ of faith? The movement of Christian thought with which we sympathize signifies, in its deepest meaning, the exaltation of Jesus Christ as the Head of humanity, the Son of God, the Redeemer of men, the Mediator of God to the whole universe. For us He is all this, or else He is in no peculiar sense sent of God, and we have no gospel of redemption. We have accepted one side of the great alternative, with all it may involve. We believe Him to be the Redeemer of mankind, the Lord of the living and the dead, the effulgence of God's glory and the very image of his substance. As a corollary from this belief we are confident that all members of the human family are to know God in Christ. We believe that all the more obscure revelations of God, and all the religions, as truly as the religion of the Hebrews, have been an education of the nations preparatory to the clear, glorious, and potent revelation of God in Christ. We believe that the Biblical representations of the final judgment by Christ and of the triumphant consummation of the redemptive kingdom mean that the end is not reached till all mankind — the least and the greatest, the wisest and the most ignorant, the purest and the most depraved — have the knowledge of God's amazing love in Jesus Christ our Lord." [1] Is this statement at variance with, or in harmony with, the purposes and beliefs of the founders of Andover Theological Seminary?

The true principle for determining the honesty or orthodoxy of those who are engaged in the discussion of new issues in theology, about which the men of a past generation had and could have had no direct opinion, is simply to ask whether their views are Biblical and Christian. If so, the men themselves are orthodox; and if orthodox, they are honest in their relation to those whose pious intentions they are pledged to fulfill. The connection between those who now administer our seminaries and their founders is, on established doctrines, through a creed; on new issues, through the truth, the truth of the Bible, the truth of Christianity. And soon or late the church at large arbitrates upon these personal and partisan questions of honesty and orthodoxy. So the churches of its order have passed judgment upon Yale Seminary. We are not aware that the "dangerous innovations" introduced by Dr. Taylor have been, in their essential principles, denied or discarded by his successors. Yet the

[1] *Andover Review*, August, 1885, pp. 162, 163.

Digitized by Google

seminary enjoys the confidence of the churches and stands approved in its integrity and orthodoxy. Here again the lesson is timely, and will be read not according to its intention but according to its very obvious teaching.

But to the method, from which we have been detaining our readers.

After stating in considerable detail the management of the various Congregational seminaries, all of which, with a single exception to which we shall refer, are managed through self-perpetuating boards, our author sets forth the scheme, known as the "Pastoral Union," according to which Hartford Seminary is administered. We give a more complete statement of the object and method of the "Pastoral Union," taken from the official declaration and from its Constitution: —

"This body was organized in 1833 under the following Constitution, and is responsible for the Seminary. The founders of the Institution were aware of what had befallen other seats of sacred learning in England, Switzerland, and Germany. Having in mind the frequent abuse of funds given for the promotion of evangelical truth and piety, they aimed to protect their Institute against apostasy, so long at least as the churches and pastors continue sound."

[The eighth article of the Constitution of the seminary says:] "Every Trustee and officer in the Institution shall, on entering upon his duties, subscribe the creed of the Pastoral Union of Connecticut. He shall also declare his full assent to it every year during his continuance in office. The Faculty shall make this declaration to the Trustees and the Trustees to the Pastoral Union. And in default of such declaration their office shall be considered vacant, and such vacancies shall forthwith be filled according to the provisions of the Constitution."

[The Professor of Biblical Literature is also required to give his annual assent to the following:] "And in order that there may be no misapprehension of my views regarding native depravity, or original sin, I do now, in the presence of God, solemnly declare from my heart, my belief that the whole race is by nature totally depraved, including infants in the first stages of existence, — so that such infants as much need the atoning blood of Christ and the sanctification of the Spirit, to cleanse and redeem them, as the adult sinner. And I do not believe that such infants are destitute of moral character or that they can obtain heaven on the ground of their inherent innocency." — *Declaration of Principles of Pastoral Union.*

"The pastors and ordained ministers of the State, who have already subscribed these Articles, or who may at the present meeting (January 9, 1833) subscribe them, shall be members of this Union, and subsequently to the first annual meeting no persons may become members but by nomination of some member, one year previous to their election, and a vote of two thirds of the members present at any annual meeting, and by signing the 'Articles of Agreement;' except such as may be invited by the 'Committee of Arrangements' previous to the first annual meeting." — *Art. IV. Constitution.*

"Whenever an ordained minister, living out of this State, shall be nominated for admission into this Union as a member, the question shall be decided by ballot, and the votes of two thirds of the members present shall be necessary to a choice." — *Art. XI. Constitution.*

From this statement the following facts appear: —

Digitized by Google

(1.) That the "Pastoral Union" originated among those ministers and pastors, chiefly of Connecticut, who were committed to a special school in theology. The condition of admission to the "Union" was subscription to the "Articles of Agreement" before or at the first annual meeting.

(2.) That the "Pastoral Union" once formed was to be self-perpetuating.

(3.) That the "Pastoral Union" elects a Board of Trustees, each member of which takes the creed of the seminary upon his election or reëlection; and that it is made incumbent upon the Board of Trustees to secure from the Faculty an annual subscription to the creed.

The "Pastoral Union," then, is in no sense, in principle or in fact, representative of the Congregational churches, even of Connecticut, and in no sense answerable to them. Like the boards of the other seminaries it is a self-perpetuating body, but unlike these boards it was created to perpetuate a particular school of theology. Yale Divinity School was the natural outgrowth of Yale College, and being under the same administration is under the control of a Board of Trustees, the majority of whom must be Congregational ministers of Connecticut. Andover Seminary sprang from the union of different schools of theological thought. "It was founded not for the special interest of any one locality or district, nor for the special system of any theological discoverer, but for the common interest of the churches, and for the common orthodoxy of Massachusetts and New England. It was pledged at the outset to a large and tolerant orthodoxy, as distinguished from the intolerance and contentiousness by which the little cliques and parties that arise in a particular locality or around a particular great man are too often characterized." The creed of the seminary was itself a "compromise." It was "such that not only Spring and Dwight, but Hopkins or Smalley, Emmons or Burton; nay, Stiles or Tappan, Holmes or French, could have adopted it without exception or explanation." [1]

Hartford Seminary, in so far as it is administered in accordance with its origin and traditions, must perpetuate a school, and therefore be divisive in its influence. And as by its constitution it is not representative of the churches at large, neither is it answerable to them. If, in the opinion of the majority of the Congregational pastors and churches, even of the State of Connecticut, the seminary should become unorthodox, they have no redress. The safeguards in behalf of orthodoxy cover only the points of past danger. What if the small number of ministers associated in the "Pastoral Union," — the churches as such are not represented at all, — should, through the influence of the seminary, or through that of some influential member of the "Union," become involved in a theological issue quite different from that on which the seminary was founded, and, in the opinion of those without the "Union," dangerous

[1] Dr. Bacon's Discourse at Semi-Centennial of Andover Theological Seminary.

Digitized by Google

and heretical, how would they be protected, how would the denomination be secured in its theological interests? One Congregational seminary provides against this and like contingencies in the fact that it is really and formally representative of *all* the churches naturally identified with it. The visitors and directors of Chicago Seminary are chosen by a convention which meets once in three years in Chicago. "*Every* Congregational church in Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and eight other States or territories, has a right to sit in this convention, by its minister and a delegate, and cast its vote for directors and visitors." This convention can also alter the creed of the seminary. We are not informed in respect to the practical working of this method at all points, but here is evidently an attempt at a broad and consistent identification of the churches concerned with the management of a seminary. The method is not divisive, it trusts the churches, and it really "protects the seminary against apostasy, so long at least as the pastors and churches continue sound."

Very much account is made in the administration of Hartford Seminary of subscription to the creed, specially of the frequency of such subscription. "They" — the founders — "required every trustee to assent to the creed. The trustees then went out of office every year, and if any one came back by reëlection the first thing he did was to assent to the creed; and it is still the first thing he does. Every professor assented to the creed, not once only, but every year. This universal assent to our permanent creed is an important feature of our government." Subscription to a creed is an important feature in the government of seminaries. The method is in every respect natural and entirely satisfactory in its working when rightly understood and administered. It is liable to abuse at two points. First, when it is so administered as to suggest suspicion and distrust. Even the frequency of the required subscription may show a want of confidence, which, in its turn, may tend to weaken the sense of personal responsibility. And, secondly, when the creed itself is interpreted in the literalism of a legal document. This interpretation is never expected except in times of controversy. Then the whole question of creed subscription is forced into the issue, whatever it may be, and suspicion and prejudice are not infrequently made to serve in place of investigation and argument. In referring to the matter of literalism in creed subscription, it may not be out of place to correct, though it be for the hundredth time, the special error associated with the form of subscription to the Andover creed. We are not sure, from our author's reference to the subject, whether he has fallen into the common error or not. His reference is as follows: "They" — the founders of Andover Seminary — "sought to strengthen it with an inflexible creed, to which every professor is required to give public assent. They say in their statutes: 'It is strictly and solemnly enjoined, and left in sacred charge, that every article of the above said creed shall forever remain entirely and identically the same, without the least alteration or any addition or

Digitized by Google

diminution.'" No one would naturally infer from the language here used that the reference was to subscription to the creed, but he would be at a loss as to its real intention without a knowledge of the following historical fact: In the quotation from Dr. Bacon's semi-centennial address allusion was made to the fact that Andover Seminary was the result of a union between two parties, and that the creed adopted was of the nature of a "compromise" between them. The agreement was that the parties should come together upon the basis of the creed, and that this basis once accepted should be considered as permanent, and should remain in every article entirely and identically the same, unalterable by either party through addition or diminution. And the clause of the Constitution which provides for the maintenance of the instrument in its inviolability is under the duties of the Board of Visitors. It is not in place or in intent associated with the thought of subscription to the creed. A professor at Andover takes the creed in precisely the same way in which a professor in any other seminary takes the creed of that seminary. The relation of its creed to Andover Seminary is peculiar, in that it is, as the basis of agreement, unalterable; the relation of the creed to the professors is in no respect different from that of the creed of any seminary to its professors. Absolute literalism in creed subscription nowhere obtains, but honor and good faith in creed subscription are everywhere required, and everywhere assumed, unless there be evidence to the contrary. We see no difference in the matter of creed subscription between the method employed at Hartford and that employed in other seminaries, except in the frequency of the requirement. And in respect to the whole method of administration which is there carried on under the "Pastoral Union," we find no such advantage as to warrant the assumptions which are put forth in its behalf, or the insinuations in respect to the methods of other seminaries, which appear in the pamphlet before us.

As we said, however, at the outset, it is not our present purpose to discuss the general subject of the relation of the Congregational churches to their theological seminaries. We have entered into the subject so far only as we have been led on by the assumptions and insinuations of this address given before the Alumni of Hartford Theological Seminary, and published and circulated under the auspices of the "Pastoral Union." We have become accustomed to the irresponsible charges of dishonesty which have been preferred during the past years. At length these charges have received, apparently, the countenance of an official board of a neighboring seminary. We say apparently, because of our increasing unwillingness, upon reflection, to accept the pamphlet before us, though authorized as the unanimous and considerate expression of the members of the "Pastoral Union." If, however, it has been put forth as representative of their methods, we beg leave to suggest a better way. It is better to attempt to substantiate irresponsible charges affecting the interests of any part of the church than to give to them a wider currency, and to seem to utilize them for the advantage which may be sup-

Digitized by Google

posed to be derived from their acceptance by the religious public. Or, if this seems in the present instance an unwise undertaking, we suggest the peculiar propriety of entering into the existing controversy upon the side of discussion. Long ago Dr. Lyman Beecher said that "to enter a controversy with notes of alarm, exciting on the one part fear and feeling, and on the other a sense of unmerited distrust and injury, *is to beg the question at the outset.* The time to sound the tocsin is at the close of a discussion, when you have shown that you correctly understand your opponent, and that what he holds is wrong, and as wrong and dangerous as you suppose." We respectfully suggest to our brethren that the first question is not that of honesty, but that of orthodoxy. We have affirmed, and shall continue to affirm, our orthodoxy, and will not discuss any other question till this is settled. There is no other question to discuss till this is settled. Acting upon this conviction we are endeavoring to set forth our beliefs, in terms which cannot be misunderstood. We shall continue to set them forth, in the absolute confidence that in the impending struggle between Christianity and naturalism in religion they will become the accepted orthodoxy; and we invite those who are disposed to join issue with us to cease "begging the question," and to begin discussing the question.

PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY.

V. THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

CHRISTIANITY is more than the method of salvation. If we allow ourselves to think of the gospel as a plan or scheme, we are not to forget the power which gives it vitality and makes it efficacious. There is a "*power* of God unto salvation." That power is the Holy Spirit. The consideration of the work of the Holy Spirit carries us over into the sphere of motive.

Progressive orthodoxy, as we seek to interpret it, claims unity of method in the moral government of God. As we have remarked in the discussion of the Atonement, "There is no evidence whatever that the race is divided into two great sections, one of which is dealt with on the basis of the gospel, and the other on the basis of law and natural conscience — one on a basis of justice, the other on a basis of grace. As, before Christ came, God exercised forbearance for the sins of the past and because Christ was coming, but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent, so ultimately all the nations and all the generations are to be dealt with through Him who tasted death for every man. This is admitted in principle, but denied in fact, by those who assume that salvation is possible only through Christ, but believe that the power of the gospel is felt by those and may be availing for those who know nothing about it. This reduces God's dealings with men to magic, and makes the cross superfluous." But unity of method in the salvation of the race demands,

Digitized by Google

as its working correlate, identity of motive. We say identity rather than equality of motive, for absolute equality would be impossible. So, too, we should prefer to say that motives should be identical rather than equivalent, because the latter term is indefinite and opens endless discussion. Identity of motive requires that the influences which are employed be drawn from the same source and urged by the same agency. Christianity, it is acknowledged, has brought in upon the mind of man a new and distinct class of facts relating to his salvation. But Christianity does not rely upon the knowledge of these facts for the accomplishment of its purpose in the salvation of men. It calls in the direct and continuous agency of the Holy Spirit. To reduce, therefore, or limit the work of the Holy Spirit is to reduce or limit to the same degree the practical power of Christianity. And this is done whenever too little account is made of the personal agency of the Holy Spirit, or whenever too little account is made of the material in motive through which the Holy Spirit acts for impression.

For the sake of distinctness we state our position in the following postulates: —

1. The work of the Holy Spirit, as a work in motive, is the necessary complement to the method of Christianity.

2. Christianity alone offers sufficient material in motive, in the life, death, and resurrection of our Lord, for the natural and efficacious work of the Holy Spirit in the salvation of men.

The Christian conception of man is that of man under motives from without working toward his salvation. This is, perhaps, the distinguishing characteristic of Christianity. All other religions, it has been said, represent man as seeking God. Christianity alone represents God as seeking man. It will be seen that the principle which is here suggested holds good under the narrowest interpretation of the Christian system. Christianity is the religion of the divine search, whether there be few or many sought after. If we start within the limitations of an arbitrary election we have a limited atonement and a limited work of the Spirit, but even here the prominent fact is that of Christ dying for the elect and the Spirit working for their salvation. Universal atonement comes in to break up the narrowness of the scheme, but it retains and magnifies the principle. It is still Christ dying for men and the Spirit working for their salvation. The two go together and are coextensive. A limited atonement allows only a limited work of the Spirit. A universal atonement necessitates a universal work of the Spirit. Method and motive are inseparable in the range and scope of their action. We emphasize this statement because of the tendency of certain minds to rest in the supposed sufficiency of a universal atonement without a corresponding work of the Spirit. The conditions of the divine grace seem to them to be met and fulfilled in the death of Christ, provided it is understood that his death was for all. Evidently this was not the mind of Christ. Nothing can be plainer than the fact of his reliance for the impression of his work, including his

Digitized by Google

death, upon the power of the Holy Spirit. All his personal expectations, all his promises, all his plans for his church were based upon the bestowal of this power. The forty days which followed his death and resurrection, days of doubt and perplexity to the disciples, and of unbelief with the multitudes, were not because of this days of disappointment to Him. Had He not assured the disciples of the coming in due time of One who should take of his and show it unto them, under whose showing whatever had seemed dark and inexplicable should become plain and bright? Had He not also assured them that He, who was to make all things clear to them, was to go before them and act through them in the convincement of the world? "And he, when he is come, will convict the world in respect of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment; of sin because they believe not on me; of righteousness because I go to the Father and ye behold me no more; of judgment because the prince of this world hath been judged." It is nowhere affirmed or assumed in the Gospels that the world with unaided vision would discern the cross, or with untroubled heart would seek its reliefs. The cross was yet to be revealed to men in the hidings of its power. When the excitement of the crucifixion had passed away, and the scenes attendant upon it had been forgotten, Jerusalem was to be moved afresh and irresistibly. Another Presence was to be there unseen, impalpable, but felt, as men feel the wind and fire. Hence the calmness of Christ under the postponement of results. Hence, also, the tone of assurance and triumph which marks his final utterances. The closing pages of John's Gospel brighten and glow under the expectation of the Spirit beyond the pages of the prophets under the hope of the Messiah.

In claiming, as we have done, that the Holy Spirit in his work represents the place of motive in Christianity we do not affirm that his work is irresistible. Man is his own master under Christianity as without. We have no wish to dispute the *dictum* of a past generation that "God governs mind by motive and not by force." What we wish to affirm and maintain is simply the Scriptural position that Christianity is the religion of motive, a fact of which the presence of the Holy Spirit is the unmistakable sign, and to which his work bears perpetual testimony. And we are the more persuaded to insist upon this position because it is so often practically denied. We are, for example, continually remanded back in present discussions to the question — "Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?" — as an easy and final settlement of all perplexities. This is a question which Christianity takes up and adopts as its own, and at the proper time asks with a significance which is decisive, but it is not the first question which it asks. It does not have precedence in the order of time. Unless Christianity ignores its very presence in the world, unless it denies the facts of its origin and history, it must present God working through motive before it presents Him sitting in judgment. Christianity itself starts the question, to which it gives precedence, and in answer to which it invites the most earnest thinking, even "high specula-

Digitized by Google

tion," — What can the God and Father of men, who has revealed himself in Jesus Christ, be expected to do for his children before He deals with them in judgment? When this question has been answered, answered in the spirit and according to the logic of Christianity, the answer to the former question comes in place, and becomes easy and final.

In like manner it is beginning to be urged by those who see no necessity, in the interest of grace, for a Christian opportunity for all men, that any lack in opportunity or motive can be made up in leniency of judgment: as if the Christian opportunity and the Christian motive had their moral equivalent in leniency of judgment. An illustration will expose the fallacy of this concession. A man is arrested for stealing. It is proved upon the trial that he was born of a race of thieves, that he was trained in bad associations, that he never had any wholesome restraints or incentives brought to bear upon him. In consideration of these facts the judge foregoes the ordinary sentence, and discharges the prisoner. What is the result? Simply that the man returns to his stealing.. The remission of sentence has had no moral effect. Indeed, in such a case, the waiving of judgment might be fairly interpreted to be a confession of previous injustice. Judgment, at least as a finality, has no remedial, no educational, power. It produces no ethical result. It leaves character as it finds it. By no possibility, therefore, can the exercise of judgment be made an equivalent for the use of motive. And when we apply the case to Christianity and consider the motives which it has introduced and the provision which it has made for their enforcement, what can we find with which to compare it in its power to reach and change the human heart? Where shall we look for the equivalent of Christianity?

We have stated our belief that Christianity alone offers sufficient material in motive for the efficacious work of the Holy Spirit in the salvation of men. We do not deny the presence of motive in the facts of nature. Neither do we deny the agency of the Spirit of God in the use of these facts. Neither do we deny the possibility of direct access on the part of God to the heart and conscience of man. "There is a spirit in man and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding." We gratefully accept all evidences of the wide and various work of the Spirit in inspiration. We would not belittle such statements of the Old Testament as that concerning Bezaleel that he "was filled with the Spirit of God, in wisdom and understanding, to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in cutting of stones, to set them, and in carving of timber." But the position of the New Testament is unmistakable in associating the work of the Holy Spirit in the salvation of men with the work of Christ to the same end. What we know as the dispensation of the Spirit follows and depends upon the life, death, and resurrection of our Lord. The order is not simply that of sequence: it is that of dependence. First the revelation of God in Christ, then, and in consequence, the communication of the life of God through the Spirit. "God manifests himself," says Van Oosterzee, "in the Son, but com-

Digitized by Google

municates his life by the Holy Spirit. The Son is the self-revealing God; the Holy Ghost the self-communicating God." This communication of the divine life in its freeness and fullness follows a like free and full revelation of it. The knowledge, that is, of Christ precedes and is necessary to the natural work of the Holy Spirit. Even the personality of the Spirit awaits the personal revelation of Christ. Throughout the Old Testament the Spirit appears chiefly as an influence; in the New Testament He is a person. And the name by which He is there known indicates his special work. He is invariably the Holy Spirit, or the Holy Ghost — a name used but two or three times in the Old Testament. Once within the pages of the New Testament we no longer read of inspirations like that of Bezaleel. The inspirations of the Holy Spirit pertain to the ministry and Person of Christ. "The Comforter, even the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you." "When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall bear witness of me. . . . He shall glorify me: for he shall take of mine and shall declare it unto you." The offices of the Spirit were to be henceforth associated with sin and redemption. "He will convict the world in respect of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment." "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance." The immediate gifts of the Spirit were such as naturally followed the incoming of Christianity and attested its power. "To one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom; and to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith, in the same Spirit; and to another gifts of healing, in the one Spirit; and to another workings of miracles; and to another prophecy; and to another discernings of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; and to another the interpretation of tongues; but all these worketh the one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one severally even as he will." And the permanent ministry of the Spirit in the soul is to be that of comfort, hope, assurance in the gospel of Christ. "The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God: and if children, then heirs; heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified with him." Now these and kindred passages of the New Testament — there are none which are not kindred with these — point to the same conclusion. They show the relation in time and in effect of the work of the Spirit to the revelation of the person and ministry and death of Christ. As the coming of Christ involved the gift of the Spirit, even to the disclosure of his personality, the designation of his offices, and the assurance of his abiding presence in the world, so the gift of the Spirit seems to us to presuppose the new facts, the new relationships, the new motives, which centre around the Person of Christ. We confess, therefore, our utter inability to understand the meaning of those who say that "the Holy Spirit is the present Christ," or "the

Digitized by Google

essential Christ;" and who, therefore, affirm that every man really has an understanding of Christ and a Christian opportunity. The terms, as used with this inference, seem to us absolutely vague and confusing. They take away at once the personality of the Holy Spirit, and the significance of historic Christianity. To our minds the New Testament teaches, not that the Holy Spirit is a substitute for the personal Christ, not that through his general work he makes amends for the want of knowledge of the work of Christ, but that it is the distinct and glorious office of the Spirit to give efficacy to the life and sacrifice of Christ, as they are brought into direct and conscious relation to men, and to bear witness in the heart, when once Christ has been apprehended by faith, to the reality of the Christian experience.

To be more specific: What is the method of the Holy Spirit in the convincement of sin? Is it not through a crucified and rejected Christ? Is not the cross the background upon which the guilt of the individual life is thrown out? And are not the standards which Christianity sets up in society the very ground and reason for the sense of shame over social sins? What makes the exposure of sin possible? Certainly not the existence of sin, for the more common and revolting the forms of sin may be, the less meaning can be attached to their exposure. There can be no exposure of sin in the heart of Africa, in many of the islands of the sea, in any of the great centres of heathendom. Exposure is a relative term, and derives its meaning, not from the presence of sin, but from the presence of righteousness. Revelation must precede exposure to make it of avail, to make it possible, — the revelation of holiness, of purity, of love. Society is startled and aroused under the knowledge of great sins, in the form of vices and crimes, in proportion as it is Christian. Christianity, that is, through its revelations of righteousness, brings out those mighty contrasts under which men may carry on the work of exposure. Any man or organization, the press, for example, may expose if the moral conditions are present. The Holy Spirit alone can reveal that righteousness through which sin becomes shameful, and that love through which the sinner becomes a penitent. Very much which passes for conviction of sin is no conviction of sin at all. There is no spiritual power about it. It is simply a natural fear of consequences, immediate or remote. It is a conviction of punishment and not of sin. Conviction by the cross of Christ is conviction of sin. The first and deepest thoughts which it wakens are not of penalty, but of the exceeding sinfulness of sin. The spectacle of a righteous sufferer, the mingling of holiness with love, of justice with comparison, which his sufferings exhibit, impresses the conscience — not the imagination, but the conscience — more than the terrors of the law. "There is more law," says Dr. Bushnell, "in Christ, in his character and life and doctrine than in all statutes besides. . . . The thunders of Sinai are no match for the silent thunders of Calvary." It would greatly simplify our idea of the conviction of sin to remember that there can be no real conviction of

Digitized by Google

sin without a corresponding revelation of righteousness; and, further, that righteousness expressing itself in sacrifice is the most terrible indictment possible of sin and of the sinner. But where can this expression be found outside Christianity? Where in the realm of natural law can the Spirit find material in motive fitted to this most difficult of all tasks — the convincement of sin? And is it not in this union of a holy sufferer for sin with a holy convincer of sin that we have the true solution of the sin against the Holy Ghost? Has not the church judged rightly in identifying this sin with the persistent rejection of Christ against the patient effort of the Holy Spirit? Christianity has introduced a new classification of sins; it has created a new species; it points to the unforgiven, the unpardonable sin. Where can we look for this save in the shadow created by its own light?

And if now we turn to the renewing and transforming work of the Spirit within the soul we find the same direct relation to Christ. As before Christ was the argument, now He is the pattern. The Spirit works toward Christ in the reconstruction of character. It is enough to say of his work that it is in the endeavor to make men over into Christians. The end is actual and manifest likeness to Christ. Regeneration thus acquires a large and an exact meaning under Christianity. We would not deny the existence of regenerate life outside Christianity; and as respects the Jewish economy we admit as much in regard to regeneration as in regard to atonement. Everything can be said of the Old Testament saints except that they were Christians. "And these all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise; God having provided some better thing for us that they without us should not be made perfect." Our contention at this point is that under Christianity the Holy Spirit works in human nature toward a higher, a more definite, and a more available standard. Conformity to law is the despair of the most obedient souls. Likeness to Christ is the reverent ambition of the humblest disciple. There is that about the relation of Christ to men which makes the "imitation" of Him possible. He is the head of the race; we are therefore enjoined to "grow up into him in all things, which is the head." He became incarnate; He was made like unto his brethren; He was tempted in all points like as we are; we are therefore encouraged to appeal to Him for help, assured that we shall "find grace to help in every time of need." He is the second Adam, the restorer of a lost manhood, through whom we may attain a nobler nature and destiny; we are therefore put in confident expectation of the completed work within us. "Behold, now are we the sons of God; and it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is." "And every man," the Apostle most significantly adds, "that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he is pure." Where now, we ask, are there facts and assurances like these, without the range of Christianity, of which the Holy Spirit can take advantage in carrying on the process of

Digitized by Google

regeneration? And how without these can the process be made definite, real, and assuring to the soul of man? If we say the least, we can say no less than that when we pass beyond the method of the conscious renewal of the spiritual life in Christ we pass at once into what is exceptional, vague, and indeterminate.

We will only specify, in further illustration of our position, the renovating work of the Holy Spirit in society. As we have already shown, it is the work of the Spirit in the revelation of righteousness — and of righteousness, as we know, and fear, and love it in the person of Jesus Christ — which makes the common work of the exposure of social sins effective, or even possible. But Christianity offers more than contrasts. It is more than a background for the exhibition of sin. It furnishes the direct material for all progress and for all reforms. Especially through its new conception and new requirements concerning man does it work for the renovation of society and the elevation of the race. Christianity is declaring itself more and more as an organic force. It is entering into every relation, and diffusing itself through every influence. Sometimes it is destructive, and sometimes constructive, in its results. It has, for example, cast down slavery and built up truthfulness, and by the same principle. "Lie not one to another," says the Apostle, "for ye are members one of another," — an argument which demands truthfulness from man to man; and equally denies the right of the ownership of man in man. In fact, this principle of membership of one in another is the great human principle through which Christianity wages relentless war against all forms of selfishness, whether expressed in greed, or indifference, or untruthfulness. The principle is peculiar to Christianity, and in the application of it through the Spirit God has wrought out the triumphs of the Christian centuries. Here, again, we ask, How could the Spirit of God develop without the aid of Christianity those working principles for the renovation of society, which men would recognize as sufficient, and to which they could surrender themselves with enthusiasm? Christ has made humanity intelligible to itself. He has done more. He has awakened in men the love of man. Nothing can separate or alienate anything which is human from that which is Christian. Christian missions are the witness to the belief of the church in man, and to its love for him, as the corollary from its belief in Christ and its love for Him.

We conclude, then, that the work of the Holy Spirit is distinctively a Christian work; that it follows in the order of dependence upon the revelation of God in Christ; that it draws its argument from the Person and work of the Redeemer; and that it proceeds from and toward Christ in the renewal of the life of the individual and in the renovation of society.

Digitized by Google

THE PARTITION OF NEW GUINEA.

If Australia is ranked as a continent New Guinea is the largest known island. Its area exceeds that of Great Britain and France combined, and nearly equals the New England and Middle States together with Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana. Only the coast has been explored, apart from a few slight incursions into the interior. These disclosed a somewhat numerous population, which is estimated, probably too low, at half a million. Lying immediately north of Australia, and separated only by a strait about eighty miles in width, the English have regarded at least the eastern half (the Dutch having long claimed the western) as practically theirs. Last November this dream was rather unpleasantly disturbed. On the 3d of the month the German flag was raised on the Duke of York Island, and the next day on New Britain. On the 13th and 14th New Ireland was appropriated, and then the vessels hastened to points on the north coast of the mainland and extended over it the same protectorate. The excitement produced in Australia when these transactions became known was intense. It was, however, mitigated somewhat by the knowledge that while the Germans were operating among the more northern islands a British protectorate had been instituted on the southern coast, and by the announcement that instructions had been sent to hoist the British flag on some of the islands of the Louisiade Archipelago. A final adjustment has since been reached which leaves the island and neighboring groups divided as follows: The Dutch retain all territory west of the 141st degree of east longitude. The German protectorate embraces all the adjoining islands east of this parallel and north of the eighth parallel of latitude. This includes New Britain, New Ireland, New Hanover, the Admiralty Islands, the Anchorite and the Hermit Islands, Long, Rook, and Dampier Islands, and some others, which together now receive the name Bismarck-Archipelago. On the mainland the southern boundary of the protectorate extends from the intersection of the 141st parallel of east longitude with the 5th of south latitude along a line drawn to the intersection of 144° east longitude with 6° south latitude; then to 147° east longitude 8° south latitude; and then along the latter parallel to Mitre Rock on the coast. This division gives to Germany 68,785 square miles on the main-land (called Kaiser Wilhelm's Land); to England 86,360. The population is reckoned at 109,000 in the former area, and 133,000 in the latter. That of the Bismarck-Archipelago is estimated to be 188,000; that of the contiguous islands falling to Great Britain (the Louisiades, the d'Entrecasteau group, etc.) at 4,500. The British protectorate has recently been changed to annexation, and General Scratchley has been commissioned to set up, in consultation with the colonial governments of Australia, a British administration of that part of New Guinea which his government has secured. The Australians are still sore, but are making the best of it. Great Britain has control of both sides of Torres Strait, the

Digitized by Google

coast of southeastern New Guinea, and a large and almost wholly unexplored interior territory. The Germans are peaceable neighbors. The result is not likely to create any permanent ill feeling. We may hope that it will lead to a much more rapid development than otherwise had been possible of the resources of New Guinea and the adjacent islands.

We had intended to call attention to some of the connections between this progress of Western civilization in the East and the work of missions, but have not space. We cannot, however, let pass without notice its bearing upon the South Sea labor traffic.

Toward the close of last year the captain and boatswain of the Hopeful, an English labor ship, were tried in Queensland for murder. The disclosures made during this trial excited a thrill of horror wherever they became known. It appeared that under the guise of a traffic in labor there had been revived the cruelties and atrocities of the African slave trade.

In Queensland sugar raising has enlisted a large amount of capital. There has been a growing and large demand for cheap labor. A system was legalized by which vessels were commissioned to obtain Polynesian recruits. A government agent — a salaried officer — was sent in each vessel to see that the business was properly conducted. For every laborer landed the government received thirty shillings. The rate of passage money rose from £10 to £25. A powerful pecuniary interest was thus created to secure as many islanders as possible. The Hopeful trials showed that no measures were too treacherous and cruel for this purpose. Canoes loaded with natives were pursued by the ship's boats, fired into and sunk, and the survivors dragged from the water to be transported as laborers to the sugar estates. The public indignation excited by these revelations was so intense that a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the methods of these ships. The Commission has recently reported, after an investigation extending over three months, and dealing with eight voyages and nearly five hundred witnesses. The result shows that the government agents were utterly useless, that the whole system was a cover for cheating, kidnapping, and the blackest villainies.

The British annexations are already accomplishing something in the way of redress. Already the government at Brisbane has decided to send back to their homes nearly six hundred islanders who have been thus nefariously and inhumanly captured. It is noticeable that the points to which they are to be carried are all within the limits of the territory which has been annexed. It has also been determined to enforce the law requiring a bond of £500 from each vessel that it obtain recruits legally. This seems to be an utterly inadequate provision in view of past experience. The recent exposures, the return of the captives, the presence of Sir Peter Scratchley, the institution of civilized government, the progress of missions will prevent, it may be hoped, the repetition of a cruise like that of the Hopeful. But there is still need of more stringent legislation and increased executive vigilance in respect to the whole system of labor traffic in the Southern Pacific.

Digitized by Google

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

— "THE story of Shiūten Dôji" is the title of a lively Japanese translation in the January number of the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society." The mysterious disappearance of maidens, and their rescue from a cannibal monster by the hero Yorimitsu are there told. A few illuminations help the reader to conceive the wild and bloody legend. Such are the Meeting with the Daughter of Hanazono weeping at the brook, the Crossing of the Ravine on the tree-trunk flung over it by the friendly War God, and the Beheading of the Hairy Giant of the Thousand-Jo-Peak when bound with a rope of iron in his drunken sleep. The grewsome legend is on silken gauze. Its aim is to exalt the valor which made way with the brigands, and the loyalty due to the Mikado of "Nippon, the sea-surrounded dragon-fly-shaped land."

— China was long since linked with Judæa in the opinion of the French savant Abel Rémusat. He maintained that Lao-tse referred to the Jehovah of the Old Testament by his triple designation of Tao as I, Hi, Wei. The same view has been held of late by Victor von Strauss-Torney, the eminent translator of the Schiking. Julius Grill, however, in a recent number of the "Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft," combats this rendering. According to him, Lao-tse intends an internal rather than an external union of the three terms. They are so many qualities, not so many syllables. Tao is invisible, inaudible, impalpable (that is, supersensuous). Named negatively, he has the three attributes ī, hī, and wēi. On philological grounds it is argued that I Hi Wei is not Jehovah, but the invisible one. The historic objections appear less valid. Strauss finds traces of tradition in not a few Chinese expressions, which harmonize with the Old Testament circle of thought. Isaiah xlix. 12 indicates that Israel knew China. Why not the reverse? The legends of Chinese travel to the far West may yet be found to be far more fact than fable.

— India is trying to naturalize the British national anthem. Three conditions are requisite — identity of idea, of metre, and of rhyme. The translation of Professor Max Müller into Sanskrit is not entirely satisfactory to himself. One of the Pundits of the Sanskrit University at Benares, instead of improving on it, is said to have made twenty-seven mistakes of his own. A second trial may secure a model. Once in a tongue, which, like the Latin of the Middle Ages, is the common property of scholars, "God save the Queen" would speedily pass from Sanskrit into Hindustani, Bengali, Marathi, and the other spoken dialects of England's vast empire in the East.

— An ancient Babylonian work on medicine is examined by Professor Sayce in the January "Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung," 1885. It would seem to have been to the Babylonians what the Papyrus Ebers was to the Egyptians. The presence of a kind of temple of Esculapius or of a Babylonian medical college is suggested. "Low spirits" is one of the chief diseases treated. Some of the remedies, such as the slice of a snake, remind us of Hottentot practice. One prescription runs "on the day when the dove enters the ark make it ascend its horn and repeat an incantation thus." Here is an apparent allusion to a custom of commemorating the return of the dove to the ark of the Babylonian Noah —

Digitized by Google

Zisuthrus. Technical terms and illegible characters make the translation necessarily a partial one.

— We congratulate "Hebraica" on the text and translation of the Nebukadnezzar-Cylinder of the Metropolitan Museum which appears in its April issue. It marks an era in American archæological study when a Roman Catholic professor, as there, devotes himself so patiently to interpreting the King of Babylon. The cylinder was found by Mr. Maimon while probing the ruins of Abu Habba with a spear. Professor J. F. X. O'Connor transcribed it about a year since in New York in less than ten days. A triple text is given. To the Archaic Babylonian of the original are appended the Assyrian characters of the seventh, and the Babylonian characters of the sixth century B. C. The introduction to the separate work ascribes the original text to Strassmaier. The transliteration is less careful and complete than the translation. The latter is generally accurate and creditable to Professor O'Connor. Professor Lyon has called my attention to a brace of minor errors in lines 17 and 25. The first reads "proclaim" instead of "at the time when;" the second reads "proclaim this" where it should be "at that time." They in no wise blur the picture of "the king of righteousness" "lifting up his hands" to Samas, the Sun-God, and "restoring in joy and exultation" the temple E-Parra at Sippara. The inscription ends with the usual prayer for glory, life, and the stability of the monarch's throne. Like David he would be an everlasting ruler (ri-' -u-u a-na dâra -a-ti) with a righteous sceptre (ḫaṭṭu i-ša -ar-ti).

— To be noted in this connection is C. J. Ball's comment on the name "Zebulon" in his review of the Revised Old Testament. It does not mean "dwell" but "honor." He compares with it the Assyrian Zabâlu. The root appears in the famous Assyrian phrase "Bit Zabal," "house of height" or "splendor," which translates the Accadian E. SAG. ILA., the name of the chief temple of Babylon.

— R. P. Greg tells us that the best and oldest measure in China is the foot of twelve inches (English). This is divided into ten parts, each being 1.25 English inches. Two hundred years B. C. the measure was used in the sword money, that is, the bronze round cash one Chinese inch in diameter. Mr. Seebohm supposes that this old Chinese — and indeed the English — foot itself may have been derived from the Assyro-Babylonian cubit of .533 as given by Dr. Lepsius.

— The Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia has proved a most successful reconnoissance. The route touched such points as Jerabis, the ancient Carchemish on the Euphrates, and Mosul, the site of old Nineveh, on the Tigris. Across the Tigris, Arbela, Alexander's battle-ground, was visited, and Bagdad, then Abu Habba (Sippara of the Sun God), Babylon, Hillah, and Birs Nimroud. In the desert between the streams the explorers penetrated as far south as Mugheyer (Ur of the Chaldees). From this limit they moved up the Euphrates via Warka, the ancient Erech, to Hillah again, from which they crossed to Bagdad, and recrossed to the Euphrates, to what Dr. Ward is sure is the Sippara of Anunit. This was the memorable place where Zisuthrus buried the records of the antediluvian world. The vizierial letter forbade excavations. But there was ample opportunity for making geographical notes. The party found the natives favorably disposed, and met distinguished consideration from the Turkish officials. Photographs were obtained everywhere. These Professor Haynes is busy at Constantinople developing. A number of

Digitized by Google

small objects — tablets, barrels, cylinders, etc. — have been brought home, which it is to be hoped will find hospitable welcome in the Metropolitan Museum. We eagerly await the description of these by the accomplished leader of the expedition to whose courtesy we owe the above facts. It will not be the fault of Dr. Ward if America's preëminence in Cypriote antiquities fails to extend to those of Babylonia. Only money is needed.

— Von Bohlen's ingenious suggestion that Nod (Gen. iv. 16) should be read H-N-D—that is, Hind, Persian for Sind—would show India's intercourse with Babylonia to have been overland via Persia. Teak-wood has been found at Mugheyer. The commerce was by sea, however. For cuneiform tablets give a list of Babylonian clothing, in which occurs a cloth of a woollen fibre. This can be only cotton. Now the name in Assyrio-Babylonian is *Sind*hu or *Sind*-cloth, not *Hind*-cloth, as it would be did the name come by Persia.

— In the "Journal of Hellenic Studies," vol. 5, nos. 1 and 2, Dr. W. M. Ramsay, now Professor of Archæology at Oxford, has published a paper of special interest on Sepulchral Customs in Ancient Phrygia. He finds there are two elements, the door and the altar. These occur regularly in the early monuments. "The door was the passage of communication between the world of life and the world of death; the altar was the place on which the living placed the offerings due to the dead." The tracery on the face is, so to speak, an Oriental carpet veiling the deity within. This deity is sometimes the deceased himself. Oftener it is the god or goddess of the district, to whom the making of a grave is the payment of a vow. At Arslan Kaya the well-known rampant lions are on either side of such a goddess. Her name is found — "Matar Kubile." This figure of Cybele is colossal, with the right hand over the bosom, and the left over the middle like the Greek Aphrodite. A long garment hangs on both sides of the body of this rude nature-goddess. The date is between 670 and 730 A. D. "The dead has returned to his divine mother" is the symbolism.

— As to the conquest of Asia Minor by the Hittites of the Bible, Dr. Ramsay demurs. The architectural and hieroglyphic resemblances seem to him too uncertain. On the other hand, "the geographic situation of the monuments of the Cappadocian era hint at a centre of civilization on the shore of Pontus rather than in Northern Syria." The Hittite theory is seductive. But it will have to be modified before it can be accepted.

— In this connection, it is just to Professor Sayce to recall his disclaimer in the May Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology. He objects to being deemed an antagonist to the view which makes the culture of Western Asia emanate from Cappadocia, and traces the prehistoric road-system of Asia Minor to the same locality. He is far from thinking that the Hittite inscriptions, wherever found, are all in one language, and that the Hittites are a single homogeneous people. *The keystone of his theory* is that *the Hittites were a Cappadocian people and remained so up to the last.* "They were mountaineers; their boots were snow-shoes, their ideograph for country represents a mountainous region." Their presence in Syria was due to conquest. "Herodotus and Strabo were wrong in calling the Kappadokians Syrians." "The Hittite power was a Kappadokian power, though the Vannic inscriptions prove we must understand Kappadokia in a large sense." At the same time Professor S. insists that Hittite culture succeeded the Hittite occupation of northern Syria. The track of Hittite art was now indigenous, now

Digitized by Google

conquering. But always it was posterior to the capitals of Carchemish and Kadesh, with their Babylonian and Egyptian contacts.

— M. Clermont Ganneau has presented the Académie des Inscriptions with the cast of a stela found by him near Jerusalem some fifteen years since. The original was one of those mentioned by Flavius Josephus which, in Greek and Latin, forbade the entrance of pagans within the sacred precincts of Herod's temple. Here the language was Greek. Suddenly it disappeared. Recently it has come to light in the Imperial Museum of Tchinili-Kienchk in Constantinople.

— The ruins some three hundred and fifty metres north of the Damascus Gate on the right of the Nablous road, which Captain Conder would identify with the "Asnerie" of the Pilgrim narratives, mark rather the site of the church of St. Stephen, the protomartyr. So at least argues A. Frei with great plausibility in the "Zeitschrift des deutschen Palæstina-Vereins" in an early number of the present year. The church was torn down just before Saladin besieged Jerusalem.

— That Ophel is Zion W. F. Birch continues to maintain with acuteness and confidence. In the January statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund he puts his Jerusalem-theory thus: (1.) The Tyropaeon valley was part of the Valley of Hinnom, which ran from near the Jaffa Gate through the present city to the Kedron. (2.) Zion, the City of David, was entirely on the southern part of the eastern hill, that is, on Ophel (so called). (3.) The Sepulchres of David were in this same part. (4.) The "gutter" (2 Sam. v. 8) by which Joab gained access to Zion was the secret passage (connected with the Virgin's Fount) found by Sir C. Warren. (5.) Araunah betrayed Zion to David either by divulging the secret of the "gutter" or assisting Joab in ascending it. Robertson Smith and Professor Sayce are quoted as agreeing with him concerning (2.). In the April statement of the same quarterly Mr. Birch makes the key to the question of Zion's site consist of two facts: (A) In Hebrew the Valley of Hinnom is always *ge*-Hinnom and the Brook Kidron *nachal*-Kidron. (B) In the historical books of the Bible the City of David is six times called Zion, never Mount Zion; while in the Psalms and Prophets this term is often applied to the Temple. After four pages of close argumentation he ends, "I now invite Sir C. Warren either to find some fresh defense for his pseudo-Zion or to abandon it entirely and occupy what he has all along admitted is Nehemiah's site, viz., that on Ophel so called."

— The most interesting fruits of Palestine Exploration the past year have been east of the Jordan. Guy Le Strange made last November a dashing six days' journey, visiting the sites of Tabakat Fahl (Pella), Jerâsh with ruins second only to Palmyra, 'Ammân, and 'Arâk el Emir. This he did without government permission, tents, or blackmail. Zoar (Zughar) he locates, in opposition to Dr. Selah Merrill, to the southeast of the Dead Sea. More important still is Herr Schumacher's "magnificent contribution to the survey of the East." This includes a map covering about two hundred square miles of Jaulan east of the Lake of Galilee. The young explorer seems to have discovered the Biblical Golan and Argob. His memoirs contain a list of Arabic names. Where Burckhardt, Porter, Wetstein, Graham, Oliphant, and Merrill had traveled, Schumacher has surveyed. He has planned the underground city of Ed Dera and photographed the rock-tomb of Job. His volume, half the size of "Heth and Moab" and "Tent-Work," will be published by the

Digitized by Google

committee, and forwarded, post-free, to every subscriber to the Fund who makes application for it. It will be issued with the October quarterly statement.

— The Garden of Eden, which an American and a German savant have demonstrated to be at points as wide asunder as the Pole and the Tropic, is, nevertheless, located elsewhere by General Charles Gordon. On his map one boundary is Seychelles Island, northeast of Madagascar. The district of Eden runs from there to the Persian Gulf and Red Sea. He makes the Pison the Nile, which flowed into the Red Sea before the Flood. The Gihon is the Brook Gihon before Jerusalem. The difficulty still remains of finding a ravine from the Dead Sea descending to the Gulf of Akabah, through Wâdy Arabah. He also raises the query whether Aden is Eden, and says Mussulman tradition places Eden at Ceylon.

— "The Phœnicians never burned their dead; from first to last they placed them underground." So we read in the "History of Art in Phœnicia and its Dependencies," by Perrot and Chopiez. Their sepulchral beds were various — such as a raised ledge, a sunk trough, sarcophagi, fixed and movable, plain and decorated, and specially the oven-shaped niche in the wall.

— Egypt is the land of tombs, however, and that of Seti I. has been notorious for the scandal associating with its barbarous defacement the name of the great Lepsius. That the prince of Egyptologists should have been guilty of vandalism is not probable on the face of it. But M. E. Lefébvre, in the "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions," proves the crime to have been impossible. Himself the copier, one by one, of the hieroglyphs, he bears witness that they do not show a trace of systematic destruction. No chamber has been removed, no Pharaoh has been shattered. The minute defacements that riddle the tomb are due to Arabs and tourists. Lepsius is to the moderns what Cambyses was to the ancients, a convenient personification of the destroyer.

— Professor Sayce and Miss Edwards tell us that Professor Maspero has accomplished wonders at Luxor. Thanks to the conscription and the subsequent eagerness of the peasants for enriching soil, the great hall of Amenophis III., with its forest of columns, has had a resurrection. The French explorer himself deems it scarcely inferior to Karnak.

— As many of our readers are aware, the identification of Tel-el-Maskhutah with Pithom, by M. Édouard Naville, was disputed in the "Athenæum" of March 14. This circumstance was not an unmixed misfortune. For it has drawn out letters of great interest and ability from leading Egyptologists who concur in M. Naville's opinion. Professor Pleyte, of Leyden, in the "Academy" of June 6, is one of the last to accept publicly the discovery. E. Revillout, April 4, had already signified his sense of the weight of the Genevese scholar's arguments, one of which served to convince him that the Pithom of Scripture and of Herodotus was one with Tel-el-Maskhutah. In the issue of May 23 Georg Ebers furnishes nearly six columns of ire and logic, showing that Tel-el-Maskhutah is the site of an Egyptian town bearing the sacred name of Pithom, and the profane one of Thuku-t. M. Ebers has no doubt that Lepsius, could he have read M. Naville's memoir, would have retracted his contrary opinion, and, with Brugsch, have agreed with Naville.

— M. Naville thinks he has found the site of the Biblical Goshen. He

Digitized by Google

places it not at the Arabic Fakoos, but at Saft. This is six miles east of Zagazig instead of twelve miles north of Tel-el-Kebir. A black monolithic shrine of Soph, the god of the Arabian nome, and a mention of the images of the gods of Kes (Kesem, Phacousa) are his witnesses.

— The same author's paper of March, before the Society of Biblical Archæology, treats of the Destruction of Man by the Gods. In this inscription of the tomb of Rameses III. he finds the germ of sacrifice. "Death wipes out death," said the Egyptian. Ra perceives that men speak against him. He therefore calls together Shu, Tefnut, Seb, and Nut, for council. They advise "Send thine eye." This eye becomes Hathor and then Sechet, who tramples on the blood of the guilty. Then the priestesses of Elephantiné mix the juice of mandrakes with the blood of mankind. Seven thousand vases receive the beverage. Ra comes, sees, and pardons. In the night he spills the liquid; in the morning Sechet quaffs. She becomes intoxicated, so that she cannot see mankind, who thus escape destruction. Thus quaintly and fancifully the hieroglyphs echo the truer story of the Pentateuch.

— Dr. Birch, in the Proceedings for December, 1884, of the same society, has a paper which has attracted wide attention. It is on the Egyptian Belief concerning the "Shade of the Dead." This shade is distinct from the soul, visible but not tangible. Phonetically it is *chaibit*, and formally it is a parasol. Never does it appear with the bodily form of the deceased. It wandered over the earth, going to the tomb, visiting friends, enjoying the offerings of relatives, and then disappearing to the body in the grave. In one passage the deceased has more than one of these shadows. The shade could be punished. For in a caldron in the tombs of the kings are seen the souls, bodies, and shades of the wicked held up by two hands, and in the burning pits of hell they are seen burning. From the XVIIIth to the XXth dynasties the shade plays the leading rôle in the inscriptions of the nether world. The elements of the dead are five: the ghost *qua*, the soul *ba*, the body *tet*, the mummy *sahu*, and the shade *chaibit*. The last is to the learned author "the thin material envelope which protected the soul from the intensity of the solar rays following the vicissitudes of the soul or ghost."

— We commend to all lovers of the old and the fair the "American Journal of Archæology," of which the opening number was published in January at Baltimore. The managing editor is Dr. A. L. Frothingham, Jr., of Johns Hopkins University. The contents of this official organ of the Archæological Institute of America are rich and able. It will surprise us if such papers as that of Professor Charles Eliot Norton and such critiques as that of Professor Francis Brown do not command a more than American recognition.

We cull and condense from the above magazine the following news from Africa and Europe: —

— The excavations of Messrs. Reinach and Babelon, in Carthage, in 1884, brought to light ashes and other signs of a great conflagration — possibly that kindled by Rome in 145 B. C. Between the choked harbors and the citadel-hill Byrsa they found four parallel streets solidly rather than elegantly built. Among other small relics was an ivory relief, representing the goddess Tanit carrying the cosmic sphere. Elsewhere were numberless Punic slabs inscribed to Baal-Ammon by ancient Hamilcars and Hannibals. The triangle, symbol of the Carthaginian trinity, surmounted each.

Digitized by Google

— A more fortunate fire than that of Carthage swept the market of Athens last summer, and laid bare the site of the old agora. The Archæological Society of Athens has received official permission to excavate in this rich mine.

— The British School of Archæology will be located on the Pentelicus road, near the orchards of the patriarchal monastery. It will have Lycabettus in its rear, and the slopes of Hymettus in front, while to the right lies the city, ending in the Acropolis and the Gulf. The American School is expected to adjoin it.

— An interesting sepulchral inscription from the Pontine Marshes tells, in hexameters, a wife's grief for A. C. J. Kamenius, a pagan priest, who had been consul of the province of Numidia, and who died 385 A. D. In him we have one of the last sacerdotal champions of heathendom.

— The discovery at Epidauros of two stelas, mentioned by Pausanias, with the names and maladies of the patients cured by Esculapius, has become familiar through the "Revue Archéologique" and the New York "Nation." The curious thing in these miracles of healing is the office of the sacred dogs. They licked with their tongues the part diseased. Before this there was obscurity as to the significance of the Hebrew Kelabim on one of the stelas of Citium. Now it is tolerably clear that they were animals, not human beings. The inscriptions date from the fourth century, and were probably designed to arrest the waning prestige of the sanctuary under the vigorous aggressions and rapid spread of the religion of Jesus Christ.

— The Chief God of the Algonquins in his Character as a Cheat and a Liar, is the title of a suggestive paper in the "American Antiquarian" for May. There Dr. D. G. Brinton tells us "word-breaker" would be a better rendering of the vernacular. Not that the god was a liar like King Arthur, who, when he left earth for fairy-land, promised to return, but has never done so. For a similar term is applied to the national hero and reputed saviour of the race by other Indian tribes. Such are the Crows and Chippewas. The idea is of an Arch-Deceiver in a good sense. His foes are the foes of humanity. That he outwits them, a master of magic, is the glory of the deity and the hero. Really the victory of mind over matter is apotheosized. Dr. Brinton recalls the parallels of the wily Ulysses and of Reynard the fox. In any case, we have a contrast with the transparent and unerring truth of the Son of Man and the Son of God.

John Phelps Taylor.

THE EL FAYOUM MANUSCRIPTS, WITH A RÉSUMÉ OF THE DISCUSSION CONCERNING THE ALLEGED GOSPEL FRAGMENT.

During the past few months the public has from time to time received bits of information concerning one of the most remarkable discoveries of the age, that of the El Fayoum collection of manuscripts, purchased in Egypt by the Austrian Archduke Rénier and transferred to Vienna, where they are being deciphered and classified by Professor Karabacek, with the able assistance of Professors Wessely and Krall. The Vienna correspondent of the London "Times" has obtained two articles from Professor Karabacek which embody the results of his investigation to date. The last and most detailed of these accounts was sent under date of July

Digitized by Google

25,[1] and from it the following interesting facts have been gathered: The number of these manuscript fragments exceeds 30,000. Of these 20,000 are papyri, while the remainder are of leather, skins, parchment of every variety, and paper. It is supposed that they all belonged to the archives of El Fayoum, the most of which were probably destroyed by fire, an inference from the fact that some of the fragments are charred. According to Professor Karabacek's preliminary classification the collection falls into eleven groups, which he denominates the Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, Demotic, Meroitic-Æthiopian, Coptic, Hebrew, Syriac, Persian, Latin, Greek, and Arabic. About twenty — belonging to the first three groups — are assigned to pre-Christian times, and some of these are considered of great value. There are twenty-three Hebrew manuscripts which range in date from the sixth to the eighth centuries, and are said to be the oldest specimens yet found of square writing. These contain synagogical hymns, alphabetical songs, and commercial bills. There are more than one thousand Coptic fragments, representing all the different dialects of that language. The most of these are letters and legal instruments. They are simply invaluable to students of Egyptian history and archæology. A flood of light is also poured upon Roman history by the almost unbroken chronological sequence of these documents. Concerning their value in this respect Professor Karabacek remarks: "Our boldest hopes could not expect such a close and accurate amount of information as they supply. As regards the history and chronology of the Roman Emperors they bring a quantity of knowledge which is unsurpassed by all that monuments had hitherto revealed. Beginning with the year 93 A. D. the series of documents relating to the Emperors goes down to Constantine the Great, almost every year being commemorated by several specimens; then follow the Byzantine Emperors down to Heraclius (641 A. D.), and the Arabian chronicles down to the year 953." No wonder that the Roman historian, Dr. Mommsen, feels keen regret that these treasures were not brought to light thirty years ago.

One of the most interesting of the Arabic papyri — which begin in the thirtieth year of the Hegira (about the middle of the seventh century) and extend in unbroken succession through two centuries — is a revolutionary proclamation, probably issued at the time of a revolt against the Turks. On this Professor Karabacek remarks: "The vigorous style of this proclamation, with its denunciation against the extortioners who were sucking the marrow of the country, reminds one of some of Arabi Pasha's fiery effusions." Scripture fragments in Greek have been found from the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, and although none of these contains more than a few verses, they will be considered a valuable addition to the stock of Biblical papyri, as the only ones hitherto known are a Psalter in London and some fragments of the Pauline epistles in Kieff. There are also portions of the Scriptures in Coptic which may prove to be of value. Of classical authors there are fragments of Homer and Thucydides from the second century, while the oldest manuscript of Thucydides hitherto known is assigned to the eleventh. Numerous fragments are included of languages which to the present day have been almost unknown. There are 300 in Pehlewi, of whose existence, coins, gems, and a few stone inscriptions have been the only witnesses. There are 200 Meroitic-Æthiopian fragments for whose decipherment no key has yet been found.

[1] *The Mail*, July 29.

Digitized by Google

Much still remains to be done in reading and interpreting these multitudinous documents, and there will be found among them, doubtless, many bones of contention. The task of preparing them for publication is slow and laborious, but it has been intrusted to competent hands, and we are assured that the work will be pushed forward as rapidly as possible. We dare not predict what gains may accrue to philology, history, archæology, and even Biblical criticism from the immense mass of material already discovered; and we are also encouraged to hope that this is only the beginning of an era of discovery, for Professor Sayce asserts it as his belief — born of considerable personal observation — that there are still in Egypt multitudes of manuscript treasures waiting to reward the toil of the explorer.

An article by Professor Bickell, of Innsbruck, in the "Zeitschrift für katolische Theologie" (1885, Part III.), entitled A Papyrus Fragment of a Noncanonical Gospel, has led to much discussion. This fragment is one of the Fayoum collection, and was first announced as a portion of Matthew. It is very small (only three and a half by four and one third centimetres), and is assigned by paleographic specialists to the third century, thus antedating our oldest New Testament manuscripts. The fragment contains the middle portions of seven lines, each being defective at the beginning and the end. Ninety-eight[1] letters can be read with certainty, and the remaining seven, though indistinct, have been deciphered. The fragment reads as follows, the small letters representing those less distinct in the manuscript: —

ϕΑΓΕΙΝΩΣϵΞΗγΟνΠΑ
ΤΗΝΥΚΤΙΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΣ
ΤΟΓΡΑΦΕΝΠΑΤΑΞΩΤΟΝ
πΡΟΒΑΤΑΔΙΑΣΚΟΡΠΙΣΘΗΣ
ΥΠΠΕΤΚΑΙΕΙΠΑΝΤΕΣΟ
ΟΑΛΕΚΤΡΥΩΝΔΙΣΚΟΚ
ΠΑρν

A clew to the restoration of the missing letters is found in lines 3 and 4, which are an Old Testament quotation (Zach. xiii. 7). It seems very certain that between the τόν of line 3 and the πρόβατα of line 4 there must have stood, as in Mark, the words ποιμένα καὶ τά, and these only. This gives the presumptive length of the lines as twenty-eight or twenty-nine letters, a result all the more probable because it is in accord with what has hitherto been known of papyrus manuscripts. Using this clew Dr. Bickell has restored the text as follows: [Μετὰ δὲ τὸ] φαγεῖν ὡς ἐξῆγον· πά[ντες ἐν ταύτῃ] τῇ νύκτι σκανδαλισ[θήσεσθε κατὰ] τὸ γραφέν· πατάξω τὸν [ποιμένα καὶ τὰ] πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσ[ονται. Ἐπόντος το]ῦ Πέτρου· καὶ εἰ πάντες ο[ὐκ ἐγώ· ἔφη αὐτῷ]· ὁ ἀλεκτρυὼν δὶς κοκ[κύξει καὶ σὺ πρῶτον τρὶς ἀ]παρν[ήσῃ με].

This passage is quite similar to Mark xiv. 26–30 and Matt. xxvi. 30–34, but is much more concise, and is marked by striking omissions and peculiarities of diction. The interesting question is at once suggested, What is the relation of this fragment to our canonical Gospels? Various answers have already been given. Dr. Bickell does not hesitate to affirm

[1] In the first publication ninety-six letters were given as certain, but in a subsequent letter to the *Times* Dr. Bickell says that the ξ and ο of the first line are also certain.

Digitized by Google

that this papyrus fragment has preserved a brief portion of a very ancient Gospel, one older than any of our four, and probably belonging to that class of writings to which Luke refers in the prologue of the third Gospel. If this be true the importance of this little shred to the criticism of the synoptic Gospels can hardly be overestimated.

Professor Harnack, in the "Theologische Literaturzeitung" (1885, No. 12), has adopted Dr. Bickell's view. The greater age of the papyrus text is inferred from its brevity and simplicity, as compared with Matthew and Mark, more especially from its omission of the words, "But after I am raised up, I will go before you into Galilee" (Matt. xxvi. 32; Mark xiv. 28). This sentence, Dr. Harnack urges, breaks the connection in Matthew and Mark, and for this reason alone cannot be regarded as a part of the original narrative. The papyrus, then, corroborates a conclusion drawn from internal grounds. The following three sentences are appended as exhibiting at a glance the history of the Gospel text in its development from the original, simple, to the final, elaborate form: —

Papyrus: Εἰπόντος τοῦ Πέτρου· καὶ εἰ πάντες οὐκ ἐγώ·

Mark: ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἔφη αὐτῷ· εἰ καὶ πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγώ.

Matthew: ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εἰ πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται ἐν σοί, ἐγὼ οὐδέποτε σκανδαλισθήσομαι.

This may seem quite convincing. If the first of the above sentences is really the oldest, it is easy to see how the second and third could have been produced from it by successive changes and additions. But this possibility does not by any means prove that the papyrus text is the oldest. The precariousness of this hasty inference will be shown in the sequel.

Dr. Bickell tries to press some peculiarities of diction into service; *e. g.*, the fragment has ἐξῆγον for ἐξῆλθον and κοκκύξει for φωνῆσαι. This is of a piece, he says, with the entire absence of that solemn, as it were hieratic, style which marks the canonical Gospels. Further marks of this hieratic style are such standing phrases as, "Verily I say unto you," and the circumstantial introduction of the discourses with the finite verb. The standing phrase is not found in the papyrus, and the circumstantial construction is replaced by the genitive absolute. This peculiarity of style, it is said, is, perhaps, a sign of great antiquity. Although Professor Harnack falls into line, and commends this explanation as worthy of the highest consideration, it may well be questioned whether this difference of style cannot be accounted for far more simply and naturally. Dr. Harnack admits that this fragment cannot be claimed with absolute certainty to be a portion of a Gospel, but it is evident that he is as confident as Dr. Bickell that such is the case.

This theory has already been vigorously assailed. Dr. Hort in the London "Times" of June 25 utters a word of warning against its premature acceptance. "The evidence," he says, "so far as it is yet accessible appears to me to suggest a different conclusion. The fragment comes, if I mistake not, from some early Christian writer who had occasion to quote the words of St. Peter and his Master, and quoted them with free condensation, abridging the connecting links of narrative still more." Dr. Hort thinks that κοκκύξει and also ἀλεκτρυών for ἀλέκτωρ (the word common to our four Gospels, but rare in classical Greek) are much more probably explained as introduced by some Greek writer out of his habitual diction. Professor Warfield, in "The Independent" of July 30, takes

Digitized by Google

the same ground. "In my judgment," he says, "these seven lines bear every trace of secondariness, and no trace of originality; every trace of being a fragment out of some homily, which used our Gospels, and no trace of presenting a primitive text from which our Gospels sprang." Professor Warfield assents to the view that the fragment was undoubtedly preceded by words of Jesus spoken during the supper. It seems certain, then, that the writer brought together Jesus's prediction at the supper of his betrayal by one of the disciples, and his prediction after supper of the desertion of all the disciples and of Peter's denial. Professor Warfield argues with much force that this evidently artificial arrangement betrays the intent of the writer; that the rapidity of this survey, secured by great condensation of language, the use of the genitive absolute in line 5, which subordinates Peter's remark to the prediction of his denial, and the substitution of common for rare words all point to a homiletical purpose. On this supposition the omission of the promise to meet the disciples in Galilee is naturally explained by the obvious fact, that it was not germane to the writer's purpose. Dr. Bickell, in a brief reply to Dr. Hort in "The Times" of July 3, mentions one new fact in favor of his view, namely, the abbreviation of the name of Peter and the red color in which it is written, which, it is urged, point rather to a Gospel than a patristic text. Dr. Bickell also argues that this passage, preceded as it must have been by words of Jesus spoken at the supper, contains matter too copious and varied for an occasional quotation, and that, granting the fact of quotation, the passage in its entirety is so long that the writer must have copied it from his Gospel manuscript, which would lead to the same result as before.

Dr. Hort, in a very able rejoinder,[1] gives a more detailed statement of reasons for his view. The omission of the verse concerning the resurrection is, he says, "at least as easily explained by the probable irrelevance of the clause to the purpose of the ecclesiastical writer, whom I suppose to be quoting Christ's words from St. Mark with a modification derived from St. Matthew." That this is an exceedingly natural and probable explanation is shown by the following facts: "Origen, who belongs to the third century, the century in which the papyrus fragment is said to have been written, quotes from these verses at least seven times. In three places he quotes both the first and the last clauses — Christ's two predictive warnings — and in the fourth place he quotes the first warning and St. Peter's protestation; but in all four places he omits the intervening third clause, just as the Vienna fragment does. . . . One passage alone contains the third clause, and that is the portion of Origen's 'Commentary on St. Matthew' devoted to these identical verses, where omission was impossible." With this basis of fact it is not difficult to reach Dr. Hort's conclusion. "If, then, Origen, who undoubtedly used our extant Gospels, habitually passed over the third clause when he had occasion to quote together the two warnings which precede and follow it, the unknown author of our fragment may well have done the same. This clause pointed no moral, and therefore it was not wanted."

Again, two passages in Origen give the combination of Christ's words at and after the supper, so that this phenomenon can no longer be urged as excluding the hypothesis of quotation; while "the laxity of quotation which is assumed in supposing the author of our fragment to have had recourse only to the extant Gospels differs neither in kind nor in amount

[1] *The Mail*, July 17.

Digitized by Google

from the laxity of quotation which frequently presents itself in the works of Clement, and even Origen, the only Egyptian Greek Fathers contemporary with or earlier than the fragment, which have left behind them considerable remains." (Numerous examples of the free method of quotation characteristic of the Fathers are noted in Dr. Ezra Abbot's "The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel," pp. 20, 91, 98.)

Of the abbreviation and rubrication of St. Peter's name Dr. Hort offers no explanation, but says it is a unique and therefore ambiguous fact, from which it is dangerous to draw conclusions at present.

Professor Stokes gives an account of the Fayoum Gospel fragment in the August number of the "Expositor." He does not undertake the defense of any new theory, but offers the suggestion that "the fragment may be a portion of a Gnostic recension of the canonical Gospels issuing from Egypt," or "a quotation from the Gospel to the Hebrews, which we know was very current in Egypt in the second and third centuries." In the light of the facts, however, which Dr. Hort presents in illustration of his theory, it must be admitted that at the present stage of the investigation his view is in all probability correct. In that case the science of New Testament criticism remains unaffected by this discovery from which so much has been hoped. Meanwhile scholars will look forward with eagerness to the publication of the fac-simile of this little fragment, which will be included in the "Corpus Papyrorum Raineri Archiducis." Until then there can be no intelligent and satisfactory testing of Dr. Bickell's conjectural restorations.

F. E. Woodruff.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CONGRESSIONAL GOVERNMENT: A STUDY IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By WOODROW WILSON, Fellow in Johns Hopkins University. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

THIS little book is a very important contribution to a department of American literature of late years deplorably barren. It is a searching examination of our government viewed as a working system.

The author rightly assumes that a people cannot govern itself well which does not maintain a critical attitude towards its own institutions. They are instruments which it has fashioned for certain services. Those services are sure to be modified by alterations in its changing life. The institutions which work well, therefore, to-day may be inefficient to-morrow. Hence every government is incomplete without some provision for making such modifications in its structure as new national wants may demand. One sign of a healthy political life is a vivid popular appreciation of the necessity of keeping the machinery of government in such a condition that its ever varying tasks may be smoothly and thoroughly performed. Hence, no people is fit to govern itself which is unable or unwilling to pass searching criticism upon its own institutions.

The deep reverence which the American people rightly feel for the framers of their Constitution is, as our author well shows, not a valid reason (though it has been in no small degree the cause) of their neglecting this part of the work of self-government. It would have required

Digitized by Google

a prescience absolutely miraculous for the Convention of 1787 to have framed a government which should in all respects meet the present wants of the nation. And the Constitution which it made never did comprise, and was never intended to comprise, all the machinery of government. To borrow our author's language, "It does little more than lay a foundation of principles. . . . There can be no question that our Constitution has proved lasting because of its simplicity. It is a corner-stone, not a complete building; or, rather . . . it is a root, not a perfect vine." Hence one might regard every line of the Constitution with unqualified admiration, while obliged to see many and serious faults in the government of the United States. For, to quote again from our author, "the chief fact of our national history is that from this vigorous tap-root has grown a vast constitutional system — a system branching and expanding in statutes and judicial decisions as well as in unwritten precedent. . . . The Constitution in operation is manifestly a very different thing from the Constitution of the books."

On the strength of the above assumption, taking up his task of scrutinizing our government as now at work, Mr. Wilson first seeks its centre. "There is always a centre of power: where in this system is that centre? in whose hands is self-sufficient authority lodged, and through whose agency does that authority speak and act?" In answering this question he shows that the government must inevitably have become, and did in fact very early in our history begin to become, a different thing from that which its founders meant it to be; that the elaborate system of checks and balances contained in the Constitution proved insufficient to prevent the national Congress from steadily gaining upon the State legislatures and the national executive.

In so constructing the Constitution that the power of determining the rights of the federal government as against the States is put into federal hands, its authors unwittingly neglected to provide a check to centralizing tendencies. Those tendencies soon found encouragement in Hamilton's doctrine of "implied powers" in the Constitution. The restless activity inherent in the life of Congress, as of every great legislature, fostered them.

They have been strengthened by the immense growth of the nation, and the ever greater complexity of its social and commercial relations, necessitating a vast increase in its civil service. The strengthening of national as against State feeling, which came in and by the civil war, could not but cause the body which governed for the nation as a whole to assert and be sustained in asserting an ampler prerogative. And, as while the powers of Congress as over against those of the State legislatures have been steadily growing the influence of the Presidency has been on the whole waning, it has come about that to-day the governing power substantially belongs to the federal legislature. Our government is virtually a Congressional government. "The balances of the Constitution are, for the most part, only ideal. For all practical purposes the national government is supreme over the State governments, and Congress predominant over its so-called coördinate branches."

To know whether we have an efficient government, therefore, we must see how Congress does its work. Evidently our inquiry belongs chiefly to the House of Representatives, with which the originating power of legislation largely rests. We find that it does its work after a novel fashion. At the opening of the session its speaker divides it into a large

Digitized by Google

number (now forty-seven) of permanent committees. Each of these committees has charge of a separate department of legislative action. To some one of them every bill presented to the House must be referred. Every bill passed by the House is introduced by them. The time given to the discussion of every bill is put at their disposal, — not all of it to be used by them, indeed, but the lion's share, — and into the hands of their representative and spokesman is put the power of cutting short debate.

The result of this method of legislation is the practical delegation of the power of legislation by the House to its committees. The discussion of public measures which would naturally take place before the House takes place for the most part in the committee room. The loss to the country from this mode of procedure is not only that of the educating power of the debates (which is of the greatest value), — it is also the lack of party responsibility for the measures proposed, since each committee is made up of members of the two opposite parties, and the responsibility for the measure proposed is belongs to the committee introducing it rather than to the party who has elected its head to the Speaker's chair. This loss of a party responsibility for all legislation, which should require the party in power to defend its measures before the country against the criticism of the opposition, and which would make Congress a really representative body acting under the eyes of the people on the strength of reasons manifest to the people, instead of a body governing by trusteeship passing hastily measures decided upon in the privacy of committee rooms, Mr. Wilson considers a most serious defect in our government. He also deplores the separation of the executive department from the legislative, which prevents the minds most familiar with the needs and resources of the country from shaping the legislation by which its yearly revenues are provided and expenditures made. The exclusive control which Congress has of financial legislation has, he thinks, greatly increased our national burdens.

I have not time to reproduce, even in the barest outline, Mr. Wilson's further criticisms upon our government. Acute and important though they are, they do not emphasize the central fault in the system, that which makes it so inadequately represent the higher political sense of the people. This, it must be held with our author, is the perversion of Congress into a governing board of two departments. He is plainly right in tracing to this cause the present lack of political leadership. If we were governed by a truly representative body, the commercial intelligence of the country would not be lamenting the silver coinage as farmers lament drought or frost, but would be attacking it through able politicians, determined to win distinction by earning supremacy for the sound financial principles to which their party had committed itself.

That Mr. Wilson is right in placing the Parliamentary government of England, which commits the government to the majority of the House of Commons, above our own government through Congressional committees, cannot, I think, be questioned. The Parliamentary government has the obvious advantage of calling the best talent of the land into the public service, and keeping its energies always strained to make legislation judicious and administration effective and pure. It has one serious disadvantage, which Mr. Wilson seems to have overlooked, — that in conducting the foreign policy of the nation, the Premier must often at critical moments be distracted by the necessity of silencing a determined and power-

Digitized by Google

ful opposition. But this is far from offsetting the great advantages belonging to a real party government.

The evils inherent to our present system are so great that it does not seem hazardous to predict that one of the political questions of the future will be the best method of so connecting the executive and legislative departments as to secure responsible party government. That it is idle to hope for such a change in our institutions those cannot believe who have learned from our past history that the government which the nation must have it sooner or later will have.

That the book under consideration will exert no small influence in the direction of such change may be confidently asserted. Aside from the importance of the subject-matter, it is a remarkable piece of political writing. The clearness and vigor of the style, its freedom from *a priori* theorizing, and its sense of proportion make it very enjoyable reading. While lacking the fascination which Walter Bagehot's genius gave his work on the British Constitution, it is in solid value worthy of a place beside that brilliant essay.

Edward Y. Hincks.

WORK AND ADVENTURE IN NEW GUINEA, 1877 to 1885. By JAMES CHALMERS, of Port Moresby, and W. WYATT GILL, B. A., author of "Life in the Southern Isles," etc. With two Maps and many Illustrations from original sketches and photographs. Pp. 342. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1885.

THE political interest now awakened in New Guinea has turned special attention to this volume. The Rev. James Chalmers is a missionary of the London Missionary Society, and the best known white man for five hundred miles along the southern coast of New Guinea. Rev. Mr. Gill is another missionary of the same society. In 1871 he aided in introducing into New Guinea the first Polynesian Christian teachers, and returned in 1884 to examine into their work, and to see what had been accomplished during the intervening years. He contributes to the volume before us seven chapters, giving an interesting and valuable account of what he saw and heard during this last visit. Mr. Chalmers's part of the volume is the larger, and narrates numerous personal experiences during his seven years' residence in the island, besides giving a large amount of fresh information respecting the topography of the southeastern districts, the customs and traditions of the natives, and the difficulties and successes of missionary work. Its author is a remarkable man, a genuine Christian hero. Unarmed, and relying upon the nature of his mission and the aid of his Master, he has gone about among the various villages, visiting numerous scenes of outrages and massacres, dealing with murderers and cannibals, taking his life in his hand, often followed closely by men with clubs raised to fell him to the ground as he quietly moved toward his canoe on the shore, yet with never a wound or a bruise. Mrs. Chalmers, and the associate missionaries with their wives, deserve the same meed of praise for their calm courage. And the work they have accomplished is one of the bright and fascinating chapters of modern Christian enterprise and zeal.

The Introduction to the volume gives a brief sketch of the history of the mission. The work began in 1871, when two English missionaries — Revs. A. W. Murray and S. McFarlane — landed on Darnley Island with eight converts, trained to serve as teachers, from the Loyalty Islands.

Digitized by Google

The mission was thus largely the fruit of a mission. The spirit of one of those converts is evinced in the following anecdote. Referring to another island than that on which they had landed, "the natives, in hope of intimidating the teachers, said: 'There are alligators there, and snakes, and centipedes.' 'Hold,' said the teacher, 'are there men there?' 'Oh yes,' was the reply, 'there are men, but they are such dreadful savages that it is no use your thinking of living among them.' 'That will do,' replied the teacher. 'Wherever there are men, missionaries are bound to go.'"

In 1872 thirteen Polynesian teachers were added to those previously sent out and two years later the Revs. S. McFarlane and W. G. Lawes brought an invaluable reinforcement of intelligence and skill. Miss Baxter, of Dundee, put at the disposal of the mission a steamer, the Ellengowan, which has been of great service. In 1877 Mr. Chalmers contributed such superior capacity and ability to the work which he warmly espoused that his arrival is spoken of as an epoch in its history. The native teachers, we are told, "experienced many vicissitudes. Some died from inability to stand the climate; some were massacred by the men they were striving to bless; but the gaps were filled up as speedily as possible, and the map recently issued (January, 1885) by the directors of the society shows that on the southeastern coast of New Guinea, from Motumotu to East Cape, no less than thirty-two native teachers, some of them New Guinea converts, are now toiling in the service of the gospel."

We regret to learn that the teachers and their wives stationed at Fly River have recently been compelled to flee to Murray Island to escape massacre. Such outbreaks have never long stayed the progress of the work. It has been stated that some of the murderers of Bishop Pattison not long ago aided in erecting a cross on the spot of his martyrdom. So is it everywhere. The gospel wins.

The literary form of this volume is not all that could be desired. It has too much the appearance of being a collection of notes of journeys and explorations — a transcript of extracts from reports sent from time to time to headquarters. Such a method of communication is necessary in the administration of a society. But our best missionary magazines now communicate intelligence less in this fragmentary and often very repetitious form, and would, we think, be further improved by supplying still more freely comprehensive surveys of particular fields, carefully gathered and clearly presented information as to the general or special conditions under which work must be prosecuted in them, and thoughtful discussions of the leading problems. When it comes to making a book the importance of such a literary method is enhanced. As it is, we strongly commend this volume to general attention.

Egbert C. Smyth.

A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. By Joseph Agar Beet. Pp. xxii., 232. London: Hodder & Stoughton. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1885.

This work is one of a series. It was preceded by volumes on the Epistle to the Romans and the two Corinthian Epistles, and is to be followed by one on the Epistles of the Imprisonment and another on the Pastoral Epistles and those to the Thessalonians. Mr. Beet's ultimate purpose is to advance the interests of the infant science of Biblical Theology, and to this his exegetical labors are preparatory. The series

Digitized by Google

is to conclude with "a volume expounding St. Paul's teaching as a whole, comparing it with that of the other writers of the New Testament, and tracing the manifold teaching of these various writers to its one immediate source in the gospel proclaimed by Christ and to its ultimate source in the Eternal Purpose of God." This aim renders the treatment more comprehensive, while it cannot be said to detract from the thoroughness of the exegesis.

This volume on Galatians has much to commend it. Its Greek scholarship, though not paraded, is of a high order. It shows acquaintance with the best exegetical literature, and evidence of independent thought and research. It is not technically scholastic. It is a work for the people. It makes the assured results of scholarly investigation accessible to all students of the English Bible. Pains have evidently been taken to avoid the obscurities of technical language, and to remove stumbling-blocks from the way of those who are ignorant of Greek. In place of the Greek text of critical commentaries is found an extremely literal translation, by which the author endeavors to reproduce "at any sacrifice of elegance or even of English idiom the sense and emphasis of the original." This translation is not intended to rival the Revised Version, which Mr. Beet, for the most part, heartily approves, but to bring the reader as close as possible to the exact thought of the apostle; and this purpose is, in the main, fulfilled. One feature of the work will undoubtedly be very helpful. I refer to the repeated reviews of the ground traversed. There is a recapitulation at the conclusion of each of the main divisions of the Epistle, and also at the end of each of the brief subdivisions; while a final summary compresses the chief points of the argument into a few sentences. As supplementary to the exposition of the text the dissertations at the end of the volume show the relations of Paul's thought to the other New Testament writings, and are very useful in the proper adjustment of discrepant statements and of conceptions, which, though in fundamental accord, seem to disagree. The dissertation on the Book of Acts compared with the Epistle to the Galatians is as thorough a piece of work as the necessary limits of a brief commentary permit. All the details of coincidence and discrepancy are discussed. The existence of some difficulties is candidly admitted, of which no solution can be given, because "the key is lost in scantiness of materials." But the ground is taken firmly and strongly that the Acts and the Epistle, in the main, corroborate each other's accuracy. Minor details are neither neglected nor pushed into undue prominence.

Chronologically, the author places the Epistle between 2 Corinthians and Romans — a position toward which scholarly opinion is now gravitating. The tone of the work may be fairly inferred from the following passages: "The conception of the gospel, even by an apostle, was moulded and colored by his mental and moral constitution, and by his history and surroundings. This conception was sufficient to enable him correctly and fully to preach Christ. But the imperfect reproduction, which is all that we can now obtain of St. Paul's theology, is not sufficient for us. We must endeavor to compensate in some measure for the imperfection of our reproduction of his conception by comparing it with what we can reproduce of the thought of other sacred writers. Thus, by combining various reflections in the minds of various men, we shall gain the best view possible to us of the great object at which they all reverently gazed" (page viii.).

Digitized by Google

"Had there been essential diversity of teaching between Paul and the earlier apostles, Christianity would have perished in its cradle. For the sole and sufficient proof that the gospel as preached in the early church was actually taught by Christ was the unanimous testimony of the leaders of the church. Had Paul's Jewish opponents in Jerusalem, or Corinth, or Galatia, been able successfully to appeal from him to Peter, their appeal would have been irresistible; and would either have discredited his teaching or have created most serious doubt as to what was the actual teaching of Christ" (page 34).

"The above discussion warns us not to try to settle questions of Old Testament historical criticism by casual allusions in the New Testament. All such attempts are unworthy of scientific Biblical scholarship. By inweaving his words to man in historic fact, God appealed to the ordinary laws of human credibility. These laws attest, with absolute certainty, the great facts of Christianity. And upon these great facts, and on these only, rest both our faith in the gospel and in God and the authority of the Sacred Book. Consequently, as I have endeavored to show in my "Romans," Dissertations I. and III., our faith does not require the absolute accuracy of every historical detail in the Bible, and is not disturbed by any error in detail which may be detected in its pages. At the same time our study of the Bible reveals there an historical accuracy which will make us very slow to condemn as erroneous even unimportant statements of Holy Scripture. And, in spite of any possible errors in small details or allusions, the Book itself remains to us as, in a unique and infinitely glorious sense, a literary embodiment of the Voice and Word of God" (page 90).

With all its excellences the book is not devoid of defects. A few of the most important that have attracted my attention will be pointed out. There are some unfortunate inadvertences. On page 11 the names Galatia and Phrygia are transposed, and on page 49 the phrase "by works of law" takes the place of "through belief of Jesus Christ," to the utter confusion of the sense; while the exchange of "words" for "works" on page 221 leads to the same result. The translation is generally good, but in a few cases it is unfortunate. The "I fear you," of iv. 11, is one of these. In iv. 15 μακαρισμός is rendered "happiness." The phrases "tutor for Christ" (iii. 24) and "baptized for Christ" (iii. 27) are very unsatisfactory attempts at rendering the preposition εἰς; while the words "separated from," of i. 15, are almost certain to convey a wrong idea. Very few will agree with the author's comment on that much-discussed passage iii. 20: "The obscurity of verse 20 no loss. For it is not a link in the argument; but merely suggests an objection." Some statements are rather startling to be found in a book the prevailing tone of which is so moderate and cautious. For example, in Dissertation VII. we read of Christ's having "joined himself to sinful flesh and blood," and of "the death by which Christ himself escaped from the curse of our sin."

In spite of such defects the book is worthy of cordial commendation. While there is no dearth of learned critical commentaries on Galatians, there is a call for just such a work as Mr. Beet has produced — sound, scholarly, and popular in the best sense of the word. May it have the wide use which it deserves!

F. E. Woodruff.

Digitized by Google

Hebraica. A Quarterly Journal in the Interests of Hebrew Study. Managing Editor, William R. Harper, Ph. D.; Associate Editors, Paul Haupt, Ph. D., Hermann L. Strack, Ph. D., Th. Lic. Chicago: American Publishing Society of Hebrew. [Second notice.]

Some time ago ("Andover Review," August, 1884, p. 212 f.) I noticed the first numbers of this journal, then a monthly. Those numbers gave no great promise that the new periodical, however useful it might be "as a bond of connection between the widely-scattered members of the Hebrew Correspondence School," would have any scientific worth. And this impression was, no doubt, conveyed by the tone of my review, though the fairness of the editor's request — that critics should wait until the enterprise was fairly started — was fully recognized.

The January number for 1885 now lies before me, and it is only just that I should admit that my doubts were not prophetic, and that already, in its first year, "Hebraica" has made for itself a very honorable place among the journals devoted to these studies.

The present number contains an article on The Massoretic Vowel-System, by Professor Toy; a translation of Baer on The Dagesh in Initial Letters (Liber Proverbiorum, 1880), by O. O. Fletcher; The Old Testament in the Time of the Talmud, by B. Pick, Ph. D.; Assyrian Phonology, Professor Paul Haupt; Assyriological Notes, Professor Francis Brown; Miscellaneous Notes, Professor Peters; beside General Notes, Editorial Matter, Book Notices, etc. Professor Toy brings to discussion a question of great interest, and one which, in most of the grammars in use in this country, is very unsatisfactorily treated. The other articles are all interesting and valuable. It is to be hoped that "Hebraica" will receive such support as to insure it a permanent place and usefulness.

George F. Moore.

The Riverside Parallel Bible. The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the Original Tongues, being the Version set forth A. D. 1611, commonly called King James's Version: Arranged in Parallel Columns with the Revised Versions of 1881 and 1885. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1885. This is a handsome quarto volume of over 1700 pages. The type is large and clear. The volume contains all that belongs in a parallel Bible — the two versions side by side, references to other parts of Scripture at the foot of the column carrying the old version, and marginal readings at the foot of the column carrying the new version, together with the introductions to both versions, and in an appendix the emendations to the Revised Version suggested by the American revisers. The publishers cannot be too highly commended for the accuracy and taste which they have shown in the execution of the work. — *The New Testament* in both Authorized and Revised Versions, carefully annotated by Howard Crosby, D. D., LL. D., Ex-Chancellor of the University of the City of New York and a member of the American Revision Committee. Boston: Charles F. Alden & Co., 31 Milk Street. Under the modest title of Annotations Dr. Crosby has sent out a valuable commentary on the New Testament. He has rightly assumed that the revision solves many difficulties, though he does not hesitate to criticise the revisers when he thinks they have erred on the side of purism. The annotations, which accompany nearly every verse, are the expression of independent judgment and scholarship, but are free in a remarkable degree from mere personal bias. The commentary is a successful attempt to give a brief, exact, and continuous exposition of the books of the New Testament, without moralizing, and unencumbered by large masses of irrelevant material. The plan suggests a working commentary — blank pages are left for the reader or student — and the notes of the author stimulate thought and study. It is a pleasure to follow the pages of a commentary written for a single and consistent purpose, careful in scholarship, and showing the exegetical instinct.

Wm. J. Tucker.

Digitized by Google

History of the Christian Church. By Philip Schaff. Vol. IV. Mediaeval Christianity. From Gregory I. to Gregory VII. A. D. 590–1073. Pp. xiii., 799. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885. This is a continuation of the work of which three volumes have recently appeared in a new and (for the earlier portion) carefully revised edition. It is a gratifying indication that Dr. Schaff has resumed, at least in part, his original purpose to write a history of the Christian Church "down to the present time." May strength be given him to realize this early hope. The present volume covers a period long in time, but inferior in variety and power to the Christian centuries before and after. The chief interest centres in the missionary operations by which a large portion of Europe was won to Christianity and the conditions were formed for a new development of its resources and powers. Dr. Schaff's review of this period is everywhere helpful and stimulating, and the next volume, which will deal with mediæval institutions and conceptions in their palmiest days, and which is announced as in an advanced state of preparation, will be cordially welcomed. — *The Student's Ecclesiastical History.* Part II. The History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages; with a Summary of the Reformation. Centuries XI. to XVI. By Philip Smith, B. A. With Illustrations. Post 8vo., pp. xliv., 699. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1885. Those who have used Mr. Smith's preceding volume, covering the history of the church during the first ten centuries, will be glad to avail themselves of this continuation of the work. It is an excellent manual, condensed without dryness, clear and accurate, and reasonably complete. We regret that no provision appears to be made for a third volume embracing the modern period. A slight sketch is given of the Reformation. There is special need of a manual of church history for the period since the Peace of Westphalia. — *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende,* von Dr. Joh. Hein. Kurtz. Neunte Auflage in durchgängig erneuter Bearbeitung. 2 Bde., pp. viii., 337, vii., 344; xii., 341, viii., 323. Leipzig: August Neumann's Verlag. 1885. The indefatigable author of what was before the most complete and popular of the German text-books in Church History gives us in this ninth edition a thorough revision of his work, although the eighth edition was only completed in 1881 and received important changes. The translation published in Philadelphia in 1878 made but a partial use of the improvements of the seventh German edition, which appeared in 1874. We trust that the publishers of the translation will now reissue it conformed to the author's latest corrections and additions.

Egbert C. Smyth.

The Women of the Reformation. By Mrs. Annie Wittenmeyer, author of "Women's Work for Jesus," "A Jeweled Ministry," "History of the Woman's Temperance Crusade," etc. With an Introduction by Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1885. $2.00. A very amusing book. The portraiture of character has the broad freedom of a tavern sign. The exercise of those troublesome qualities of historical accuracy and discrimination of personal traits is rendered superfluous by the simple process of painting everything Protestant shining white and everything Catholic the deepest black, so that even a clodhopper would know at once where to look for the saint and where for the devil. The author (an occasional passage apart) improves on St. Paul's definition of charity, for she thinks no evil of her own side and nothing but evil of the other. Her comprehensiveness is admirable. One of her Women of the Reformation died in 1746. And among them we shudder to find Anne Boleyn, that light-minded, doubtfully chaste woman, a second Herodias's daughter, who danced off the head of the *longe optimus Anglorum,* for which her own was a very poor compensation. The "Catholic World" offers to take her off our hands, and I am sure we ought to accept the overture without a moment's delay. And Anne's great, wanton, worldly daughter has about as much of right among the Women of the Reformation as her precious father among its Men. Both had stout English hearts, that would suffer no Italian priest to "take tithe or toll in their dominions," and their Protestantism began and ended

Digitized by Google

there. We bless God for both, but we bless neither. It witnesses well to the greatness of Jeanne D'Albret that even under such treatment her portrait stands out, living and strong, from the canvas. — *Old Testament Characters.* By Cunningham Geikie, D. D., author of "The Life and Words of Christ," "Hours with the Bible," etc., etc. With seventy-one Illustrations, Chronological Tables, and an Index. New York: James Pott & Co., Astor Place. 1885. This book needs no commendation but the author's name. Straightforward, simple, strong, life-like, devout, and penetrating, the reading of it is equally pleasant and profitable. — *The Four Gospels:* Translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf, with the various readings of Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Meyer, Alford, and others; and with Critical and Explanatory Notes. By Nathaniel S. Folsom, D. D., Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the Meadville Theological School, 1849–61. Third Edition. Boston: Cupples, Upham, & Co. 1885. This edition, the author says, is very much the same as the second. The title-page shows how large the apparatus is. The translation, of course, is only into English words; it is not meant to be into the English language, as may be seen by comparing this with the Revision. And yet the Revision, though not thus *legibus soluta*, shows a plasticity in reproducing the original which, of course, no individual pretends to equal, with whatever license of idiom. The aorist is about equally in both cases a stone of stumbling, and most of the author's not unfrequent renderings of it by the pluperfect seem to leave it more than flat, almost senseless. Nor can I see what effect his attempts to reproduce the conditional forms would be likely to have on an English reader except to confound him. But with these reservations, the translation is well suited for its intended end. The notes and prefaces are reverent, thoroughly Christian in tone, thoroughly "denominational," and therefore, in the form of thought, marked with that feeble inconsequence which so often makes us wonder why men of this school are not more, or less. The author, however, declares to the members of his communion that he is not ashamed to call Jesus Teacher and Master. In our communion to make such a confession costs no courage, but sometimes, perhaps, it may cost as much to make it good.

Charles C. Starbuck.

Assyriology: Its Use and Abuse in Old Testament Study. By Francis Brown, Associate Professor of Biblical Philology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. 12mo, pp. 96. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885. Professor Brown here speaks golden words. The students of Union Seminary who heard them with the opening year must have been greatly stimulated by them. Clear, strong, pictorial, versatile, they give that new setting to the Hebrew Life and Letters which their author justly ascribes to the science in which he is an expert. We specially commend his treatment of the fulfillment of the predictions concerning Babylon. "Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth," means to him something other and better than a mechanical literalism. It is a deliverance for God's people, and an onward step in the kingdom of God. The idols shall be impotent to protect Israel's oppressors. Cyrus's words in the cuneiform, "the ancient royal family of which Bel and Nebo had sustained the rule . . . faded away when I entered victoriously into Tintir," describe a real, a specific, an essential accomplishment of this great prophecy.

John Phelps Taylor.

Digitized by Google

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Hoyt, Fogg, and Donham, Portland, Me. Nature in Scripture. A Study of Bible Verification in the Range of Common Experience. By E. C. Cummings. Pp. vii., 348. 1885.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. The Riverside Parallel Bible. The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated out of the Original Tongues: Being the Version set forth A. D. 1611, commonly called King James's Version; Arranged in Parallel Columns with the Revised Versions of 1881 and 1885. Pp. xv., 1304; x., 408.

N. J. Bartlett & Co., Boston. Studies in the Book of Jonah. A Defence and an Exposition. By R. A. Redford, M. A., LL. B., Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics, New College, London, author of "The Christian's Plea against Modern Unbelief;" "Prophecy, its Nature and Evidence," etc. Pp. viii., 295. Hodder and Stoughton, Paternoster Row, London. 1883.

Methodist Book Concern, Phillips & Hunt, Agents, New York. The After-School Series. College Latin Course in English. By William Cleaver Wilkinson. Pp. 327. 1885. $1.00; — Outline Study of Political Economy. By George M. Steele, LL. D., Principal of the Wesleyan Academy, Wilbraham, Mass. Pp. xvi., 195. 1885. 60 cents; — Pomegranates from an English Garden: A Selection from the Poems of Robert Browning. With Introduction and Notes. By John Monro Gibson. Pp. viii., 137. 1885. 50 cents.

The American Sabbath Tract Society, Alfred Centre, New York. Biblical Teachings concerning the Sabbath and the Sunday. By A. H. Lewis, D. D., author of "Sabbath and Sunday; Argument and History," and Editor of "The Outlook" and "Sabbath Quarterly." To which is added an important chapter on "The Origin of the Week." Pp. 159. 1884. Paper, 30 cents; muslin, 60 cents.

Pamphlets. The Industrial Question in the United States. An Address delivered before the Alumni Association of the University of the State of Missouri, June 3, 1885. By Hon. S. B. Elkins of New York. Pp. 36. — "Christian Science" or Metaphysical Healing. By Rev. Stacy Fowler. Reprinted from "Homiletic Review" for August, 1885. Pp. 8. — The Need and the Value of Christian Schools in the Present Exigency of the New West. A Discourse delivered in The Old South Church, Boston, Mass., Sunday Morning, May 24, 1885. By Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D. D., of the Union Park Congregational Church, Chicago, Ill. Pp. 24. Jameson & Morse, Printers, Chicago. — *Lawrence S. Benson, New York.* Creation. Man's Fall explained in the Light of Modern Science. Pp. 15. 1885. 15 cents. — *Brown & Gross, Hartford, Conn.* Nervousness, Heredity, School Pressure and Worry. Annual Address of the President of the Connecticut State Medical Society, B. N. Comings, M. D., of New Britain. From the Proceedings Connecticut Medical Society, 1881. Pp. 19. — *John Wilson & Son, University Press, Cambridge.* Memoir of the Life of the Rt. Rev. William Meade, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Virginia. By Philip Slaughter, D. D., Historiographer of the Diocese. Pp. 55. 1881; — Archæological Institute of America. Sixth Annual Report, 1884–1885. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Council of the Institute, Boston, May 9, 1885. Pp. 48. — *Parker Pillsbury, Concord, N. H.* The American Churches the Bulwarks of American Slavery. By James G. Birney. Third American Edition, revised by the author. Pp. 48. 1885. — *Theodor Stauffer, Leipzig.* The Prophecy of Joel: Its Unity, its Aim, and the Age of its Composition. By William L. Pearson, A. M., Ph. D. Pp. x., 154. 1885. — *New Church Union Press, Boston.* The Child's Life and Regen-

Digitized by Google

eration: an Essay read before the Massachusetts Association of the New Jerusalem Church, April 2, 1881. By John S. Prince. Published by order of the Association. Pp. 19. 1885.

Music. Perry & Noble, New Bedford, Mass. Gone, Brave One, Gone. A Memorial Tribute to General U. S. Grant. Song and Chorus by Walter A. Perry, Author of "Where have the Old Folks Gone," etc. 1885.

Digitized by Google

THE

ANDOVER REVIEW:

A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

VOL. IV. — OCTOBER, 1885. — No. XXII.

THE "THÉODICÉE" OF LEIBNITZ.

I.

THE "Théodicée" of Leibnitz consists of a number of essays bearing upon the same general subject, the vindication of God in view of the evil in the world. The work was published in the year 1710. It was written at the request of the queen of Prussia, Sophie Charlotte, who had been the pupil of Leibnitz, and with whom he had frequently conversed concerning the philosophical and theological doubts expressed by Bayle in his famous "Dictionnaire Historique et Critique." The queen desired Leibnitz to reply to these objections and to reconcile the conflict between religion and reason, and the "Théodicée" was accordingly written. The several writings comprised under this general title are: First, the *Préface*, in the course of which Leibnitz calls attention to the principal points under discussion, and states the occasion of his writing upon this subject. Next follows the preliminary essay, — directed against the doctrine of Bayle that the teachings of faith were incompatible with those of reason, — entitled, *Discours de la Conformité de la Foi avec la Raison.* Following the "Discours" are the writings which constitute the main body of the treatise, the *Essais sur la Bonté de Dieu, la Liberté de l'Homme et l'Origine du Mal.* These are divided into three parts. The first contains a statement of the views of Leibnitz upon the whole subject under discussion. The second and third parts consist of a further exposition of these views, mainly in the form of replies to the objections of the skeptic Bayle against the application of reason to the truths of revealed religion.

There is appended an abridgment of the controversy, in which the arguments and counter-arguments are reduced to syllogistic form. Then follow two critical essays, the first upon the work of

Copyright, 1885, by HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co.

Digitized by Google

Hobbes on "Freedom, Necessity, and Chance," the second upon Archbishop King's book on "The Origin of Evil." Last is a résumé of the whole treatise, bearing the title: *Causa Dei asserta per justitiam ejus cum cæteris ejus perfectionibus cunctisque actionibus conciliatam.*

Two principles, mainly, control the reasonings of Leibnitz in these essays. These are the Law of Contradiction, more strictly of Non-Contradiction, and the Law of Sufficient or Determinant Reason, — by Leibnitz himself first enunciated as a primary principle or law of thought. "In demonstration," he says, in the tract "De Scientia Universali," "I use two principles, one of which is: Whatever implies contradiction is false; the other: A reason may be rendered for every truth which is not immediate, or an identical proposition." The latter principle is brought into especial prominence in the "Théodicée" itself, where it is identified with the *principium melioris;* the former appears conspicuously in the preliminary arguments by which faith and reason are shown not to be in necessary conflict.

The "Théodicée" is properly a reply to the skeptical objections of Bayle against the possibility of a rational interpretation of the universe when considered as the object of divine creation and control. Those objections are substantially the following: —

The world as proceeding from God must be the best possible. But the world as we know it contains evil — both physical and moral. God cannot be the author of evil. Again: In creation all is predetermined; but action to be moral must be free. If all human action is predetermined by God in creation the distinction of good and evil therein is effaced, and if the distinction is allowed to exist at all it must be in the predetermining activity of God himself. God, then, must be the author of evil. But to hold that God wills the evil is to deny the divine holiness. Did God then find himself under the necessity of bringing into existence the evil which He did not choose? To think so would be to subject the Infinite Will to a foreign power, or to blind necessity. But granting that God did not himself create the evil that is in the world, did He allow it to exist? If He allowed its existence because He could not prevent it, that would imply restriction upon his power. If He permitted although He might have prevented it, that would seem to impugn his goodness.

Sin and suffering present themselves as facts in a world of God's creation. When we reason upon these facts in the light of our necessary ideas of the Divine Being we are immediately in-

Digitized by Google

volved in insuperable difficulties. From this "nest of contradictions" Bayle could see but one way of escape. It was by denying the competency of reason to the task it had undertaken. These are problems which lie outside its sphere. To attempt the solution of them is, therefore, to fall into inevitable confusion. But the satisfaction which reason cannot give revelation may impart. The defeat of reason is the triumph of faith. Unquestioning acceptance of the inscrutable will of God is the lesson we are to learn. A theodicy is impossible. Mental repose is found in faith alone.

But faith is, implicitly, optimism, and what lies wrapped up in the folds of feeling, reason may render explicit in the form of doctrine. The natural optimism of the human heart which instinctively wills the best and believes it to be supreme, the optimism which theism contains by necessary implication, and which the Christian revelation presents to the faith of mankind as having its actual realization in the kingdom of Redemption, Leibnitz would, accordingly, establish as a philosophical doctrine. He believed that he had found a basis for it in his tenet of "preëstablished harmony" with its related truths. From this point of view we could *know* the truth which otherwise we must be content merely to *believe*. "For if we were able to comprehend the universal harmony we should *see* that what we are disposed to find fault with is bound up with the plan most worthy to be chosen; in a word, we should *see* and not merely believe that what God has done is the best."[1] It is necessary, however, to add the explanation which Leibnitz gives of the sense in which he uses the terms "seeing" and "believing." Seeing is knowledge *a priori*, through the knowledge of the causes of anything. Believing is knowledge *a posteriori*, through the knowledge of effects. Each is a form of knowledge, and the one may be as certain as the other. The words of St. Paul here find application: "We walk by faith, not by sight." For from our knowledge that God is infinite in wisdom we judge that the evils which we experience ought to be permitted, and we judge so *a posteriori*, that is to say, because they exist. In the sense, then, in which Leibnitz uses the terms, seeing differs from believing rather in the point of view from which the case is regarded than in the certainty of the knowledge it affords. It is apparent that in either form of apprehension the ultimate ground of certainty is to be sought in the intuitions of reason.

[1] *Discours de la Conformité de la Foi*, etc., 44.

Digitized by Google

Before entering upon the more characteristic and fundamental arguments in his vindication of God in view of the presence of evil in the universe Leibnitz calls attention to some considerations which may affect, even if they do not solve, the problem. One of these considerations is, that an evil is often the cause of a good which without it never would have existed. Sometimes through their combination two evils bring about a good.

"Et si fata volunt, bina venena juvant."

Sometimes a general by a happy blunder gains a victory. And as to matters of common experience, the pleasures of the senses are often increased by an acid or bitter ingredient. A dark background sets off color, sombre shades enrich it. A discord rightly placed enhances the effect of harmony. We demand of a tragedy that it shall make us weep. If one would have the keenest enjoyment of health he must sometimes be ill. It is often the admixture of a little evil which makes us sensible of the good. But it will be said that the evils of life are great and outnumber the blessings. That is a mistake which arises from our paying more attention to the adverse elements of our experience than to the fortunate. If we were often sick and rarely well we should think health a far greater blessing than we now esteem it. And when we consider the fragility of the human body the wonder is, not that we are sometimes ill, but that we are ever well. We ought to admire the wisdom and goodness of God who has made bodily existence so tolerable. Books are written on the miseries of human life. It were better that the same talent should be employed in setting forth its happiness.

But, however it goes with us here below, there is another life beyond. Ah! there's the rub! Some think there are few that are saved. Well, suppose that we admit that the number of the damned is immeasurably greater than that of the saved; a little astronomy perhaps will help us here. That may all be true for this planet, but not necessarily for the universe. The proportion may be entirely reversed when we take in the City of God in its true extent. One would do well to read that little book, "De Amplitudine Regni Cœlestis," and enlarge his views of things. Look up at the sky on a clear night! What is our earth? It is just one of six satellites of a sun which itself is nothing but one of those shining points we see. Our planet is a mere appendage to an insignificant star. It disappears as a mote in immensity. Those innumerable worlds as large as ours, and many of them much

Digitized by Google

larger, may very well have rational beings for inhabitants, and those inhabitants may all be holy and happy. Let us imagine the kingdom of God in its true greatness, and this little world with all its evils sinks out of sight.

In dealing philosophically with the problem of evil Leibnitz will have us start from our necessary ideas of the being of God and his relation to the world. God is the first principle of existence. "Dieu est la première des choses." Whatever exists in space and time is contingent, because finite. It might be other than what it is. It might even not be at all. The world, which is the sum of contingent existence, does not contain within itself the cause or reason of its own existence. This cause or reason must be sought in a substance which is necessary and eternal, in a substance which being *causa sui* may also be *causa mundi*. But this first cause of the world must be intelligent, because the existing world, being contingent, implies an infinitude of other worlds, equally possible, to which the cause of the world must have had respect in determining this to exist. All possible worlds are present from eternity in the divine understanding. As respects the nature of these possible worlds, each must be conceived as a whole in itself, a whole in which each occurrence is bound indissolubly to every other. Each world is like an ocean, — a disturbance in one part affects every other part. In the actual world, accordingly, the least variation from what actually happens would be the same as the substitution of another world for this one.

There are grades of excellence in these possible worlds. Some are good, others better, one is best. By infinite intelligence each is known and judged. The best is known, and known as best. But so long as a world exists only in the realm of possibility it is merely a thought. From this infinite multitude of thought-worlds one must pass into actual existence. The passage from possibility to actuality is effected by Divine Power. There can be but one real world, for the very notion of a world is that it is the sum of all actuality. The will of God then, which is the origin of existences, can choose but one to exist from the infinity of possible worlds which as essences, or thoughts, the divine intelligence contains. By metaphysical necessity, by the law of contradiction, God is limited in his choice to *one* world. By another kind of necessity, by *moral* necessity, his choice is limited to a *certain* one. Infinite wisdom and goodness oblige Him to choose the *best* of all the possible worlds. To the existence of that best world, moreover, there can be no obstacles in the case of infinite power.

Digitized by Google

Accordingly, we must think that the best of all possible worlds has become actual. Or judging *ab effectu* we may reverse the statement and say, The actual world is the best of all possible worlds. "Ab actu ad potentiam valet consequentia." In the case of God, the reasoning is good: He has done it, therefore it is best; He has brought this world into being, therefore this is the best world which could be. This is the fixed position from which we are to start, and to which we are to return, in dealing with the problem of evil. The actual world and the best world are identical; what is true of the one is true of the other. If imperfection, suffering and sin exist in this world, then they exist in the best of all possible worlds. To imagine a world in which these evils do not exist is indeed possible for us, but it is mere romancing. God, however, is no dreamer. He never seriously contemplated the existence of a world free from evil; for He always had his thought fixed upon the best world. If we take *moral* possibility into account the possible worlds become narrowed down to one, to that one which by the *principium melioris* God is bound to choose, which therefore He, being perfect, did choose. In this view, then, the possible and the actual are identical. The actual is the *only* possible world. To imagine any other is to dream. We cannot reason then that in the best world there would be no sin nor sorrow, and therefore that this world is not the best; but rather that these evils existing here show that in the best of all worlds "it must needs be that offenses come." We must say even that it would have been sin in God himself not to permit sin in his universe. For had not God chosen this world with all its evil He would have chosen an inferior one. But to choose an inferior when a better is possible, or even one merely better than another when the best is possible, is to be deficient either in wisdom or goodness. But that is contradictory to the nature of God. If God, who is infinite in these attributes, should make a choice unworthy of them He would sin. We might think, however, that so far as the divine wisdom and goodness were concerned, God's choice was for the best world, but that being unable to bring it into existence He was obliged to create an inferior one. But to think of God as limited in power is also contradictory to our necessary ideas of the Divine Nature, and therefore that supposition cannot be entertained. God then both can and by moral necessity must make the best world actual, whatever that best world may contain. That world contains sin and other evils. God then would himself commit sin did He not permit it in his universe.

Digitized by Google

But the objection still returns, What can be more contradictory to the idea of God than evil, particularly moral evil? How can it exist in a world of his choice and creation? Moreover, can one be said to permit what he cannot prevent? and, granting He has the power to do so, ought not God to choose to prevent all evil, as being opposed to his nature?

From this desperate dilemma there appears to be no escape except either by denying the reality of evil or by limiting the Divine Nature. Let us, however, trace the course of Leibnitz. The universe may be contemplated from two different points of view. From the one it presents itself as nature, from the other as creation. Viewed as *nature*, everything is subject to the law of efficient causation. Each present state of the universe is the necessary sequence of the whole past, and the entire future lies wrapped up in the present. A mind with the requisite insight might see in each state the whole history of the world. Every monad is a mirror of the universe. All is necessary continuous connection of states and events. But the universe may be viewed also as *creation*. The world-series in this aspect is not merely a sequence but an order. The relation of means and end takes the lead in this point of view. The series is regarded as due not to efficient only but to final cause. The world is a plan. There are, however, not properly two series, but simply two aspects of the same series. From the one point of view we may say that everything is as it is because the whole sum of its natural causes requires it to be what it is. From the other point of view we may say that everything is what it is because the divine plan requires it to be thus and not otherwise. One controlling purpose running through the web of nature determines the pattern which the machinery of nature constructs. Cause and design are in harmony from the first. It is a preëstablished harmony. The whole sum of causes which constitute the world, or, more exactly, the whole system of monads whose inner changes are the history of the universe, have the ultimate ground of their being not in themselves, but in the one supreme monad, the Absolute Being, who is *causa sui*, and whose will is the ground of all existence. The last word, then, in explanation of nature is *Will*. And throughout the successive instants of duration, down to the furthest future, the same absolute will which, at the beginning, chose out of all possible worlds this actual one to exist sustains it in being. For the continued existence of finite being is continued creation. Before, beneath, and beyond all natural causation is the designing,

Digitized by Google

supporting, completing will of God. Final and efficient causes are then in harmony, but primacy belongs to the former. The universe is the expression of purpose, of will, but not of bare, undetermined volition. The will which has found expression in the universe is limited in that expression by two ultimate principles, two forms of necessity, namely, metaphysical and moral necessity. The former fixes the bounds of possibility. Not God himself can make that to exist the existence of which involves a contradiction. The latter prescribes the content of any universe which shall become actual. It shall contain, by virtue of the *principium melioris*, the greatest amount of good with the least amount of evil. Where, by virtue of the first principle — metaphysical necessity — evil must necessarily exist, by virtue of the second such evil shall be at a minimum, and a *minimum* of evil is a form of good. But why must evil enter at all into the universe, which has its origin in a perfect Being?

To answer the question we must consider the nature of evil. Evil belongs by metaphysical necessity to creation itself. In its essence evil is negation, defect. Only the good is the real. God is the sum of reality — *ens realissimum*. In Him is no defect, no limitation, no evil. God cannot impart his own fullness to another being without making him straightway God. If God create, the creature must be finite, less than Deity, therefore imperfect. There may be different grades of created existence according to the amount of positive being imparted, but every creature, because created, must be imperfect. Evil, then, in its essence is privation. This is properly *metaphysical* evil, but *physical* evil, pain, death, etc., and *moral* evil, sin, flow from metaphysical evil. Now the divine activity in creating and continuing in existence finite beings is related only to that which is positive in them. The defects belong wholly to the creatures themselves, and arise out of the necessary limitations to which created existence is subject. To illustrate his view, Leibnitz avails himself of the physical doctrine of the natural inertia of bodies as taught by Kepler and Descartes. Bodies of different weights impelled by the same force move with correspondingly different velocities. Suppose the current of a river is bearing along a number of barges which differ only in respect to the weight of their cargoes. The more heavily laden barges will move more slowly than the rest. It is not, however, the current of the river surely, it is not precisely the weight of the barges which causes the retardation; it is rather that which causes the weight to be greater in

Digitized by Google

denser bodies. The true cause is the *vis inertiæ* native to matter, and which increases with the amount of matter. It is this negative element which accounts for the slower movement of the heavier barges.

To apply the illustration: The divine activity which creates and preserves all that is positive in existences, — all, that is, which gives to them their real being, their perfections, their powers, — this divine activity may be compared to the current of the river. And as the stream is the cause of the movement of the boats but not of their retardation, so God is the cause of the perfections of the nature and actions of creatures, but not of their defects. If, then, it be asked, Where shall we seek the source of evil? the answer is, In the ideal nature of created being as that nature is contained in the eternal truths which are in the intelligence of God independently of his will. God is not the author of his own understanding. There is a region of eternal truths, *région des vérités éternelles*, wherein is found not only the primitive form of good, but also the origin of evil. This realm contains the *ideal* ground, but not properly the *efficient* cause of evil. Properly speaking, evil being in its idea negative has no efficient cause, but rather, as the scholastics were accustomed to say, "Malum causam habet non efficientem sed deficientem."

That the essence of evil is defect is seen in experience. Intellectual error is a species of privation. It is want of observation, or defect of judgment. Moral error is of the same nature. The will tends to good abstractly. It *should* tend toward that good which is in harmony with our whole being and with the supreme perfection which is in God. Pleasures — even the pleasures of the senses — contain an element of perfection. Evil arises through limitation to these or to others to the prejudice of higher good, as of health, virtue, blessedness. The moral defect is the absence of this higher tendency. In general, perfection is positive, it is the reality; evil is negative, it arises from limitation and tends to new limitations. The dictum is as true as it is old: "Bonum ex causa integra, malum ex quolibet defectu."

In explanation of the divine permission of the existence of evil, Leibnitz distinguishes between the *antecedent* and the *consequent* will of God. Will in general he defines as inclination to do anything in view of the good contained in it. Regarded abstractly, such will or volition is called *antecedent*. Its object is some good simply. In this sense it may be said that the divine will tends to all good *per se* — "ad perfectionem simpliciter simplicem." God

Digitized by Google

has a sincere disposition (*inclination sérieuse*) to sanctify and save all men. This disposition would become effect did not some stronger reason prevent it. Full and inevitable effect belongs only to the *consequent* will. This consequent will, final and decisive, results from the combination of all antecedent volitions taken together, both those which tend toward some good, and those which repel some evil. The concurrence of all these particular volitions, whence results the total volition, the volition, that is, which passes into effect, may be compared to the final direction which a moving body takes when acted upon by a number of different forces. The consequent volition is the resultant of all the antecedent volitions. And it may be said that as the resultant movement takes up into itself the several tendencies and satisfies each so far as possible, so in the consequent volition each antecedent has such effect as the whole permits. The whole *compossibility* is represented in it. *Antecedently*, God wills every form of good. *Consequently*, He wills that which, all things considered, is the *best*. As respects evil, God does not will *moral* evil at all, nor in an absolute manner does He will *physical* evil or suffering. He often wills physical evil as punishment for sin, and often, also, as a means to an end, namely, to hinder greater evils, or to secure greater good. Punishment serves for amendment and for example. Evil often serves by contrast to heighten our satisfaction in good, and sometimes it contributes to the greater perfection of those who suffer it. As respects *moral* evil, although it may often be a means of obtaining some good, or of preventing some other evil, this fact does not render it a proper object of divine volition. Sin must neither be admitted nor permitted, except so far as its permission is necessitated by obedience to imperative duty. One may be guilty of sin himself who does not in certain circumstances will to permit the sin of another. The rule, "Non esse facienda mala, ut eveniant bona," which forbids the permission of moral evil in order to obtain a physical good, far from being violated in the divine permission of evil, is here confirmed and its source and meaning made clear. A sovereign may not permit a crime in order to save a state. For the crime is certain, the peril at the best is doubtful; and moreover such conduct, if general, would produce greater evils than it would prevent. But in the case of God creating the universe nothing is doubtful, and nothing can be opposed to the *rule of the best*, a rule which suffers no exception and no relaxation. It is upon this principle that God permits sin. He would fail in duty, in what is due to his wisdom, his goodness,

Digitized by Google

his perfection, if he did not follow the total resultant of all the tendencies to good which exist in Him, and choose the absolutely best world, notwithstanding the moral evil which by the supreme necessity of eternal truths is involved therein.

God wills *antecedently* everything good *per se*. He wills *consequently* the best as the end. He wills the indifferent and the evil, that is, physical evil, as a means to the good. He wills to permit moral evil only because of its inseparable connection with the best universe. Evil is often an indispensable condition of good, and human sin is the necessary presupposition of human redemption.

> "O certe necessarium Adœ peccatum,
> Quod Christi morte deletum est!
> O felix culpa, quæ talem ac tantum
> Meruit habere Redemptorem!"

It is wisdom in God therefore — it is virtue in Him — to permit moral evil. To refuse to do so would be sin in God himself. It would be the greatest sin conceivable. It would involve the sacrifice of the best universe which could exist.

Henry A. P. Torrey.

Burlington, Vt.

(*To be continued.*)

THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY.

The missionary societies organized in Great Britain and in New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were called Propagation Societies, and, in consequence of the similarity in their names, it is not always easy to distinguish any one of them from the others. In 1649 the Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England was established by act of Parliament, and in 1661 was reorganized under a charter from Charles II. On the 16th of June, 1701, a charter was granted by William III. to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This society has always included among its officers the high dignitaries of the English Church, and is strictly an Anglican society. It celebrated its third jubilee in London in 1851. In 1709, on the 25th of May, the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge was chartered under the great seal of Scotland. Its primary object was to carry the gospel to destitute places in

Digitized by Google

the highlands and islands of Scotland, but after a few years it directed its attention to North America. In 1730 Jonathan Belcher, then governor of Massachusetts, and other gentlemen were commissioned to be its correspondents and to select missionaries for New England, and in 1741 a board of correspondents was established in New York. In 1787 the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America was incorporated by the legislature of Massachusetts.

Of the first and oldest of these Propagation Societies, now called the New England Company, in order, as we suppose, to distinguish it from the second, we propose to give some account in this paper, with a brief reference in closing to the fourth.

On the 19th of November, 1644, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an order "that the County Courts should take care that the Indians residing in their several shires should be civilized, and that they should have power to take order from time to time to have them instructed in the knowledge and worship of God." A year later, October 1, 1645, the elders were informed of the readiness of the Court to pass any enactments which "should be thought meet to bring the natives to the knowledge of God and his ways," and were invited to "return their thoughts about it." On the 4th of November, 1646, the Court "ordered and decreed that two ministers should be chosen by the Elders of the churches every year, at the Court of Election, and so to be sent, with the consent of their churches, with whomsoever would freely offer themselves to accompany them in that service, to make known the heavenly counsel of God among the Indians in most familiar manner, by the help of some able interpreter, . . . and that something might be allowed them by the General Court to give away freely to those Indians whom they should perceive most willing and ready to be instructed by them."

"The General Court of Massachusetts," says Palfrey, "was thus the first missionary society in the history of Protestant Christendom." A week before it took the action just recited the Rev. John Eliot made his first essay in preaching to the Indians in their own language. This apostolic man was then forty-two years of age; for fourteen years he had been one of the ministers of the church in Roxbury, and latterly he had been endeavoring to acquire the language of the natives. The simple narrative of his first missionary services, from the pen of the Rev. Thomas Shepard,[1] thus begins: —

[1] Mr. Eliot could not have been the author, as stated in the reprint of this

Digitized by Google

"Upon October 28, 1646, four of us (having sought God) went unto the Indians inhabiting within our bounds, with desire to make known the things of their peace to them. A little before we came to their Wigwams, five or six of the chief of them met us with English salutations, bidding us much welcome; who leading us into the principall Wigwam of Waaubon, we found many more Indians, men, women, children, gathered together from all quarters round about, according to appointment, to meet with us, and learne of us. . . .

"They being all there assembled, we began with prayer, which now was in English, being not so farre acquainted with the Indian language as to expresse our hearts herein before God or them, but wee hope it will bee done ere long. . . .

"When prayer was ended it was a glorious affecting spectacle to see a company of perishing, forlorne outcasts, diligently attending to the blessed word of salvation then delivered; professing they understood all that which was then taught them in their owne tongue; it much affected us that they should smell some things of the Alabaster box broken up in that darke and gloomy habitation of filthinesse and uncleane spirits. For about an houre and a quarter the Sermon continued, wherein one of our company ran thorough all the principall matter of religion, beginning first with a repetition of the ten Commandments, and a briefe explication of them, then showing the curse and dreadfull wrath of God against all those who brake them, or any one of them, or the least title of them, and so applyed it unto the condition of the Indians present, with much sweet affection; and then preached Jesus Christ to them the onely means of recovery from sinne and wrath and eternall death."

Before the end of the year Mr. Eliot held three more services similar to that which has been described, and was much encouraged by the increase in the attendance and the respectful manner in which his instructions were received.

Among others who were deeply interested in these early efforts for the evangelization of the Indians were Mr. Wilson, of Boston, Mr. Allin, of Dedham, Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, and Mr. Dunster, then president of the college. Even before Eliot's first sermon at Nonantum, Thomas Mayhew, in 1644, had commenced

tract, for in the account of the meeting of November 26 it is said: "I could not goe my selfe, but heard from those who went of a third meeting." Governor Winthrop, in his Journal, ascribes the authorship to Mr. Shepard, who, we know, wrote the text which appeared a year later.

Digitized by Google

the self-denying labors among the savages who inhabited Martha's Vineyard, which were to be carried on by succeeding members of the Mayhew family for an hundred and fifty years. The letters of Eliot, Shepard, Mayhew, and others, addressed to friends in England, in which accounts of the work which had been commenced among the aborigines were given, made a profound impression in that country. They were published there, as we shall see, in the form of tracts, and a desire was at once manifested by those who read them to coöperate with their brethren beyond the sea by the contribution of money. Thomas Welde, who had been associated with Eliot in the pastorate at Roxbury, and Hugh Peters, of Salem, were then living in England as the agents of Massachusetts, and had been collecting money to be used in various ways in the colony. The former would naturally feel interested in the work of his late colleague, and he says in one of his statements of account: —

"Some gave for preaching y^e^ Gospell to y^e^ natives, out of which Twenty Pounds per Annum is settled firmly by Indenture for ever for y^t^ use which Mr. Elliott hath had ever since hee sett upon that happie worke and Thirty pounds was sent since by Bill to receive."

Edward Winslow succeeded Welde and Peters in the representation of the colony in England. He sailed from Boston about the middle of December, 1646, and probably took with him, in manuscript, the narrative of Mr. Eliot's preaching services from which we have quoted above. It was printed the following year with the title, "The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New England."[1] In 1648 a letter or report from Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, was published in a tract entitled, "The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel, breaking forth upon the Indians in New England." It contained a dedication to the High Court of Parliament and an earnest introductory address

[1] This was No. II. of the series of tracts known as the Eliot Tracts. For a description of them, see "Sketch of the New England Company," by Mr. Henry William Busk, of Lincoln's Inn, London. No. I., entitled "New England's First Fruits," was issued in London in 1643, and gave an account of the preliminary work which had been done among the Indians, and of the progress of learning in the college at Cambridge. Most of the series have been reprinted separately, and Vol. XXIV. of the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* contains reprints of Nos. II. to VIII. The originals are very scarce. The Lenox Library, New York, has a complete set, and so has the American Antiquarian Society; Mr. Charles Deane, of Cambridge, has nine out of the eleven; $175 has been paid for a copy of No. IX., and $100 for No. XI.

Digitized by Google

"to the Godly and well affected of this Kingdome of England," both signed by twelve of the most eminent ministers, Presbyterians and Independents, living "in and about the city of London." This tract "found such acceptance" in the House of Commons that it "begat a debate," "how the Parliament of England might be serviceable to the Lord Jesus, to help forward such a work begun," and it was referred by order, March 17, 1647,[1] "to the Committee of forraign Plantations, to prepare and bring in an Ordinance for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety in New England." The committee, "with great readiness and chearfulnesse," took the subject into their serious consideration, and presented a report to the House; but matters of much more pressing importance intervened,[2] and no definite action was taken.

But Mr. Winslow would not allow the question to rest, and in the spring of 1649, having received encouraging letters from Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew telling of their work during the preceding year, he issued another tract dedicated "to the Parliament of England and the Councell of State," with the title, "The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England." This accomplished the desired purpose, and on the 27th of July, 1649, an act or ordinance was passed with this title: "A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." This ordinance recited that intelligence had been received that divers heathen natives of New England had, through the blessing of God upon the pious care and pains of some godly English, not only of barbarous become civil, but many of them forsaking their sorceries and other satanical delusions, did then call upon the name of the Lord; and that, for the propagation of the Gospel amongst these poor heathen, universities, schools, and nurseries of literature must be settled, and instruments and materials fit for labor and clothing, with other necessaries, must be provided. The ordinance therefore enacted that there should be a corporation in England consisting of sixteen persons, including a president, a treasurer, and fourteen assistants, to be called "The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England," with power to acquire lands (not

[1] This date, of course, was March 17, 164$\frac{7}{8}$.

[2] Between the reference of the subject to the Committee of Foreign Plantations and the issue of the next tract by Mr. Winslow a revolt of the fleet in the Downs had been put down, insurrections in Kent and in the Eastern Counties had been suppressed, and Charles I. had been brought to the scaffold.

Digitized by Google

exceeding the yearly value of £2000), goods, and money. The corporators were, William Steele, Herbert Pelham, James Shirley, Abraham Babington, Robert Houghton, Richard Hutchinson, George Dun, Robert Thompson, William Mullins, John Hodgson, Edward Parks, Edward Cludd, Richard Lloyd or Floyd, Thomas Ayres, John Stone, Edward Winslow. The president was William Steele, a judge of one of the courts, and the temporary treasurer was "Mr. Richard ffloyde, dwellinge in Cheapside att the signe of the Meremayde, between Milkes street and Wood Streete."[1] The office of the society was at Coopers' Hall, Basinghall Street, which, of course, was swept away in the Great Fire of 1666. The hall erected on its site has been pulled down within the last twenty years.

A general collection for the objects of the corporation was made, by authority, in all the cities, towns, and parishes of England and Wales. The sum of £12,000 was soon raised, and this was invested in landed property at Eriswell, in Suffolk, and a farm at Plumstead, in Kent, as well as several houses in London. The society still holds the Plumstead lands, but the Eriswell estate was sold, in 1869, to the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. Edward Winslow, who had been one of the prime movers in the organization of the society, superintended the collection and investment of the money.

Correspondence was at once opened with the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England, through whom the work of evangelization was to be carried forward. They held a meeting annually, on the first Thursday in September, at Boston, Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth, in rotation. The first official letter from Mr. Steele was received and considered by them at their meeting at Hartford in 1650. The Board at that time consisted of Simon Bradstreet and William Hathorne, of Massachusetts Bay; Thomas Prince and John Browne, of Plymouth; Edward Hopkins and John Haynes, of Connecticut; and Theophilus Eaton and Stephen Goodyear, of New Haven. The treasurership in New England, with the executive management of affairs, was intrusted, at the meeting at New Haven in 1651, to Edward Rawson, Secretary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He was called

[1] This must not be confounded with the famous Mermaid Tavern, in Bread Street, on the opposite side of Cheapside, the favorite resort of Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, and perhaps Shakespeare. Cunningham says that "John Rastell, the brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More, was a printer, living at the sign of The Mermaid in Cheapside," and that "The Pastyme of the People," folio, 1529, was printed there. There was also a Mermaid in Cornhill.

Digitized by Google

"steward and agent," and he held the trust for many years, perhaps until his death in 1693.

We have referred to collections made in England by Mr. Welde and Mr. Peters. These were for various objects, as set forth in the heading to a statement of account rendered by the former: —

"A true acc^{t} of what moneys were p^{d} my self and oth^{rse} Rec^{d} and from whome, for New England towarde a Common Stock, the poore Children, the Colledge, th' advance of Learning, the Library, the poore of New England and the Conversion of the Indians from the tyme of our first landing theere until this pr'sent 10th of the 2nd m^{o} 1647."

Mr. Welde's accounts, which, with his letters relating to them, have been published in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," are apparently full and exact in their statement of receipts and expenditures, and were audited by Nathaniel Duncan, auditor-general for the colony. There was, however, on the part of many who had assisted in these collections, a certain feeling of distrust, which made itself manifest when the claims of the new society were presented. At the request of Mr. Winslow, Mr. Welde wrote "a letter at large," which, it was hoped, would satisfy those whom it might concern that the moneys received had been faithfully and judiciously applied; but it did not answer the purpose anticipated. Mr. Welde then prepared a paper, entitled "Innocency Cleared," "to silence the malitious, to satisfie the Sober and to remove the obstruction of the contribution for propagateing the Gospell to the natives in New England." Had this paper been printed and circulated, it would have convinced the ministers who "used to meet at Sion Colledge," — the denominational house of the period, — and those whom they represented, that at the least there had been no dishonesty in the application of the funds.[1]

The only extracts from the early correspondence of the society we shall permit ourselves to make in this article will bear chiefly upon the difficulties encountered by its friends in raising money,

[1] The amount collected was £1,625. Of this, £800 was expended in the transportation of poor children to New England, and with very inadequate results. Hence, probably, much of the dissatisfaction referred to in the text. Mr. Duncan wrote, after his examination of the accounts in 1647: "So it appeareth that the country in general hath little benefit by all these moneys, and less considering how great trouble the Court hath had about it." See Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. ii., page 335. The accounts were not accepted and allowed by the General Court until October, 1651. Savage remarks that the Court hardly ever failed to be dissatisfied with its agents in England.

Digitized by Google

—difficulties not altogether unlike those which have to be overcome at the present day.

Mr. Steele wrote to the Board of Commissioners March 24, 1649-50: —

"Wheras in all ages it hath been the designe of ungodly men to hinder and oppose the spreding and propagating of the Gospell of the lord Jesus of which wee are truly sensable; In Refference to those discorragements we have mett withal sence wee had soe great trust upon us yet through the blessing of god the business of the Corporation is in a good forwardness."

In their reply to this letter the commissioners said: —

"But the Almighty whom you serve heerin Can easily Remove Impediments and make every mountaine becom a playne, and wee are assured youer eye is towards him who observes to the kindleing of a fier upon his aulter and a Cuppe of water given with sperittuall aymes all the love and labour of his people and in no service [will permit] Intervening difficulties and exersices to pas without a Waight of Recompence."

Mr. Steele wrote, under date of April 17, 1651: —

"Wee are sorry soe much time hath been lost and yet wee hope we have gained by our stay in som Respects for many minnesters in London have promoted the act that were Resolved against it and wee beleeve the like in the Countrey because they are constreined either by light within them or example without them beyond theire late Resolucions but wee conclude it is of God and trust wee shall find a blessing upon our joynt endeavors.

"Tis strang to see what and how many objecttions arise against the work som from the ill management of former Gifts bestowed on the Countrey of New England of which no account hath been given to the doners and som personally Reflecting upon Mr. Wells [Welde] and Mr. Peters som upon our selves the corporation as if we had so much p̄ pound of what is collected or might feast our selves liberally therwith wheras through mercy wee never yet eat or drank of the fruit or charge of it; and neither have had or expect a penney or pennyworth for all the paines wee shall take therin but contrary wise account it a mercy; God giving us an oppertunity to bee exercised in a work wherin his Glory and the salvacion of soe many is soe neerly Conserned as for Mr. Peters and Mr. Wells they have sufficiently satisfyed us with what hath been formerly answared as by the coppy of Mr. Wells letters heere enclosed yet we could desire the Government of the Massachusets or theire speciall Commissioners would give us from

Digitized by Google

thence a word or two what account hath been given by Mr. Wells and what satisfaction theire court Receved by his account thither sent; and send it in such tearmes as wee may publish it to the world if wee see cause this will Conduce much to the furtherance of the work but wee leave it to your discretion."[1]

The commissioners had placed themselves at once in communication with Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew, and as opportunity permitted they employed others, Englishmen and natives, in the capacity of assistants to those missionaries, and in other places. They selected some young men to be fitted for future service at Cambridge as teachers of Indian youth who might be admitted to the college, and they authorized the erection within the college precincts of a small building for the accommodation of native pupils. They made provision for printing catechisms in the Indian language, and for the great work of the translation of the Holy Scriptures. They encouraged some "deserving Indians" by small grants of money. In the eighth year of their administration of the trust their outlay, according to the account then rendered by them, amounted to £520.[2]

In the mean time the society in London was doing all in its power to keep up the interest on that side of the water. Between 1651 and 1660, inclusive, it published six tracts, of the series now known as the Eliot tracts.[3] Of these, No. VI., printed in 1652, was dedicated to "The Supreame Authoritie of this Nation, The Parliament of the Common-Wealth of England," and No. VII., 1653, to "His Excellency the Lord General Cromwel." In a note appended to No. VI. Mr. Steele thus refers to some of the opposition which the corporation had to contend against:—

"The reason wherefore we have published so many testimonialls, and shall insert more, is because too many that come from thence labour to blast the worke, by reporting here that there is no such worke afoote in the Countrey: or if it be it is but for the loaves, and if any be truely converted, 'tis not above five or seaven at most."

The president goes on to say, that any who desire to see the originals of the letters received by the corporation from its agents

[1] Mr. Welde held the living of Gateshead, Durham, from 1649 to 1660. He was ejected in the latter year. Before migrating to New England he had been vicar of Terling, Essex. He died in London, March 23, 166½.

[2] Palfrey's *History*, vol. ii., pp. 332, 333.

[3] Edward Winslow sailed with the expedition to the West Indies under Admiral Penn, December, 1654. He died at sea, May, 1655, between Hispaniola and Jamaica.

Digitized by Google

and friends can do so by repairing to Coopers' Hall on any Saturday, in the forenoon.

In a very beautiful address in No. VII., "To the Christian Reader," the Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, replies thus to the question, why the converts had not been "combined and united into Church-Estate:" —

"Such an one may do well to consider, that the material Temple was many yeers in building, even in the daies of Solomon, who wanted no helps and furtherances thereunto, but was abundantly furnished therewith, and longer in Re-edifying after the Captivity; and therefore no marvel if the building of a Spiritual Temple, an holy Church to Christ, and a Church out of such rubbish as amongst Indians, be not begun and ended on a sudden; It is rather to be wondered at, that in so short a time, the thing is in so much forwardness as it is."

One of the most serious embarrassments to the corporation came from the friction which at an early day developed itself between Mr. Eliot and the commissioners in New England. The former complained to the society at home that he was not sufficiently considered by the latter, and that the remuneration allowed to him by them was insufficient. On the other hand, the commissioners alleged that Mr. Eliot had not been properly regardful of their rights and responsibilities. The sympathies of the Christian public in England were, very naturally, with Mr. Eliot, and the misunderstanding cost the society several thousand pounds. The president wrote a conciliatory letter to the commissioners on the 18th of February, 165$\frac{3}{4}$, in which he said: —

"These things wee thought good to acquaint you withall and doe Intreat that Mr. Elliott Mr. Mayhew and such other eminent Instruments and labourers as are Imployed therin may have greater Incorragement from you; according to what the lord shall send in from time to time; wee are farr from Justifying Mr. Elliott in his Turbulent and clamorus proceedings but the best of gods servants have theire faylings; and as such soe we look upon him."

There would seem to be no doubt that the commissioners were rather severe in their ideas of economy, the result in part, perhaps, of their sense of responsibility to the company in London. The president wrote to them, under date of September 15, 1655: —

"Wee can not but acquaint you with that generall complaint and report which is heer and that not the least by some that come

Digitized by Google

from New England that the minnesters and Scoolmasters whoe labour in this worke amongst the Indians are very much discorraged for want of a competent maintainance for themselves and families by meanes wherof we lye under severall Imputations and the worke in our hands is much obstructed and retarded wee therfore desire for avoiding the same that you would please to settle such salaries upon them as may comfortably answare theire paines and travell in the worke."

But we must hasten to speak of troubles much more serious than any which had yet beset the society. In the autumn of 1658 the great Protector died, and a year and a half later the Stuart Restoration took place. This change affected all the interests of religion equally with those of the state. For a time everything was in confusion. Among those who suffered death on Tower Hill were Hugh Peters and Henry Vane, of whom one had been an honored pastor in Massachusetts, and the other, for a single year, governor of the colony. Many of the friends of New England fled for their lives. The corporation which had undertaken the work of evangelizing the Indians, as a creation of the Long Parliament, had ceased to exist,[1] and even its invested property was in danger. It is remarkable that under all the circumstances it should have proved possible to obtain a royal charter and to reorganize the society under it. It was made possible, we think, by the sagacity, and especially by the promptness, of those who had the work at heart. They took the king when he was anxious to please all parties, and when it answered his purpose to be conciliatory to the moderate Presbyterians. He was then not only promising liberty of conscience to his subjects, but professing a desire for a compromise between the contending sects. "He wished," he said, "to see the spiritual jurisdiction divided between bishops and synods. The liturgy should be revised by a body of learned divines, one half of whom should be Presbyterians."[2]

[1] John Hooper, clerk of the corporation, wrote to the commissioners May 18, 1661: "Wee suppose you are not strangers to the condition of affaires; and particularly with respect to our selves being now noe Corporation; though not without good hopes that the same wilbee renewed and confeirmed by His Majestie though posibly the busines may bee acted by other persons."

[2] Many members of the Presbyterian party were influential at court at this time. Among them may be mentioned the Earl of Manchester, the Earl of Anglesea, the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Sandwich, Lord Saye and Sele, and Ashley Cooper, Lord Shaftesbury. The Thompsons, who had been active in the old society, and who were to be prominent in the new company, were related to the Earl of Anglesea.

Digitized by Google

Six months had not passed after the landing of Charles at Dover, when, at a meeting of the Privy Council November 14, 1660, "a petition of divers for Propagating the Gospel in America" was referred to the attorney general in order that he might prepare a draft for renewing the charter of the corporation. A report was made by him to the Council on the 10th of April, 1661; the names of the corporators were decided upon on the 17th of May; and on the 7th of August letters-patent under the great seal were authorized and required, constituting Robert Boyle governor of the society. The charter was not perfected and issued until the 7th of February, 166½. On St. Bartholomew's Day of the same year, 1662,[1] about one fifth of the English clergy were driven from their parishes under the Act of Uniformity.

The corporate name of the new society was "The Company for Propagacion of the Gospell in New England, and the parts adjacent in America." There were forty-five corporators, including both Episcopalians and Nonconformists, and at the head of the list were several high officers of state: the Earl of Clarendon, lord chancellor; the Earl of Southampton, lord high treasurer; George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, lord general; the Earl of Manchester, lord chamberlain; and others.[2] Nine members of the former society were named in the new charter, and the other corporators were prominent citizens of London, some of them merchants and physicians; it is noticeable that among the whole number there was not a clergyman of any denomination.

The royal charter had been obtained mainly by the exertions of the Hon. Robert Boyle, a man greatly distinguished for learning, piety, and benevolence. He was, as we have seen, designated first governor by the Privy Council, and he presided over the affairs of the company for nearly thirty years, and until his death. Henry Ashurst, who had been treasurer of the late reputed corporation, was the first treasurer. His son, Sir William Ashurst, was elected governor in 1696.

Eliot's translation of the New Testament into the Mohican

[1] Judge Sewall notes in his diary, that on the anniversary of this day, twenty-five years later, the Declaration of Indulgence of James II., suspending all penal laws against Nonconformists, and dispensing with religious tests, was promulgated in Boston: "Aug^{t} 24. 1687. Bartholomew-Day. Indulgence for Liberty of Conscience published here."

[2] At the meeting of the Council at Whitehall on the 17th of May, the Earls of Clarendon, Southampton, Manchester, and Anglesea, the Duke of Albemarle, the Lord Viscount Saye and Sele, and others were constituted "a Committee touching the settlement of the Government of New England."

Digitized by Google

dialect of the Indian language was published in Boston September 5, 1661, and its appearance soon after in London was opportune. It was dedicated to Charles II. by the commissioners, with the same exaggeration, not to say fulsomeness, of compliment which characterizes the dedication of the Authorized Version to James I. Presentation copies were sent over for the king, the lord chancellor, Dr. Reynolds, who afterwards conformed and received a bishopric, Dr. Caryl, Mr. Baxter, and others.

There were no changes in the management of the general work in New England corresponding to those which had been taking place at home. Mr. Boyle wrote to the commissioners that the new corporation desired to avail itself of their continued agency, and as soon as practicable remittances were resumed. The publication of the Indian Bible was completed in 1663. The font of type used had been sent from London by the society, and Marmaduke Johnson, who was associated with Samuel Green in the work of printing, had come over under an agreement made in the spring of 1660, a few weeks before the Restoration, "to serve the President and Society and their Successors in New England aforesaid in the Art of a Printer for the printinge of the Bible in the Indian language and such other Books as he shall be directed to print for and duringe the terme of Three years to be accompted from the time of his departure from Gravesend." In 1685 Eliot brought out his second edition of the Bible; in its preparation he had been assisted by the Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth, who was well acquainted with the Indian language. It was dedicated to the Hon. Robert Boyle, in an address signed by William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, Peter Bulkley, and Thomas Hinckley. In both the first and second editions, the Psalms in Indian metre — translated by Eliot from the Bay Psalm Book — and a short Indian catechism followed the New Testament. In 1686 Eliot's translation of "The Practice of Piety," by Bishop Bayly,[1] was printed. The original work had a remarkable popularity for more than a century and a half. It was translated also into French, German, Welsh, Hungarian, and Polish; and in 1792 the seventy-first English edition appeared.

[1] Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, and a chaplain to James I., died in 1632. Three, at least, of the early editions of *The Practice of Piety* were dedicated to Charles, Prince of Wales. In the Congregational Library, Boston, there is a reprint by Bartholomew Green, 1718, of the fifty-third English edition. The library of Harvard College contains a copy of the seventy-first edition. The Prince Library has a copy in English without title-page, and a copy of the Indian translation.

Digitized by Google

Our object in the present paper is to give a sketch of the society rather than a history of its work. We may say, however, that in the prosecution of this work it had very much to discourage it. Perhaps there never were more unpromising subjects of evangelistic labor than these "poor Naked sonnes of Adam," as Mr. Boyle called them in one of his letters. But Eliot, Mayhew, and their consecrated coadjutors pressed forward in sublime faith and in a spirit of Christlike love and devotion. Writing of the "poor soules" whom they were seeking to save, the commissioners reported at their meeting at Hartford in 1664: —

"Amongst whom we have Reason to hope the Lord hath some of those his other sheep that shall certainly in his good time hear his voyce and receive the unction of his holy speritt; for the time manor and measure of the communication wherof wee may not limett the holy one of Israell, but ought patiently and believeingly to hope and waite on him whoe will not suffer any of his elect to be lost; wee must acknowlidge it is att present with these poor Natives a day of smale thinges; and the Divell that old Dragon struggles hard being very unwillinge to quite his Raigne that hee hath had soe longe time over them."

Trials of another sort followed at a later period. A storm cloud had long been threatening the people of Massachusetts, and at length it burst upon them. The charter was abrogated; and, to quote Palfrey, "Massachusetts, as a body politic, was now no more. The elaborate fabric, that had been fifty-four years in building, was levelled with the dust." Edward Randolph arrived in Boston on the 14th of May, 1686, with an exemplification of the judgment against the charter, and commissions for the functionaries of a new government. In the midst of the depression that followed, Eliot wrote the following short letter to Mr. Boyle: —

"Roxbury August 29 1686
in the third month of our overthrow

"Right honourable unweariable nursing father

"I have nothing new to write but lamentations, and I am loth to grieve your loving and noble soul.

"Our Indian work yet liveth, praised be God; the bible is come forth, many hundreds bound up, and dispersed to the Indians, whose thankfulness I intimate and testify to your honour. The Practice of Piety is also finished, and beginneth to be bound up. And my humble request to your honour is, that we may again reimpose the primer and catechism; for though the last impression be not quite spent, yet quickly they will; and I am old,

Digitized by Google

ready to be gone, and desire to leave as many books as I can. I know not what to add in this distressing day of our overthrow; so I commit your honour to the Lord, and rest

Your honour's to serve you
In Jesus Christ
JOHN ELIOT."[1]

Sir Edmund Andros arrived in Boston in December of the same year. The confederacy was now dissolved. The commissioners had met for the last time in 1684, and it became necessary for the Propagation Society in London to appoint and commission representatives of its own to carry forward the work here.[2] We have been unable to find a list of the first appointees, but we have reason to think that William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, and Dr. Increase Mather were among them, and that Sir Edmund Andros was a member of the board during the period of his administration. In Sewall's "Diary" we have this entry, under date of October 14, 1699: —

"I meet with the Governour [Lord Bellomont], L^t Gov^r [Mr. Stoughton] M^r I. Mather &c, about the Indian Affair, which is the first time The Lord make me faithfull and useful in it. Gov^r Ashurst's Letter was read wherein M^r Cotton Mather, M^r Neh. Walter, S. Sewall, Jn^o Foster, M^r Peter Sergeant, and M^r Thomas Bañistor were added."

Mr. Walter was the successor at Roxbury of Mr. Eliot, who died in 1690. Judge Sewall, who was a good friend to the Indian race, gave much time and thought to the society during the next thirty years, as his "Diary" and letters show. We have a record of three official visits made by him to Martha's Vineyard; one in 1702, when he was accompanied by his son Samuel; another in 1706, with Sir Edward Bromfield; and a third in 1714, with Colonel Penn Townsend. During this last visit, an arrangement was made for the occupation and cultivation of lands belonging to the society by Indian families severally. Other prominent members of the Board of Commissioners in the eighteenth century were William Dummer, Thomas Hutchinson, and Sir Francis

[1] Several of Mr. Eliot's letters to Mr. Boyle, full of expressions of affectionate respect, are printed in the third volume of the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. One of them begins thus: "Right honourable right charitable and indefatigable nursing father."

[2] They were known as the Board of Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel; and this probably suggested the corporate name of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions instituted in 1810.

Digitized by Google

Bernard, and among the clergy, Benjamin Colman, Edward Wigglesworth, Joseph Sewall, Thomas Foxcroft, Thomas Prince, and Joseph Eckley. The treasurers, who were also members of the Board, were Samuel Sewall, Adam Winthrop, Andrew Oliver, William Phillips, and Isaac Smith. Among the members of the society in London, well known in New England, were Sir Thomas Abney, the Ashursts, the Thompsons, Thomas Hollis, and William Bowdoin.

When the struggle for American independence began, the work of the society in New England was interrupted, and at length discontinued. The commissioners in Boston supposed that the missionaries then under appointment would continue to receive their support as before, but the return of some of their bills from London dishonored opened their eyes to the situation. Unofficially a resolution came to their knowledge, which had been adopted "at a General Court of the New England Company on the 18th of May 1779": —

"Resolved, That the Governour be requested to write to M^r^ Isaac Smith to acquaint him that the Company will not accept any more Bills he shall draw on the Treasurer here, untill the restoration of Peace, Order and Good Government."

In reference to this action the treasurer wrote to London: —

"As this paper was totally unauthenticated, and so entirely opposite, without any assigned reason, to the resolve of the Company on the 10th of November 1775, we suppose it genuine only from the non payment of the Bills."

From this time forward, so far as we can gather from the records and papers here which are in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society,[1] the letters of the commissioners were not answered. On the 4th of August, 1784, the secretary of the company, Mr. Lane, wrote to Boston, asking certain questions, but he made no reference to letters written by the

[1] These valuable documents form a part of the Stearns MSS. Among them is the original deed by which Thomas, Earl of Limerick, conveyed to the company, May 10, 1711, "the Lordship and Mannor of Martin's Vineyard, with the appurtenances, formerly in the Province of New York, now in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and all that island and tract of land called Martin's Vineyard als Martha's Vineyard." See Sewall's *Diary*, vol. ii., pp. 434, 437; vol. iii., p. 334. Lord Limerick, then Colonel Dongan, had bought the same property, May 12, 1685, of Matthew Mayhew and Mary his wife. He was at this time governor of the province of New York. The islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard were conveyed in 1641 by the agent of the Earl of Stirling to Thomas Mayhew and his son Thomas, — grandfather and father of Matthew Mayhew.

Digitized by Google

commissioners January 18, 1781, and September 30, 1783. His letter was answered December 7, 1784, and after this we find no correspondence until April 12, 1787, when the following was sent to London: —

"The Commissioners have been inform'd, tho not officially, that the Society have determined to appoint a new board of Commissioners at Nova Scotia and to appropriate the Funds that have been employ'd in New England to that Province. How far they can be justified in making such an alteration, they do not take upon them to determine, but supposing they could legally do this, should they not have informed the Commissioners here of their determination and have directed them to dismiss the missionaries If they could do it consistant with the conditions on which they were originally settled, or to make them some reasonable allowance for so great a disappointment and then close the account of their commissioners."

The amount due to the missionaries was about twelve hundred pounds sterling. Whether this was ever remitted from London we have been unable to ascertain.[1] In a "Sketch of the Company," Mr. Henry W. Busk, the senior member, says: —

"In 1786, therefore, the work was begun in New Brunswick, and carried on in the same way as before by itinerant missionaries and teachers (under Commissioners), until 1804, when the Commissioners resigned, owing to the ill success of their endeavours. After much inquiry, the Company in 1808 appointed General Coffin and five others to be their Commissioners in New Brunswick, and they devised a plan of apprenticing children of Indians in various families in Sussex Vale, New Brunswick, with an annual allowance of ten to twenty pounds each. But after fourteen years trial, the scheme was found to have been greatly abused, and was therefore abandoned gradually, as was found possible."

Since 1822 the business of the company has been managed directly by the members in London, and its operations have been carried on upon the Reserve of the Six Nations, and at other points in the Province of Ontario, and in British Columbia. Its most satisfactory work at the present time is thought to be at the Industrial School for Indian children near Brantford.

[1] Since the above was written, Mr. Busk has sent us information from London, that on the 14th of June, 1786, the company voted to pay to three missionaries, who had applied for payment, "and afterwards, to others of their then late missionaries in New England, and to their then late treasurer, and for taxes and incidental charges and for the salary of their then late treasurer in New England, sums amounting together to £1448. 6. 1."

Digitized by Google

Even before the achievement of the political independence of the American colonies, which was to be followed by their independence in other relations, the churches in and near Boston had proposed, and if they had been permitted would have brought into existence, a missionary society of their own. The Rev. Peter Thacher, minister of Brattle Street Church, in a "Brief Account," published in 1798, says: —

"In the year 1762, a number of gentlemen associated with the design of establishing a society similar to that of which we are now about to give an account. They collected a large fund, and obtained a charter of incorporation from the government here, and began warmly and zealously to prosecute their pious and benevolent object. But, when the act of their incorporation was sent to England for allowance, the Archbishop of Canterbury, jealous lest this should interfere with the Society established in Great Britain, or perhaps unwilling that persons not well affected to episcopacy should obtain new influence and power by this means, obtained from the king a negative on the incorporating bill. It fell of course, and the zeal of its supporters in a great measure fell with it; for no more was heard concerning it till after the Revolution which made us an independent people.

"In the year 1787, a commission from the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge was received by a number of gentlemen in Boston and its vicinity, to superintend the funds of the Society which were devoted to christianizing the aboriginal natives of America. Ashamed that more solicitude for this object should be discovered by foreigners than by themselves, these gentlemen revived the former plan, and associated for the purpose of forming a society similar to that in Scotland. They petitioned the General Assembly for a charter, which was granted them, with the adequate powers, at the close of the same year, 1787."

This was the fourth society mentioned at the beginning of this article. It at once undertook the support of the Rev. Zachariah Mayhew, on Martha's Vineyard, the Rev. Gideon Hawley, at Marshpee, and the Rev. John Sargent, at Stockbridge, all of whom had been in the employ of the New England Company. It also did home missionary work in religiously destitute neighborhoods in the District of Maine, including the Isles of Shoals. Mr. Thacher acted as its secretary for many years; and among its earlier active members were, of the clergy, Jeremy Belknap, Joseph Eckley, Nathaniel Emmons, Abiel Holmes, and John Lathrop, and

Digitized by Google

of the laymen, Francis Dana, Thomas Dawes, Moses Gill, John Lowell, William Phillips, Samuel Salisbury, and James Sullivan. The object of these founders, to quote Mr. Thacher, was "not to establish modes and forms, nor to propagate any private or party systems"; but "to promote the interests of true religion, and bring men to know and obey the 'truth as it is in Jesus.'"

When the separation in the Congregational body took place early in the present century, the Trinitarians united with members of the Presbyterian Church in forming the American Board, which is soon to hold its seventy-fifth anniversary in Boston, and since then the management of the Propagation Society of 1787 has for the most part been in the hands of the Unitarians.

Enough has been said, we think, in these pages to show that the churches of New England have from the beginning been engaged in missionary efforts, according to their ability and opportunity, in each generation. Eliot and the Mayhews, Brainard and Edwards, were the ancestors, historically, of Mills, Judson, and Hall; and the responsibility of administration borne by Bradstreet and Rawson, by Sewall and Winthrop, descended like the prophet's mantle upon Evarts and Wisner, and Anderson and Stoddard, and has fallen upon shoulders no less worthy to wear it in our own day.

Hamilton Andrews Hill.

Boston, Mass.

COMMERCE, CIVILIZATION, AND CHRISTIANITY IN THEIR RELATIONS TO EACH OTHER.

Has civilization an ethical code? Are the principles of national morality distinct from those of personal morality? Is civilization the elevating and saving of a nation in its separateness, or does it necessitate subjugation and absorption? Is nominal Christianity anything more than a civil polity? Do the scenes of great civil violence originate mainly in nominal Christendom? How do the violent aggressions of nominal and commercial Christianity stand related to the spiritual extension of real Christianity? How is the claim for Christianity, as of divine origin, affected by its slow conquest of other religions?

This group of questions, what an astronomer would call in his heavens a nebula, invites to some study. We prefer to treat them in groups, rather than first to resolve the body into seven,

Digitized by Google

since we have not time or space to handle each separately with dignity.

The Botany Bay system, by which the European states have colonized wild and barbarous lands, must take a primary place in this study of seven questions. Inferior, criminal, and variously corrupt subjects have been conscripted, or enforced less directly, to compose and start these plantations. This general policy is honestly and well stated for England by Hakluyt: —

"If we woulde beholde with the eye of pitie how al our Prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serve their Countrie, which for small roberies are dayly hanged vp in great numbers, even twentie at a clappe, out of one iayle, as was seene at the last assizes at Rochester, wee would hasten and further, every man to his power, the deducting of some Colonies of our superfluous people into those temperate and fertile partes of America, which, being within sixe weekes sayling of England, are yet vnpossessed by any Christians." [1]

The outcome of such a practice is shown in a remark of the colonial John Smith, of Virginia. When driven to the defensive for his administration of the Jamestown colony, he says: "Much they blamed me for not converting the savages, when those they sent us were little better, if not worse."

It was a turn toward better hopes, though in a singular way, when, some years later, "maids of virtuous education, young, handsome, and well recommended" were forwarded, as a consignment to Virginia, to become the wives of the colonists. The personal charges to the future husbands were "from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, or even more," for each, to meet the expenses of importation.[2]

The French policy was unfortunately marked, as well as the English, for the good of the colonies and of the natives. Not many of the male colonists went out as self-moved, willing, and energetic. By certain indirect government processes they were gathered in squads and shipped, mostly bound to service for a limited time after arrival. Many of them were so characterized, as "persons of little conscience and almost no religion," as to call out the remonstrance: "It is important in beginning a new colony to sow good seed." The soldiers sent out were of an indif-

[1] Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages.* Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Philip Sidney.

[2] Bancroft's *United States,* v. i., p. 157. "Lord Rollfe obtained a grant of land in the St. John's River, Florida, to which he transplanted nearly 300 miserable females who were picked up in the purlieus of London."

Digitized by Google

ferent class at home, and after some service in Canada were tempted by bounties to settle in the country. "But if the colony was to grow from within, the new settlers must have wives. . . . Girls for the colony were taken from the hospitals of Paris and of Lyons. . . . Officers as well as men wanted wives; and Talon asked for a consignment of young ladies. . . . In 1667 he writes: 'They send us 84 girls from Dieppe and 25 from Rochelle.'" Many of the women consigned were said to be of doubtful virtue — "a great deal of *canaille* of both sexes." The total number of girls thus consigned between 1665 and 1673, inclusive, was about 1,000.[1]

The first knowledge of New Spain was obtained by Spanish travelers in 1536, and for three centuries that country has been explored, invaded, marauded, civilized and Christianized under Spanish authority. And now, as to the wandering population of that country, "the lapse of three centuries has neither raised nor lowered their position in civilization." As to the settled population, they "were encountered by the Spaniards three and a third centuries ago, in the same localities where they now are found, and with the same manners and customs as to-day." In 1880 we ourselves found families there with domestic life the same as three hundred years ago; and worshiping congregations with the mixed faith and ceremonial of the Spaniard and Montezuma. Both the family and the congregation were in buildings antedating the foundation of St. Augustine. In the area of tilled land, civil enjoyment, morality, and family uprightness, they have gone backward since De Vaca and Coronado and Oñate introduced to them the manners and customs of Europeans.[2]

The religious colonization of California by the Spanish is in the same line of policy. The Franciscans planted missions on the coast between San Francisco and San Diego, covering a belt about 500 miles long and 40 deep. The first was founded in 1769 and the last in 1823 — in all 21. The padres were both spiritual and temporal lords, and they gathered the Indians within the several missions as on reservations, and finally to the number of 18,683. These were both Christian converts and ranch servants, and greatly enriched the double lords. For instance, in 1825 the Mission of San Francisco, a range of large extent, owned 76,000 head of cattle, 79,000 sheep, and 3,000 horses. "Both men and women

[1] Parkman's *The Old Régime in Canada*, chapter xiii.

[2] *A Political Problem: New Mexico and the New Mexicans.* By an Officer of the Army. Pp. 31. 1876.

Digitized by Google

were required to work in the fields every day, except those who were carpenters, blacksmiths, or weavers. None of them were taught to read or write, except a few who were selected to form a choir to sing and play music for each mission. The only instruments were the violin and guitar. They never received any payment for their labor, except food and clothing, and instruction in the Catechism. The single men and women were locked up in separate buildings every night. Both sexes were severely punished with the whip if they did not obey the missionaries, or other white men in authority. . . . Both men and women were flogged or put into the stocks if they refused to believe or to labor."[1]

Naturally, and of necessity, these colonies were regarded by the rude natives as samples of that outside Christendom which was coming in from an unheard-of world and offering them a new religion and new modes of life. It is not necessary to remark on the grave and prolonged misfortune to Christianity in being thus sampled and offered in pagan lands.

It is obvious how nearly impossible it would be for colonies and settlements of such germs, English, French, and Spanish, to deal fairly with the surrounding natives or tribes, and elevate and civilize them.

Then, too, it should be considered, that many who emigrate over the limits of civilization are not those who carry civilization with them. Richer in expectations than possessions, and hanging loosely upon society, and not at all seeking "a faith's pure shrine," they are quite as likely to damage as to benefit the pagan aborigines. Few men were better qualified to speak to this point, concerning North America, than the first governor of the Upper Louisiana, after its cession to the United States. "The Indians are what they were when America was first discovered by the Spaniards, except those who have had any considerable intercourse with the whites, which has invariably tended to debase and corrupt them."[2] And to this agrees the judgment of one of the best of Western historians: "When the tide of emigration sets strong toward the wilderness occupied by the native tribes, a large proportion of the most lawless and worthless part of the population is carried in advance of the older settlements like drift-wood upon a swollen river. Hence it is almost impossible

[1] *The Natural Wealth of California.* By Titus Fye Cronise. Pp. 256. 1868.

[2] *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana.* By Major Amos Stoddard. Pp. 410. Philadelphia, 1812.

Digitized by Google

for the civil authorities to restrain acts of lawless violence in such persons on the extreme confines of civilization." [1]

The relations of European Christianity to the pagan peoples of the Old World offer a very practical as well as painful study. What Spain did in the New World to import and establish the gospel has already been shown by allusions. She is in no higher honor in the Old World for work of this kind, while entitled to noble credit in making her type of Christianity keep pace with, where it did not lead, her commerce and colonization. She carried abroad, in her discoveries, invasions and conquests, the best religion she had at home, and as good as the age offered; and we must not reproach those earlier ages, near to mediæval times, with not being the nineteenth century. The historic fact, however, must go on record, that Christianity, as "a pioneer of the life that now is," made but little improvement on the comforts of the native religions which Spain sought to displace. While her colonial subjects in Asia and Africa number 5,000,000 and more, the little Christian light among them is but a struggling dawn from their pagan night. The failure is from such causes as Brougham assigned for the failure of the Spanish settlements in South America: "Spain could not send over to the New World the far greater treasures of good laws, wise institutions, the inestimable treasures of civil and religious freedom." [2]

Probably few conquests have been more atrocious and brutal than those of the Spanish in their invasions of uncivilized lands from Pizarro and Cortez until now, making the survey backward or forward as one will; and usually the alternative for acceptance was the cross or the sword.

In her colonies, and in countries under her protectorate, France has a population of 9,250,000, the quality and extent of whose Christianity are at once suggested by some of their names: as, Cochin China, India, Senegambia, Gaboon, Tahiti. Of her twenty foreign possessions, seven of them date back to 1679 and earlier years. The evangelizing progress will seem exceedingly slow and imperfect, even for Romanism, till one considers by what hard processes, and most offensive to the natives, France gained supremacy in those pagan and Mohammedan lands. Two cases of invasion and attempted subjugation, now in process, may be taken as mild types of her earlier aggressions, when wars for conquest were more barbaric.

[1] Monette's *His. Mississippi Valley.* Harpers. 1846. Vol. i., p. 369.

[2] Speech in Parliament on the Ashburton Treaty, 1846.

Digitized by Google

In 1882 France matured her longing ambitions, dating from 1642, to bring the government of Madagascar under her protectorate — a mild term for sovereignty. The Hova government protested and resisted; the protest of the civilized world was stronger, and the pagan and undeveloped islanders were for a little time saved from the grasp of a nominally gallant and Christian nation. Only their inferiority made the French attempt possible, and therefore the more dishonorable. For generations the word Christian is doomed to be offensive to those idolaters, while the end of the invasion is not yet. At latest dates farther marauding on Madagascar, and on a broader scale, was in preparation in the French Chambers.

In 1861 France gained position in Cochin China or Anam, in which Tonquin is a large province. The year following, under stress of war, the southern provinces were ceded, by treaty, to France. Of course, there was French aggression, and of course, Anamese resistance, till formal war opened, in 1882, which closed the following year by the treaty of Hué, in which the whole of Anam — a territory much larger than New England — was practically resigned to France. China had claimed to be the ancestral protector of Anam, and indirectly encouraged and aided the Anamese against the French invasion, for which France claimed heavy damages. In 1884 France gained, by dictation, a treaty, by which China yielded all claim over Anam, and specially Tonquin, one of its subdivisions. Before the treaty was ratified and the Chinese troops had withdrawn the French advanced to take possession and were resisted, with the death of twenty-two men. France demanded an indemnity of $50,000,000, an extortionate amount, and without proclamation renewed the war.

A few incidents may be stated to show the position of the parties and the tone of the struggle. When France offered a treaty of her own drawing in the harbor of Hué, and was refused by the king of Cochin China, she bombarded the capital, drove the king from his throne, broke up the legitimate dynasty of Anam, set up a king of her choice, and secured the ratification of her own treaty, under cover of artillery. When the king, as a French protégé and the enemy of his country, died of poison, and revolution followed at Hué, France bombarded it and slaughtered the citizens in simple massacre. The "London Times" states that the battle lasted only seven minutes, when the Chinese fleet ceased to fire and struck; but no surrender was allowed to disabled and sinking ships. For about four hours the French continued the

Digitized by Google

massacre. A French officer, and in the action, gives a painful and most revolting description of the carnage of those four hours. "The beaten Anamites were cooped up in the burning village," and could escape fire only by running the gauntlet of the French guns. "We saw them halting at the end of the village with singed hair and garments." When they rushed off, "it was a fine sight to see streams of bullets sweeping down upon the fugitives, which mowed them down by dozens." On the river "the men amused themselves counting the dead, fifty on the left, eighty on the right." Then they rushed on the wounded on the shore. "Some were crouching in holes, others were feigning death, while others, at the last gasp, were stretching out their hands, pleading for mercy. Our men slaughtered them with bayonets, or brained them with the butt ends of their muskets." The French report a loss of six men!

It is difficult to speak justly and mildly of this French movement in Madagascar and on the continent. From the outset the presence of France, claiming local rights as against the natives and their governments, was an intrusion; and any movement in force was an invasion. The assumption to take lands and offices and cities against the protests of hereditary owners and traditional and acknowledged authorities was national robbery. On the highway of nations imperial France challenged the weaker power to stand and deliver. To plead a treaty right is the plea of a burglar, on a contract signed by his victim under a revolver. She has lapsed a hundred and fifty years into some of the Indian barbarities of the old French War, and by her greed for territory and power and glory, and by her gross injustice and brute force in subjugating the weak and defenseless, she has thrown the moral sympathy of Christendom in favor of the heathen.

Great Britain was two hundred and thirty-one years in gaining her possessions in India, ending her acquisitions there in 1856. The territory gained is seven times the area of Great Britain and Ireland, and has almost six times the population. Over this immense territory and population the British crown has the entire control of legislation, and the administration of law is carried on by public officers under the control of the home government. The revenues of the East India Company in 1850 were $135,000,000 a year. The annexations under Dalhousie, as president of the East India Company, yielded $20,000,000 a year. Under Cornwallis, of pleasant Yorktown memories, the land of 30,000,000 of people, hereditary owners and cultivators, was forcibly and without com-

Digitized by Google

pensation taken from them to constitute a land aristocracy, subservient to the company. They fought the battle of Plassey against the French to establish a rebel and rival as nabob of Bengal over the legitimate ruler, charged $6,000,000, and took the pay in territory. This play between rival princes and warring provinces, taking the side of the weaker, making it victorious and at the same time obligated to the English and dependent on them, was a fruitful policy for two centuries. It was the play which failed in the American colonies. They confiscated all private lands in Bengal, and leased them at the highest rates for the company. After gaining a protectorate over tribal divisions, they sold them, as if owners in fee-simple. They resorted to extortion and even torture to raise large sums of money. The attempted defense of his own provinces cost Tippoo Sahib one half of Mysore and $16,000,000, and afterward his life. The English vested the government of all Mysore in British residents. They compelled heirs-apparent, under a regency, to sign away their rights for annuities, and when male heirs of near kin to the crown died they seized the thrones. The whole English seizure of India is best told by the Records of the House of Lords on the Hastings trial. For seven years the case of Warren Hastings — twelve years governor-general of India — was before that body. The close investigation of his case, as well as of the East India case in general, ran through one hundred and forty-five days. Of course, India, in a trial before an English court when England owned all the interest in contest, lost her case. It will be a century or two yet before Christian missions will cease to feel the repulse from the 200,000,000 of India whose ancestral homes were invaded and despoiled by foreigners whose religion is now offered to them.

A fact closely related should here be added. The English had the monopoly of the production of opium in India and wished for China as a market. China resisted, even up to prohibition and a stringent "Maine law" making it contraband. The English offered a heavy revenue to China if she would legalize the traffic, and a "heathen" emperor replied to the "Christian" merchant: "Nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people." Failing in negotiation, the English defy the law and force their opium over the boundary, when Commissioner Lin seizes and destroys, as contraband, 20,283 chests. The "opium war" follows, pagan China is humbled, and is forced to throw open five ports to British trade and residence, cede the island of Hong Kong unconditionally to the English, pay

Digitized by Google

$12,000,000 for her vain struggle to save her people from the "vice and misery" of the hated traffic, and $6,000,000 to indemnify the English smuggler for the opium destroyed. Did ever success so humiliate a Christian nation before the heathen, or bar a missionary Christianity among pagans? It would be exceedingly painful and depressing to know what per cent. of missionary money now sent to China is narcotized by the pagan memories of 1843. It was lately the wail of a repulsed Christianity, when two hundred and thirty-one missionaries, representing all the missionary boards and societies of Great Britain and the United States operating in China, laid a petition before the British House of Commons for the suppression of the opium trade.

It must not be supposed that this topic is only historic, and unpractical for to-day, because old illustrations have mainly been used. The same usages to-day confront an extending Christianity and missionary work with some of its greatest obstacles. Christian missions in the New Hebrides, beginning in 1848, have lifted up those thousands of nude cannibals to a hopeful civil and religious state; but now a French commercial company organizes to steal the natives for its sugar plantations in New Caledonia, and is proposing to colonize the New Hebrides with 25,000 convicts. In 1877 eminent English merchants gained the sovereignty of vast tracts of territory in the northern section of Borneo, and now a company is chartered with full national powers to fly its own civil flag and have the monopoly of trade in opium, tobacco, salt, and other staples of commerce. Of course we recall at once the East India Company and the Hudson Bay Company, and what they did for the civilization and Christianization of the natives whom they subdued and despoiled. While we are waiting to see whether civilization and the gospel of peace and good will toward men will follow war ships and cavalry and artillery into Egypt and the Basuto Land and the Transvaal and Zululand and Tonquin, our attention is fixed on an international occupation of the Congo Valley and Central Africa generally. The nations are the same which raided America when it was new to Europe. Of course, we remember and still notice the results on the aborigines of the New World, and ask if similar results are to follow in New Africa. Anxieties are deepened by the fact that religious motives do not prevail now as then in planting out colonies. If the Congo Valley and the Soudan are entered for francs and dollars and pounds sterling, Christian missions in the next generation will have the same expensive and

Digitized by Google

disadvantageous and discouraging labors there which they have had in India and Asia Minor and China. A fact, rather more typical than less, furnished by Prescott, hints to us how European and commercial civilization, made ardent by religion, took the natives of the New World in hand; and he who presumes that such policies of violence have ceased on the obscure borders, where a trading and turbid civilization is flowing in on barbarism, would probably change his presumption after reading the border history of the America and Asia and Africa of to-day. When Narvaez was making that savage conquest of Cuba he captured Hatney, a chief, who had fled from the Christian invasion of St. Domingo. "When urged to embrace Christianity that his soul might find admission to heaven, he inquired if the white men would go there. On being answered in the affirmative, he exclaimed: 'Then I will not be a Christian, for I would not go again to a place where I must find men so cruel.'"[1]

This grouping of indicative facts now turns us back to the solving of the nebula of seven questions with which this paper opened. It is primary to consider whether a civilizing nation is properly under a code of morals. Does a nation lie under obligation, in the matter of right and money, as does a small municipality, or family, or individual? If moral obligation decreases as power increases, it is plain that a nation or national government may rise superior to what passes for equity, justice, or rectitude between man and man in civilized life. The principality of Monaco embraces six square miles and has a population of 7,000. France environs it with an area of 202,000 square miles and a population of 36,000,000. Is there any moral code or any system of national ethics which should prevent either from conquering and absorbing the other? Do superior numbers or acres enhance the moral right of France to do it? Is it at all a question of population or of territory, whether this may be done? Does civilization in a superior power expose or protect the inferior? Of course, these questions awaken but one sentiment, and gain but one answer, in our moral nature.

But suppose a barbarous tribe or nation is evidently making but a poor use of the natural and acquired values in its territory, and so is a weak, perhaps worthless, auxiliary among the nations in all this toil and unrest for what we call progress. May it be justly evicted by the strong and progressive neighboring nation, or may some holy alliance, a *posse gentium*, execute a writ of

[1] Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i., p. 221.

Digitized by Google

ejectment? Ethically speaking, does failure to improve forfeit the right to hold? If so, what dividing and confiscating lines will this logic run among farms and water privileges? It is applied, however, only among imbecile and pagan people, afar off, who are assumed not to have rights. However, the highest moral as well as political economy concedes the principle, that when the burden of population demands it for human comfort an Indian family must give up the fifty square miles and the game suppers, in order that half a million of people may live on the meats and grains which these miles may be made to produce. And perhaps, by and by, the noble lord will be expected to yield his square miles and venison for the same reason.

Allowing, as must be, that some unutilized gifts of nature, lying within pagan possessions, should be put into an active place in the industries of the world, the grave problem remains to be solved, how to do it. Property, law, and right among the uncivilized existed before Justinian or Grotius defined them, and they still exist and are recognized where those eminent jurists are unknown. It is the question of civilization and of Christianity how to utilize those gifts of nature, now an unproductive deposit, with all due civil and moral regard to the rights inherited and won by those now in possession. The question will be best answered on the supposition that civilized white men occupy the undeveloped resources. A grist and saw mill engrosses the outlet of Winnipesaukee — owned and controlled not by an Indian tribe, but by a white family. But the birth and life and growth of Lowell depend on a change in the ownership and control of that outlet. May the old mill be attacked with artillery, and shelled out, and the unprogressive owners be subdued and brought to a treaty by Gatling guns? Winnipesaukee's outlet is on all rivers which rise in uncivilized lands and run toward good sites for Christian cities. Does civilization allow violence, and may an inferior people be forced by a superior into a higher grade? The principle of compulsory education is practiced for children, and it is an open question whether the advanced nations may thus put a tardy one to school. They surround and penetrate it with improvements; stimulate its ambitions by suggesting developments; advance funds and guarantee subsidies; envelope it in the meshes of diplomacy; send warships as collectors of interests in arrears; take securities in liens on revenues and lands; and finally suggest insolvency. Then, under the euphemistic and benevolent term of protectorate, the nation or province or tribe disappears in one of

Digitized by Google

these coöperative nations, called "Allies" sometimes. By and by the same thing is done for another of them, and so the balance of power is preserved, and a higher civilization is promoted all round.

Conceding that upward movements should be made among all the barbarous and semi-civilized peoples, are these common processes of force and manœuvre and seizure necessary and justifiable? Two things should be specially noted: The result shows mainly in francs and pounds, and dollars and thalers, gained by the operation; and rarely is the nation thus elevated, *ab extra*, found afterward in its integrity and autonomy. With all this civil and Christian endeavor — the glory of the century — the number of civilized and independent nations does not much increase. Since this century came in — so full of civil and humane and religious growth — France has added eleven to her colonial system of governments, and England has added twenty-four. Yet not one case is recalled where a colonial possession has been "protected" and developed through tutelage to independence. During the same period the United States has increased the public domain more than fivefold, and formed about one thousand treaties with aboriginal tribes or nations; and, with the exception of a few petty semi-sovereignties, it has yet to furnish its first Indian State. The government did design two Indian States, in which the divers tribes should be gathered, and one was marked off in the Southwest in 1835 — the present Indian Territory — the other was to be in the Northwest, but was never laid out. In the former there are the crumbling remnants of about forty tribes — an ethnological collection, and promising to become antiquarian — of extinct aborigines. The United States has no more to show than France or England in adding to the number of civilized states.

The questions recur, and will with increasing force, whether the uncivilized have any rights which the civilized are bound to respect, and whether a barbarous race can be civilized without being at the same time denationalized and absorbed by the nation that civilizes it. If one skirt the dim line between civilization and barbarism which meanders along the borders in America and Europe and Asia, and looks for new states and autonomies among the local and native races, he will the better take the force of these two preceding questions.

It is still in doubt with many whether Christianity alone is adequate to lift up and organize and civilize a rude and pagan people. It has not, as yet, had a fair opportunity to test its abil-

Digitized by Google

ity in this line, and probably never will, since the energy and greed of commerce have led off into wild lands and constructed governments for their trade as they pushed forward.

The plea of the stronger, that he is in possession by treaty, is often but an aggravation of original invasion. Arrangements which would expel a man from a board of trade ought to have excluded many a contractor from councils of clouted Indians and Algerines and Afghans. Quoting the Roman Pandects and Vattel in defense of the seizure and possession of a foreign land against a Hottentot, or Arab, or Sepoy, or Sitting Bull, is too absurd to be esteemed sharp even. Many treaties initiated by merchants, and spread on parchment by the "high contracting parties," by which a very few governments hold so much of this world, should be ranked with contracts with children and imbeciles and with such as are not of a sound and disposing mind. Of contracts made under duress, only a reference to their injustice is needed. A party duressed cannot be held in law or equity, yet many a forced treaty, which would not convey twenty shillings in court, has conveyed thousands of square miles, with their inhabitants, because there was no high court that could entertain pleadings on exceptions. It is a very difficult thing for barbarians and pagans to gain a status in court, and not often when there is a Warren Hastings is there at the same time an Edmund Burke.

These commercial aggressions on the uncivilized, and these seizures of territory by nations ambitious to enlarge their domain, affect most seriously the propagation of spiritual Christianity. The ryots of India do not distinguish between the Church of England and the English government, and when set adrift from hereditary cultivation of the soil, or brought to the verge of starvation by reduced wages and increased taxes, they are in no good mood to take the religion of their oppressors. Two hundred years of wrong, which makes even the enduring Hindoo groan, readily accounts for the strangely slow growth of spiritual Christianity in southern Asia. The entire English system there puts the native masses at a disadvantage, and hence Christianity also. Under so grave a charge, it is more agreeable, as it is fitting, that the Englishmen should speak. The "Westminster Review" of 1803 says: "Let us begin to conciliate those who have good cause to detest us, and consider it a nobler thing to govern humanely and well, than to acquire fresh territory at the expense of our honor, and by disregarding every rule of law and every human right." The "Review" quotes the Duke of Wellington to this effect: "Wher-

Digitized by Google

ever we spread ourselves we increase this evil. We throw out of employment and means of subsistence all who have hitherto managed the revenue, or commanded or served in the armies, and [we] have plundered the country." It also quotes from a communication to Robert Southey by an East India officer: "If our empire in that country were overthrown the only monuments which would remain of us would be broken bottles and corks. . . . In the interior we are hated. There is a grinding system of exaction; we take nine tenths; and the natives feel the privation of honors and places of authority more than the weight of imposts. . . . We may not gain their love, yet we need not continue to merit their unmitigated hate."

Some remarks of the "Edinburgh Review" need a place in this connection: "There are no such avenues to advancement opened to them [the natives] as stirred the ambition and stimulated the exertions of their forefathers. They cannot attain in the civil service of the state to a station more elevated than that of an ill-paid rural magistrate, or a clerk in one of the public offices. . . . Even the status of a practicing attorney in the courts of law seems to be denied to them. . . . As to the army, it offers no prizes for which it would be worth while for a native gentleman to strive. . . . By the native gentry of India — and it is a great mistake to suppose that India has not its gentry of ancient lineage and proud reminiscences — the rule of the English is regarded not only without favor, but with settled detestation." Metcalf's history is quoted: "The main evil of our system is, the degraded state in which we hold the natives. . . . We exclude them from every situation of trust and emolument; we confine them to the lowest offices, with scarcely a bare subsistence. We treat them as an inferior race of beings." The "Edinburgh" adds: "They have no share in making laws for themselves, little in administering them, except in very subordinate offices; they can rise to no high station, civil or military; they are everywhere regarded as an inferior race. . . . Other conquerors had overrun their territories before, assumed supreme power, and dispensed patronage; but they did so upon the spot, and excluded no man, of whatever race descended, from a share in it. We send out our youth by shoals from England to amass wealth, and exercise power for a season; each batch returning to England, when it has satisfied its own wishes, only that it may be succeeded by another. What bond of good feeling can exist between the hundred and twenty millions whom we thus govern and the few thousands of white-faced men

Digitized by Google

whom we appoint to plunder while they profess to govern and protect them?"

If this was said years ago (1853), it must be considered that no one generation could change such oppressive customs and obliterate their bitter memories; nor indeed has there been much effort. In 1883 the Ilbert Bill was introduced into Parliament to have native criminal judges in India with such jurisdiction and authority as the same officers have at home. The "Times" led off in the condemnation of the bill, and England followed, and a war of races will follow.

Here is a nation, or cluster of nations, aged and historic with its dynasties long ago, even when England was forest and savage. Its religion was older then than English Christianity is to-day. Now, in the face of all this commercial and civil and social abuse, organized and irresistible, and grinding across Southern Asia like Arctic ice-floes, they are invited to accept the religion of these invaders and oppressors. They know it only by those fruits of a nominal Christianity. It is a grievous wrong, and to be immensely regretted, that the East India Company should have put this odium on Christianity, and such a painful and obstructing burden on American and English boards of missions.

In this connection a reference should be made to the effects of the Christian régime in the East on the Christianization of the Mahometans. The reference must cover the treatment of the Moslem not only in India, but in Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, the Soudan, and other parts of Africa more or less approached by Europeans; and it must embrace not only Great Britain, but the other nominally Christian powers of Europe. The days of the crusaders and the wars for the Holy Sepulchre are over, but not for the cross and the crescent. The middle ages are not wholly gone by.

"Winter lingering chills the lap of May." It was a terrible mistake that Christianized Rome retained her pagan sword, unconverted, to extend her new religion; and grievous pity it is, that the nineteenth century puts musketry and artillery and ironclads to the front, and stretchers and the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer in the rear. Are theological and military schools so closely related, and are Hardee's "Tactics" even yet to lead St. Paul's as the gospel goes into all the world? No doubt the remark is true that the turbaned Moslem has learned to respect a European hat; but it is rather a saying of a board of trade than of the holy evangelists. For like reason one re-

Digitized by Google

spects a volcano, or the approaching cyclone. How many turbans have been removed to give place to the Christian hat? The East India Company have had to do with 50,000,000 of them, but converts to Christianity from among them are not much tabulated. In 1821 American missions were started in Syria, and reliable report says that the first baptism of a Mahometan was in 1871 — fifty years for one convert. Very true, apostasy from the Prophet has been death, on which the short logic has been: Perhaps as well die at the hands of the faithful for apostatizing as at the hands of the infidel for not apostatizing. Wolseley has withdrawn from the Soudan; how soon now may a missionary of the Church of England go in? The theory of missions for the conversion of the Mahometans — one hundred and sixty millions of them — is a question of the future, and complicated almost hopelessly by the commerce of nominal Christendom. With the possible exception of the North American Indians, always so crowded back by the Spanish and French and English and American civilization, no people have been so repelled and quarantined from Christianity as the Moslems.

Christianity has been burdened with the objection that its tardy growth weakens the claim to its divine origin. The objection is not superficial, nor necessarily captious, but its force lies in the perversion of Christianity. Too many have accepted Vattel's assumption, in his "Right of Nations," that our religion is merely a political system. Kings and cabinets have used it as such for national aggrandizement and secular ambitions, and so the system of Christ, so pure in itself and so full of equity and love and mercy as the expansion of the Golden Rule, has been compelled to be responsible for the invasions and oppressions and national robberies which have been achieved by a nominal and political and mercenary Christianity. A sense of equity and fairness and honor, in even a heathen mind, repels such a system, and so makes the growth of our holy religion very tardy and laborious in pagan lands, and exposes its divine origin to impeachment.

W. Barrows.

READING, MASS.

Digitized by Google

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF GERMANY.[1]

After a thorough investigation of the subject it is still difficult to form even a general conception of the religious condition of a great nation, scattered over a large territory, and with much diversity of spiritual life in the various sections and churches. When we consider the fact that the sources of the religious life are deep and hidden; that the factors which enter into it are numerous and complicated; and that many of its manifestations are in secret or of such a character that a foreigner cannot at once appreciate them, — we can form an estimate of the value of correspondents who sit in judgment on the religion of a nation whose language they do not understand, whose history and institutions they have not studied, and of whose spirituality they know nothing but what they infer from a few weeks of superficial observation inspired, perhaps, by prejudice. The religious life of the United States is continually denounced in Europe as superficial, hypocritical, puritanical, a mere Sunday formality or luxury; its real power is estimated by the corruption in official life, here almost unknown; by the fearful records of crime and the laxity of justice; by the management of large cities as reported by our own papers; by the character of a large part of our press, admitted into families with all its disgusting and polluting details of crime; by the prevailing worldliness, which has even crept into the churches and has given us the reputation of being practical materialists; by our numerous sects, whose rivalries are supposed to destroy the unity

[1] This "General View" is based on observations of religious movements during a residence of five years in Berlin and an active participation in some of them; on the official reports of ecclesiastical authorities and official statistics; on addresses and reports at religious conferences; on articles in the religious and secular press discussing the condition of the church; and on conversations with ministers and laymen from different parts of the empire. At the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Copenhagen, Professor Christlieb delivered an address on "Religious Indifference and the Best Means to overcome It," in which he was supposed by many to have given too pessimistic a view. He, however, claims that his subject did not require a general discussion of the religious condition, but of the more unfavorable features. Rev. Mr. Baumann gave a report on the general religious condition of Germany, which was much more hopeful. I have used both addresses, and also one by Prof. Dr. Stade, delivered at Giessen in 1883, on "The Condition of the Evangelical Church in Germany." For the statistics I am indebted to *Allgemeines Kirchenblatt für das evangelische Deutschland* and Oettingen's *Moralstatistik*.

Digitized by Google

of Christ's kingdom; by the appalling statistics of intemperance; by Mormonism, spiritualism, and similar excrescences, which are regarded as peculiarly American, and as striking evidences of our real godlessness in spite of all our professions. A German paper contains this correspondence from New York: "In Prussia, according to the statistical report, there is one murder to every 85,000 inhabitants; in the United States there was, in 1883, one to every 32,000, and in 1884, one to every 16,000; so that last year there were relatively more than five times as many murders as in Prussia." Where now such statistics, as is often the case, are made the ground for estimating the general moral and religious condition of a land we can easily see what inferences must be drawn. A German writer, who admits the activity of the American churches, says: "But the influence of this high tide of Christian life on society is equal to zero. Nowhere else so often as yonder is piety the cloak of selfishness, ecclesiastical zeal a business advertisement or a sport; and if to-day a religious movement passes through the land, to-morrow it vanishes, leaving no trace except in the formation of new sects." Not a few pious Germans congratulate themselves that they have not our religious condition. But we pay them richly in their own coin; and Americans who are here long enough to learn something of the condition of religious life are not a little indignant at those of their countrymen whose Christian ethics does not require a knowledge of the things they report. Must Christian honesty cease when we judge Christian brethren in a foreign land?

Dr. Warneck, the eminent authority on missions, said recently[1] that he has repeatedly had occasion to complain of the ignorance of Germany's trans-channel and trans-oceanic cousins respecting its religious condition in general and its missionary operations in particular; and also of the judgment based on this ignorance and pronounced against "our fatherland, as if it were half-heathen, ruled by infidelity, or at least controlled by rationalism." He cites an American missionary journal which lately gave an account of a Continental missionary conference at Bremen and reported as present "such men as Frabri, . . . Doctors Schreiver and Wangamann of the Berlin mission, Kelth, . . . Kussler of the Balse mission." Although these are all well-known laborers in behalf of missions, not a single name in the list is correct. The account also speaks of the significance of the assembly,

[1] *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* for February, a journal edited by Dr. Warneck in connection with Drs. Christlieb and Grundemann.

Digitized by Google

and regards it as evidence that there is real progress "in the very midst of the Continental rationalism." Dr. Warneck says: "And yet not only does a considerable part of English and American theology live on this 'Continental rationalism,' but the same has also placed many believing men in the church and missionary service of England and America. When will this false judgment cease? And when will they at last learn in England and America to see also the rationalism and unbelief in their own countries, and not merely in the land of Luther, Francke, Zinzendorf, Tholuck, Fliedner, Wichern, and Harms?"

In 1880 the German Empire had a population of 45,234,061. Besides 561,610 Jews and 60,000 Old Catholics, there were, in round numbers, 28,000,000 Protestants and 16,000,000 Catholics. The Protestants in the state churches are composed of Lutherans and Reformed, for the most part (as in Prussia and other states) united and forming what is called the Evangelical or United Church. There are various small bodies, usually designated sects, the most active being Methodists, Baptists, and Irvingites. It is the condition of the state churches which is considered in this article.

The historical development, without which the religious life in Germany cannot be properly estimated, strikes its roots into the Reformation. The principles of that great movement; the dead orthodoxy which followed; the desolations of the Thirty Years' War, from the effects of which it took a century or more to recover; the early inspiration of pietism, and its later degeneracy; the deadening influence of rationalism during the last, and the peculiar religious development of this, century, must all be considered in a thorough study of our subject. In these old historic lands a long process of development petrifies traditions, gives institutions greater rigidity than in new countries, and makes for all forms of life grooves and ruts which are not easily left. Religion is particularly liable to be affected by this conservatism.

The union of church and state has been a potent factor in shaping the character of the former. History but too clearly shows that the church is hampered when not permitted to manage its own spiritual affairs and to develop freely its religious life. Opposition to the government is apt to be transferred also to the church, sometimes called contemptuously "a police force" of the government. A pastor may be appointed who is repugnant to the majority, and numerous other causes may produce alienation, so that, as is admitted, the attendance at church is not necessarily a

Digitized by Google

correct gauge of the religious condition of the people. The theological teachers are appointed not by the church but by the state, and may represent the *Cultus-Minister* rather than the faith of the church whose pastors they prepare. Many see the evils of the present condition of things and are making vigorous efforts to attain greater ecclesiastical freedom.

Besides the state control, the church has been too much a ministerial institution. Nowhere has the universal priesthood of believers been more clearly stated as a theory and more systematically ignored in practice. What wonder if an institution regarded as belonging peculiarly to the state and the ministry fails to develop the activity of the laity! But there is beginning to be a change in this respect.

Repeatedly have I heard it pronounced a marvel that, with the existing state of things, so much religion is still found among the people, and it is regarded as an evidence that at heart the German people are religious. In some places, especially in the large cities, the failure to provide for the religious needs is a sad comment on the present management. Thus one church built in Berlin (Moabit) in 1835, when the parish had 709 souls, is still the only church, though now there are 35,000 souls in the parish. The building seats 400 persons! Another parish with some 80,000 souls has a small church with about an equal seating capacity; but now a large church — but only one — is being erected. In Berlin, away from the centre, there are parishes with 100,000 souls or more with a single church and a few pastors. Other cities may be better provided than Berlin, but the increase of churches and pastors has been far from keeping pace with that of the population. Thus St. Gertrude Parish in Hamburg has 40,000 souls, and others may have still more.

The Continental Sunday, of course, has much influence on the religious life. It is largely a day of labor, pleasure, recreation, and crime. In Germany not only manufacturers and merchants, but also the government officials, often oblige their subordinates to work on Sunday, though Christians and Socialists have now joined hands in opposing this. With their meagre wages many of the poor are glad to work on that day to eke out a living; while others labor so hard during the week that they insist on making Sunday a day of recreation.

Among the more recent anti-evangelical tendencies are: modified forms of the old rationalism, some of its phases being thoroughly negative and destructive, often based on mere philo-

Digitized by Google

sophical assumptions, though styled exegetico-historical criticism; the pantheism of various philosophical schools; the godless pessimism of Schopenhauer and Hartmann; the materialistic tendencies in natural science, largely monopolized by the Continental development of Darwinism; and that carnal spirit misnamed socialism, being in reality selfishness deified, based on atheism, and intent on destroying the ethical and religious forces of society. A godless culture above and communism below have cooperated to banish spiritual objects, and to promote the secular and sensualistic spirit. These things, together with the unprecedented development of material interests, have substituted crass realistic for the former idealistic tendencies. Not so much in the force or virulence of attack on religion does this spirit reveal itself as in an immovable indifference to spiritual things. Other lands have the same spirit; but in not all is it so extensive, and in some it is opposed by greater spiritual vitality. The liberal press, largely under the control or influence of Jews, often reveals its animus by sneering at religion, or treating it as a factor which is no longer a dominant force. The strict censorship of the press, however, somewhat curbs this godless spirit, and for downright blasphemy the American press and platform furnish more illustrious examples than Germany. The papers here do not sink to the disgusting vulgarity of some of our sheets, and even liberals are horrified at the condition of the American press. The vilest sheet I have seen exposed in Berlin came neither from Germany nor from Paris, but across the Atlantic, — "The Police Gazette."

The normal life, physical, moral, and religious, is apt to escape attention; while disease, crimes, and pronounced irreligious tendencies are at once noticed and made subjects of statistics. So meagre are the religious statistics gathered in Germany that the temptation is strong to take the statistics of irreligion as the measure of the religion of the country, just as the statistics of crime and immorality are not seldom taken as the statistics of morality. The old proverb, that where God builds a church the devil builds a chapel beside it, may be true; but it is not quite clear how the statistics of the devil's chapel give the statistics of God's church. If the wheat and tares both grow, we cannot quite understand by what necromancy the nature of the wheat is to be learned in describing the character of the tares.

The religious life in the Evangelical Church varies greatly in different sections, often in the same neighborhood. There are country districts in which the old forms of piety are still main-

Digitized by Google

tained, but not a few country parishes have also been affected by religious indifference. In the smaller cities the condition is generally better than in the large ones; but in manufacturing districts the laborers usually take little or no interest in religion. The tendency of population to great centres is one of the signs of the times,[1] and large cities are generally in the worst moral and religious condition. While religion lost in prominence and influence, saloons and places of amusement and sensual gratification and crime greatly increased.[2] In many cases an earnest faith disappeared from the pulpit, and the pews were emptied. So forlorn had the condition become in various quarters that it could hardly be worse.

There are places of which this is still in a measure true, but they are not nearly so numerous as formerly. The low state of piety aroused the followers of Christ to a conviction of the needs of the church, and became the occasion of new zeal. Within the last ten years a marked change has taken place. The number of evangelical ministers has greatly increased, and Christlieb says that the rationalistic preachers "now consist of only a small minority in Germany." The pulpit has become more Biblical, more direct, and more practical, and many churches once empty are now filled. Even in liberal pulpits there is a great change, the sermons laying the stress on trust in God, the love of Christ, attachment to the church, missionary activity, and practical religion. At the recent meeting of the Protestant Association a liberal pastor from Bremen reported a development of religious activity in both the orthodox and liberal congregations in that city, and stated that the churches were mostly filled. And from all parts of the empire there are reports of increased attendance and interest at religious meetings on Sunday and during the week.

It would make a wrong impression to say that religion has suddenly passed from a very low to a flourishing state. There are more oases now, but there is still desert enough. Among the middle classes, as well as among the most cultured and the poorest, there prevails spiritual deadness, or at least there is a lack of

[1] Oettingen speaks of it as "the sickly tendency to cities." In 1801 the proportion of Parisians to the total of Frenchmen was as 1 to 49; in 1876 as 1 to 18.6. In the same years that of Londoners to the whole English population was as 1 to 17 and 1 to 9.3. In 1820 there was one inhabitant of Berlin to 57 Prussians; in 1880 1 to 21.

[2] This is true of other countries as well as Germany. Christlieb states that from 1860–1880 the population of Great Britain increased 28 per cent.; crime, 102; arrests for drunkenness, 95; begging, 180.

Digitized by Google

earnest faith. But that the lowest point has been reached, and that the downward has been changed to an upward course is generally admitted. Dr. Christlieb says: "God be praised; our time, with all the increase of darkness on the one hand, also shows an increase of light on the other; with all the ripening of the tares, it reveals at the same time a ripening and strengthening of the wheat, a constantly increasing force to resist the powers of darkness in many places, our German fatherland included; a growing number of evangelical witnesses to the truth; . . . a continual increase of institutions and associations, based on Christian faith and Christian love, to seek the lost, restore the wandering, and sustain the found. Yes, the growing power of inner missions at present already proves the possibility of attacking and overcoming the religious indifference and obtuseness in many points, even under circumstances the most unfavorable that can be conceived." [1] That a new spirit animates the Evangelical Church of Germany is admitted by foes and universally rejoiced in by friends.

That this change for the better is deep is evident from the fact that it has affected all departments of religious life. There is a forward movement along the whole line. The friends of religion have gained greatly in courage and hope, and consequently in inspiration to work.

The liberal papers, even if in the hands of Jews, show more respect for the Christian religion than formerly, which is, no doubt, to be explained by the change in the religious sentiment of the community. A press decidedly religious has also grown in numbers and influence. Thus the "Sonntagsblatt," of Stuttgart, has in a short time reached a circulation of 120,000; and the "Ev. Sonntagsblatt," of Berlin, six years old, 90,000. Last year a society in Berlin distributed 35,000 copies of a weekly religious journal, this year 71,500. A few years ago the distribution of sermons began in Berlin; now 73,000 copies are sent out every week, of which some 10,000 are distributed in this city.

The change in the religious literature is seen chiefly in the large

[1] Speaking also of the improvement which has begun in Germany, he says in the same address: "And the proof is furnished that quite irreligious circles, and even atheistic social democrats, may be reached by religion, and can be won back." Rev. Mr. Baumann said in his address: "Certain as it is that the trial was severe and that thousands fell and severed their connection with the living communion of faith, so certain is it, also, that the lowest point of humiliation has been passed. This we believe in common with all positive believers." Stade also recognizes the evidences of new religious life and zeal.

Digitized by Google

increase of practical and edifying books. The proportion of homiletical, pastoral, popular, apologetical, and devotional works is much greater than formerly. Practical literature, to reach the masses, a practical ministry, and a practical church are recognized as the great needs of the day. In accordance with this tendency there are also special efforts to make the laity more active. Laymen preside over religious conferences, and often deliver addresses in them. Thus a layman recently presided over a conference in which there were some three hundred ministers; two laymen, one of them the son of the celebrated philosopher Hegel, spoke on the best methods of training ministers; and another layman, professor of the Berlin University, spoke on socialism. Many of the religious efforts spring from voluntary agencies rather than directly from the organized church; and in the numerous voluntary religious associations laymen are among the most active members. The number of these laymen is comparatively small, but constantly increasing.

The marvelous growth of socialism has led to the establishment of a Christian Social Association in Berlin, which has gained considerable power. Similar associations have been organized in other places. Evangelists have also worked successfully among the masses, and Professor Christlieb has begun the work of training evangelists in the Johanneum, in Bonn. In the large parishes the pastors are overworked, and still cannot meet the religious needs. In some instances pious laymen are appointed as missionaries to visit the neglected and carry the gospel to their homes. Bible-women are also employed. The admirably organized deaconess institutes do a good work for the souls as well as the bodies of their patients. Not even an approximate estimate of the amount of religious work done by individuals and societies can be made; that it is most efficient is evident to all who study what the Germans call "Inner Missions."

These voluntary associations, which are in the Evangelical Church and yet rather a direct product of its spiritual life than of its organization as a state institution, are often overlooked by foreigners or not sufficiently studied; and this is one reason why the religious life is not properly estimated. Some of these voluntary Christian agencies I can barely mention, others I must omit because their mere mention would convey little meaning. The Sunday-school is flourishing; young men's Christian associations are energetic, and have received a new impulse by establishing one in Berlin after the American model; foreign missionary societies

Digitized by Google

are renowned for their number and zeal and efficiency, and for their superior literature; there are hospitals, asylums for orphans and for inebriates, homes for the aged, colonies and work-houses for the poor, Magdalen institutes, societies to help released prisoners and the like, all based on Christian principles. Oettingen, as well as others, calls attention to the new zeal manifested in all the departments of Christian benevolence.[1] A few years ago a general temperance society was established, which is organizing branches throughout Germany, is delivering addresses and circulating literature on the subject of intemperance; and thus an effort is made to arouse the people to a sense of the growing evils of intemperance.

The ecclesiastical authorities are also bestirring themselves. In their official documents appeal on appeal is made to the pastors to be faithful and diligent, and practical measures are adopted to meet the needs of the times. Recently the progress of sectarianism has engaged their attention, and various efforts are made so to increase the efficiency of the Established Church as to make the sects powerless. The same zeal is manifested at conferences. At an important conference at Eisenach, in 1884, the chief means advocated for checking the progress of sectarianism were the following: by preaching the pure word effectively and administering the sacraments scripturally; by competing with the sects in meeting the religious needs of the spiritual members of the church, particularly of the young; by faithful personal attention to souls, watching and instructing the wavering and the wanderers; by increasing the number of churches and pastors, and by maintaining or increasing the parochial order, particularly in the larger cities.

Unfortunately we have no complete statistics of the voluntary societies, among which are seen the most striking evidences of the new awakening. Then there is so much in their work which cannot be given in figures. The mania for figuring out results which are not subject to mathematical calculation has appropriately been termed "the statistical disease." But even aside from these inestimable elements, the religious statistics are very unsatisfactory, and strenuous efforts are made to induce the government to make them more complete.

Of the attendance at religious services we have few reliable statistics, but in large cities the number in proportion to the popu-

[1] Baumann speaks of the new life everywhere manifest in the work of "Inner Missions." He says, "There is a wonderful activity in all the German provinces as never before."

Digitized by Google

lation is small. In 1872 the persons at divine service in Baden, on a certain Sunday, were found to be somewhat over thirty per cent. in the country, while in the cities there were in some instances less than four per cent. In Berlin, some years ago, it was found that less than two per cent. of the Protestant population were in church on a given Sunday.[1] The figures correct a few years ago are, however, in many instances too low for to-day.

The Germans estimate attachment to the church largely according to the percentage of baptisms and the number of weddings and funerals with religious ceremonies. Since 1875, when civil marriage was introduced, all laws making baptism or religious ceremony at marriage and burial obligatory were abolished; the voluntary choice of these religious acts is therefore regarded as significant.

The percentage of baptisms to births of children of evangelical parents was 91.98 in 1875 in the old provinces of Prussia; in 1883 it was 93.98. Throughout the whole empire there has been a marked increase in the percentage since 1875. In 1882 it was as follows: Saxony, 95.71; Würtemberg, 99.26; Hesse, 98.13; Brunswick, 95.63; Saxe-Meiningen, 98.57; Gotha, 96.10; Coburg, 92.83; Anhalt, 95.81.

[1] Oettingen, p. 622. Christlieb gives interesting statistics of attendance at divine services in different countries. In Edinburgh less than one half of the inhabitants are regular attendants of religious services; in Glasgow, with a population of 705,000, on a very fine Sunday 112,688 persons were in church. In the larger cities of England 25 per cent. of the people attend; in the smaller ones about 40. It is said that in London 1,200,000 persons never enter a church. This number is largely composed of the laboring classes, of whom in many English cities 90 per cent. never visit church or chapel. In one poor district of London 88 adult persons out of a population of 2,290 attended divine service; in another, out of 246 families individuals from only 12 of them; in another, only 39 persons out of a population of 4,235. He estimates that in Berlin not many more than 20,000 to 25,000, out of an Evangelical population of about a million, or from two to three per cent., attend services regularly. But in 1872 the attendance was estimated (in Brockhaus's Lexicon) at only 1.8 per cent. Christlieb, however, regards Berlin as exceptional, though Hamburg is equally bad or worse, having, it is said, but 5,000 regular attendants out of a population of 300,000. If the statistics of all the religious meetings, Sunday-schools included, were taken, the percentage would, of course, be much greater.

I had just written the above when a religious paper came from America with the following: "A statistical clergyman of St. Louis finds that on a recent Sunday in that city 10,000 people went to church, while 40,000 went to Buffalo Bill's show, 20,000 to base-ball games, 20,000 to beer gardens, and 5,000 to hear Bob Ingersoll."

Digitized by Google

But this percentage would be increased if the baptisms by ministers not in the state church were added, particularly those by separatistic Lutheran pastors.

In Prussia the total number of marriages among Protestants, with religious ceremony, in 1883, was 96,997 out of a total of 106,847. In 1875 81.15 per cent. of the weddings had religious services; since then the number has regularly increased, till in 1882 it was 91.37. There was a slight decrease in 1883, in which year there was, however, an increase of mixed marriages (one party Protestant, the other Catholic) by Evangelical pastors.[1]

The religious services at funerals in Prussia, from 1880–83 inclusive, were as follows: 211,682; 211,557; 223,426; 233,321.

In the statistics of these various religious acts Oettingen and others see a steady growth in attachment to the church and its institutions.

In the statistics of communicants, those who communed more than once a year are, I suppose, counted more than once. The percentage of communicants of the evangelical population was, in 1882: Prussia, 42.48; Bavaria, 64.47; Saxony, 48.22; Würtemberg, 53.51; Baden, 53.62; Hesse, 51.55. It was lowest in Hamburg, 8.91; next lowest in Bremen, 13.58.

In common with the general awakening, there has also been a large increase in the number of theological students. Formerly there was a surplus of candidates for the ministry, and many had to wait long for a vacancy; but then there was a decrease for a number of years; vacant parishes increased rapidly, many of them remaining vacant a long time. Recently there were 150 vacancies in Hanover; 120 in the province of Silesia; 70 in the duchy of Hesse; and many others throughout Germany. But now the number of theological students is rapidly on the increase. In the old provinces of Prussia this increase has been as follows: 1877–78, 61; 1878–79, 72; 1879–80, 131; 1880–81, 173; 1881–82, 191; 1882–83, 200; 1883–84, 219.

While there were 559 in the winter of 1876–77, there were 1,606 in 1883–84, or nearly three times as many. In the whole empire there were 1,542 in the winter of 1876–77; but in 1883–84 there were 3,621. Heidelberg, with its negative tendency, had the smallest number, 42; Leipzig had the most, 669; Halle, 533; Berlin, 530; Erlangen, 363.

[1] Oettingen gives the percentage of marriages among Protestants without religious ceremony, in Prussia, as follows: 1875, 18.55; 1876, 16.91; 1877, 14.86; 1878, 13.68; 1879, 12.39; 1880, 11.70.

Digitized by Google

The statistics of recent years also show that throughout the empire more have come from Catholicism to Protestantism than *vice versâ*. So far as reported, there came to the Evangelical Church in 1882 1,659 persons, while 213 went over to the Catholic.

In Austria the numbers were: to Protestantism from all bodies, 817; to Catholicism from all bodies, 410. In Prussia (old provinces) 1,814 Catholics became Protestants in 1883; 1,447 in 1882. In 1883, 161 Protestants became Catholics; in 1882, 152. In 1883, 157 Jews entered the Evangelical Church, while 10 Protestants became Jews.

The numerous unmistakable evidences of improvement are, however, only the beginning of a new growth. The significance of the whole consists in the fact that the downward tendency has ceased and a strong upward one has taken its place. If it continues at its present rate we may soon expect to see the effect on all departments of public life, as it is now seen in the various religious activities. One who surveys the whole field and fathoms the depth of the various movements is prepared for the statement of Rev. Mr. Baumann in summing up the results of his investigation: "Thus the life of the German Church presents a picture of stirring activity, so that ours will perhaps appear to later ages as a period of blessed prosperity."

J. H. W. Stuckenberg.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

Digitized by Google

EDITORIAL.

PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY.

VI. THE CHRISTIAN.

THE question is continually recurring as to the legitimacy or propriety of claiming the Christian name and affirming the Christian hope for persons of exceptional character, irrespective of their Christian experience and faith. Some person, Jew or Gentile, becomes conspicuous for his virtues or charities. In the event of his death the questions are quite sure to be put to the Evangelical Church, What do you call this man, and, What of his future? The reply which is made is always according to the dictates of the moral sense. Practically, the Evangelical Church never denies the courtesy of the Christian name or the hospitality of the Christian hope to those whose lives illustrate the Christian virtues. But theologically these "exceptional cases" create no little confusion. The answers which they call out are apt to put a strain upon the theological systems.

The most recent discussion in point has been occasioned by the death of the eminent Jewish philanthropist, Sir Moses Montefiore. In answer to the usual question about the Christian salvation of such a man, Dr. A. A. Hodge writes as follows in "The Independent" of September 17, 1885: —

"In common with all who maintain the integrity of Catholic Christianity, we firmly believe that human nature is radically and universally corrupt and guilty before God, utterly incapable of self help in the way of expiation, of merit, of spiritual renovation. Whenever a human being is found, as a matter of fact, to be reconciled to God, and by a holy life gives evidence of possessing a holy nature, we with perfect confidence attribute the result to the application to the person in question of the expiating virtue of Christ's sacrifice and of the regenerating power of his spirit. We believe, therefore, that, without exception, the acceptance of each man with God depends, not upon any supposed natural goodness or personal merit, but wholly upon the fact of the man's personal relation to Jesus Christ. . . . The establishment of this personal relation to our Lord, so as to constitute one a beneficiary of his redemption, is generally conditioned upon personal recognition and confession of Him. This is even essential whenever intellectually possible. But it is not absolutely essential, as is proved in the case of those dying in infancy, and of idiots. On like grounds of principle it might hold true in the case of some exceptionally enlightened heathen. The charitable formula of 'invincible ignorance,' used and greatly abused by Romanists, rests ultimately upon a true principle, and has always been practically more or less recognized by orthodox Christians."

The whole communication from which this extract is taken is thoroughly manly in its tone, and is most delightful reading as a large-hearted interpretation of the Calvinistic symbols in their bearing upon the matter at issue. The difficulty of the explanation lies in the con-

Digitized by Google

struction put upon the application of the Atonement. We heartily agree with the writer in his assertion of the necessity of the Atonement to every human being. We thank him for the words, "We believe that, without exception, the acceptance of each man with God depends, not upon any supposed natural goodness or personal merit, but wholly upon the fact of the man's personal relation to Christ." But when it is assumed, as it is throughout this article, that the Atonement can be applied to the individual and made efficacious in his behalf, apart from any appreciable influence upon him, without his personal acceptance of it, without even his knowledge of the fact of an atonement, we draw back from the assumption as beyond the limits of plain reasoning. The assumption carries the Atonement over into the secret counsels of the Most High. The cross might as well have been set up in some other world. Historic Christianity becomes a needless expression of the divine purpose and method in the salvation of men. We have elsewhere characterized this kind of salvation, wrought out independently of human consciousness, as salvation by magic. It seems to us to be closely akin to the arts of Romanism. The case of the "exceptionally enlightened heathen" is compared with that of infants, of whom it is said that it is *proved* that the personal recognition and confession of Christ is not absolutely essential to entitle them to become beneficiaries of his redemption. How proved? The Scriptures say nothing of the method of the salvation of infants. The doctrine of their salvation, if the demand be made for specific proof-texts, is extra-Scriptural. The doctrine is an inference, legitimate and necessary, as we believe, but still an inference from the Christian conception of God. The proof of the inferential character of this belief lies in the historic fact that it is only with the widening of the conception of God that we have the belief in the salvation of all infants. Until we reach the Christian conception of God, we have the salvation of "elect infants." And in the absence of any direct statements of Scripture in regard to the doctrine itself, any variation from the prescribed method of salvation is purely speculative. If we waive the exercise of moral agency, and ignore the necessity of a personal appropriation of Christ, what have we left but a kind of baptismal atonement and baptismal regeneration? We think it more reverent, as it is certainly more reasonable, to believe of infants and heathen alike; that according to the development of moral agency they are brought into conscious relations to Christ, and that according to their needs they are enabled to personally appropriate his redemption. We question the advantage and the right of modifying the natural and reasonable conditions of Christianity under the stress of "exceptional cases." Allow Christianity to be, what it claims to be, universal in its relation to the human race, and the necessity for any modification of its conditions is removed. Unity of method becomes the ruling principle in the moral government of God. We have one standard of judgment for all men, one method of salvation, one supreme and sufficient motive to repentance. Divide the moral adminis-

Digitized by Google

tration of God into the departments of law and grace, and there will be the constant endeavor to transfer, by some secret process, first the few, then the many, who are under the condemnation of law, into the hope of grace. Salvation by Christ ceases to be the open, plain, real thing it is, and becomes something hidden, vague, unverified and unverifiable by the human consciousness.

But the real question in respect to the Christian salvation goes beyond all "exceptional cases." As Dr. Curry remarks in the same discussion, "The important question respecting this class of cases is not whether a devout and pure-minded heathen or Jew can be saved, but whether persons of those classes are, except in a very few and exceptional cases, such in mind and heart; and granting that all such, if such there are, are 'accepted of God,' the case, as one of *fact*, is not much relieved. . . . We may freely admit that, of every nation, even Jews and heathens, he that fears God and worketh righteousness is acceptable to him, and yet doubtingly ask respecting all these classes, 'Are there few that be saved?'" The real and living question, a veritable question of flesh and blood, is not that of theological hospitality toward the exceptional life outside Christianity, but rather that of the large and active relation of Christianity to every life without. The real question is in no sense one of hospitality at all, but one rather as to the divine right of every individual of the human race in Christianity. Must the Christian name remain of necessity and forever an exclusive name as respects the majority of mankind, a designation of privilege for the few, rather than of opportunity for all? And are the great masses of men in the past generations to be simply represented in the kingdom of God by here and there a soul who has climbed up some other way into the Christian fold, while they are to remain in their hopelessness and helplessness? Whenever the question is raised about these "exceptional cases" it opens at once into the most serious questioning about those cases which are not exceptional but representative. And whenever the Atonement is introduced as the justification for God's acceptance of the few who may be seeking after Him, if haply they may feel after Him and find Him, it suggests the part which the Atonement also takes in the divine search for man. We accept in its fullest and deepest import the sacrificial theory of atonement. But we do not forget that the Christian Atonement points two ways and is set forth as of equal avail toward God and toward man. To the mind of the heathen, atonement represents exclusively the idea of propitiation. To the mind of the Hebrew, it represented the same idea, though it became more and more suggestive of the divine mercy, so that God was able to make use of the idea to give in advance the assurance of his forgiveness, saying to his people in their wanderings, "Return unto me, for I have redeemed thee." In the sacrifice of Christ the movement is as strong from God to man as from man to God. The Atonement carries the message of human penitence to God; it carries the message of the divine love to man. It gives God access to the human heart, and is the

Digitized by Google

prevailing motive in his struggle with the will of man. Christianity is incomplete in idea, and partial in application, in so far as this fact is not recognized and acknowledged. In other words, the knowledge of the Atonement may be the necessary condition of the decisive choice of the soul for or against God. The knowledge of right and wrong may not be the sufficient condition for such a choice. If, therefore, in our charity we apply the Romish principle of "invincible ignorance" we must extend the working of that principle beyond the knowledge of right and wrong, to the knowledge of Christ and his salvation.[1]

We have approached the subject before us through the current discussions about the Christian salvation because they indicate the sensitiveness of the Christian mind upon this matter. No part of the church cares to insist upon the exclusiveness of the Christian name and hope.

It is impossible, under the moral sense of our time, to maintain the absoluteness of Christianity and its exclusiveness; to affirm that the Christian is the only type of man acceptable to God, and deny to any man the opportunity to become a Christian. As we have seen, the speculation in regard to the Atonement as secretly applied to the "exceptionally enlightened heathen," whatever we may say of its value within its own sphere, entirely overlooks the moral uses of the Atonement in the enlightenment of all unenlightened souls. The only consistent and far-reaching solution of the problem, as we think, lies in the principle advocated in this series of articles. Progressive Orthodoxy matches the absoluteness of Christianity with its universality. It maintains the Christian type as the only type of man acceptable to God, by allowing to every man his right in Christianity. It affirms and magnifies the Christian Judgment as the one event awaiting all men, and under the sense of the certainty of that event, with its everlasting issues, it acknowledges the reasonableness of assuming that every man will first have his Christian opportunity, — that he will know Christ in his sacrifice before he meets Him in judgment.

Passing, then, to the more definite consideration of the Christian, we assume that the Christian man is the man acceptable to God. The New Testament proceeds upon this assumption. Its assurances and promises, its present benefits and its certainties respecting the future, are applicable only to the Christian.

Our first inquiry is, Whence comes the Christian? How do we gain

[1] The reach of this principle is indicated by Dr. Hodge in these generous words: "It is obvious that there is a world-wide distance between an intelligent and malignant rejection of the historic Christ, his Person and offices clearly apprehended, which is *the* damning sin, on the one side, and on the other a failure to recognize Him as misapprehended because of intellectual bias, or the misrepresenting character of the media through which his rays are transmitted. It is certain that a man who really rejects Christ rejects the Father who sent Him. Hence the converse is true: that the man who has truly recognized the Father could not have really rejected Christ."

Digitized by Google

this type of man? We may say of the individual Christian, as we know him, that he is the result of a definite religious training, or of a definite religious process, which we call conversion. But this does not answer the question, Where do we get the type? The Christian was not born under the light of nature. He was not developed in the school of law, albeit the law was a school-master to lead to Christ. It may not be unnecessary to remind ourselves — unfortunately the saying is not a truism — that the Christian is the product of Christianity. The type of life which he represents came in with those facts and ideas which belong to historic Christianity. And the type is perpetuated through the prevalence of these facts and the supremacy of these ideas. Christianity invariably precedes the Christian, creating those conditions, and setting in motion those agencies, which need but the coöperation of the individual will to produce the required result in Christian character. Christianity produces a new consciousness in the race, which makes possible the Christian consciousness. Man is another being to himself in the light of the Incarnation and Resurrection. The Incarnation does not create a new value in man; it does more: it reveals to him his real value in the thought of God. The Resurrection does not confer immortality upon man; it gives him the moral advantage of immortality; it puts him under the power of the endless life. Wherever Christianity goes it speaks to men through these facts. And because it speaks through facts its language is positive, awakening, and assuring. There is no uncertainty in what Christianity says of man or to him. There is no contradiction in its utterances. The certainties of nature are against man, not for him. He knows that he must die; he hopes that he may live again. He is conscious of powers which separate him from all known life; he believes, half in fear, half in hope, that there is a life above him to which he is related, but he does not dare to urge his kinship with a holy God. The Incarnation is a revelation pure and simple, not a confirmation of the hope or dream of humanity. And atonement, as has been suggested, appears in natural religions only under the idea of propitiation. The idea of an atonement originating with God and consummated through sacrifice on his part is foreign to all natural religions. And the difference in the reflex influence of a belief in a system which expresses the ceaseless striving of man to propitiate an angry deity, and belief in a system of grace working from above in the ceaseless endeavor to turn the sinner from his sin, is simply incalculable. The difference gives the Christian motive to repentance and faith. "We love Him, because He first loved us."

Christianity thus reveals man to himself in a new light, as it uncovers the agencies which are at work toward the renovation of his moral nature and toward his restoration to God. Nature is contradictory in her valuation of man, now strangely exalting him to her high places of power, and again casting him down, or trifling with him as if the veriest plaything in her domain. There are times when man is obliged to take

Digitized by Google

refuge from the domination and caprice of nature in the one thought that he is a conscious being. Pascal says: —

"Our whole dignity consists in thought. Man is but a reed, the weakest in nature, but he is a thinking reed. It is not necessary that the entire universe should arm itself to crush him. A breath of air, a drop of water, suffices to kill him. But were the universe to crush him, man would still be more noble than that which kills him, because he knows that he dies, and the universe knows nothing of the advantage which it has over him."

Law elevates man to the dignity of a responsible agent. When he finds himself addressed in the language of moral authority, to which he is capable of responding, he takes a new measure of himself. It is greater to hear the "Thou shalt," and "Thou shalt not," of moral law than to stand in the place of a master among inanimate forces. But moral law can only tell man what he ought to be. It leaves him confronted with duty. Christianity comes in to tell him what he may be. It is a revelation to him of his possibilities. It confronts him, not with a legal standard, but with a Life in which he may read his possible character and destiny, and through which he may attain that character and destiny. It assures him of help sufficient and unfailing. It links his struggles and aspirations, even his very repentings to a power which was at work for him before his effort for himself began, and which will go on, in his behalf, in its steadiness and strength amid the fluctuations of his own strivings. "We," says Paul to the Christian converts of Asia Minor, "are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God afore prepared that we should walk in them." And again, "Being confident of this very thing, that he which began a good work in you will perfect it until the day of Jesus Christ."

Christianity thus conditions the life which is to become Christian before the process begins which is to make it Christian. When the Christian idea is apprehended, its revelation of God in his purpose, its interpretation of man in his possibilities, as it is practically apprehended under the training of the Christian home and school and church, then the process through which the Christian is developed, though it may be in some cases severe and protracted, is simple and clear. It is all expressed in the personal act of repentance toward God, and of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. The personal appropriation of Christ in his life and death constitutes a sinner a Christian. Henceforth he represents, according to the reality of his faith and the seriousness of his purpose, the new type of manhood. In his individual life he is called, by virtue of this change, "a new creature," "a new creation." As related to other men he belongs to the Christian type.

Our second inquiry concerns the place of the Christian before God. What is the position into which he is brought by virtue of his relation, through penitence and faith, to Christ? The New Testament uniformly expresses this condition or estate by one term — sonship. It knows no other term which is not included in this. The teachings of Christ, as in-

Digitized by Google

deed his personal relations with men, all point to the establishment of this relationship. But we are so apt to interpret the sayings of our Lord in some exceptional way, as if they were not good when detached from his person, and could not be transferred to the life of the church, that we often fail to apply them in their reality and fullness to the more important questions of Christianity. So that it is only as we pass over into the actual workings of Christianity as a system that we come to understand the practical significance of this idea of sonship. When we read the Epistles of Paul and John, as they address themselves to the life coming in from Judaism and heathenism, we see that Christianity is proceeding upon the one principle of building up character and developing personality on the basis of the filial relation. Paul makes this principle most conspicuous, by boldly transferring the working of the divine power in the training of life from the legal to the filial basis. He assures those to whom he writes that the place of sonship is theirs, theirs by the bestowal of grace and according to the rights of faith. They were in it. This was the first thing for them to believe. Nothing could be accomplished in them or through them, in a Christian way, until they believed it. The fact once accepted in full and hearty assurance, the work in character could go on. So Paul reasons throughout his epistles, striving to establish the idea of sonship in the minds of Christian believers, and to strengthen and encourage them in the assurance of its application to their own lives.

Christianity, when rightly apprehended, always makes the idea of sonship fundamental in personal belief and in the upbuilding of character. Christian character is the outgrowth and development of the filial relation. All the restraints and all the incentives which are peculiar to Christianity centre about this relation of the soul to God. Why does the Christian shrink from wrong doing? Because he is a child of God, acknowledged as such of Him, and assured of this relationship in his own consciousness. Inconsistency is the restraining power in his life, not fear. And when he falls away into sin, the motive to repentance is not so much the dread of things to come as the present sense of shame. Christ looking upon Peter in his denial, and Peter going out to weep, is the type of Christian condemnation and repentance. In like manner the working of this principle of sonship comes in to take away those selfish motives which are often attributed to the Christian salvation. Why does the Christian strive to build himself up in right character? Because he is conscious that God is working within him "to will and to work for his good pleasure." This is the motive which acts in advance of all other motives toward the same end. The supreme motive to right doing is gratitude, love, the sense of God's partnership with him in the struggle and in the result. So that here again the Christian is not at work simply for something to come to him in reward, but equally because of something which has come to him for which he would make return. Heaven lies before him in expectation, but the springs of his activity, the sources

Digitized by Google

of his endeavor, lie deep in the consciousness of that love which assures him that he is a child of God.

It may be said that we have sketched the ideal Christian. We reply that we have sketched the real Christian. If the average Christian life does not express itself in the way which has been indicated, it is owing to the prevalence of the spirit of legalism in the church. We grant the prevalence of this spirit. From the beginning until now it has been difficult to persuade men to believe in Christianity, and to live according to Christianity. Hence Paul at the first and Luther afterward. Legalism follows close upon Christianity in the ceaseless endeavor to formulate its doctrines, to prescribe its methods, to dominate its life. If the church is to maintain the freedom of its faith and life, it must be through the maintenance in faith and life of the idea of sonship.

We reach our third and last inquiry, as we ask, What is the office of the Christian in the world? Does Christianity withdraw him from the world or carry him farther into its life? The ruling principle of legalism, in this regard, is separation resulting in exclusiveness. What is the ruling spirit of Christianity?

When we say that the method of legalism results in exclusiveness we do not intend to characterize the earlier dispensation. The voice which summoned Abraham from his kindred and from his country declared the purpose of this separation — that in him all nations of the earth might be blessed. This separation was to be grandly inclusive in its result. The same purpose separated out Israel as a people, restricting its intercourse, and subjecting it to peculiar discipline, but keeping its spirit large and open through the development of the Messianic hope. It was only as the purpose of the separation was lost sight of that the national life became hard and exclusive. The dwindling of the hope allowed the growth of the narrower types of the national faith. Judaism gradually ceased to look upon the world in the light of opportunity. The world came to represent more and more temptation from which "the chosen people" was to defend itself. Christianity instantly reversed this conception of the world, and by this change of conception made it safe for its disciples to go into all the world in fulfillment of the command of Christ. The danger or safety of one's relation to the world always depends upon his conception of the world. To the Christian the world is harmless so long as it represents the idea of opportunity. It is safe for him to gain and use all which it has to offer, thought, wealth, or power, if he can keep this idea uppermost in his mind.

The office of the Christian in the world is to communicate Christianity to the world. Self-protection is secondary, or rather it is most completely gained by the fulfillment of this object. The individual Christian represents this purpose, and the church. The church is the Christian organized to this end. There are other uses of the Christian organization, but this is the object which gives meaning and advantage to all others. This communication of Christianity to the world through the Christian,

Digitized by Google

in his individual or associated life, is effected in various ways. The earliest, as it has been the most persistent, method was that of testimony. The Christian stood out in the world representing a new fact, a new principle, a new faith. Through his life he advertised Christianity. The simpler his life, the more natural his faith, the more he called the attention of men to his religion. Not infrequently this natural and unostentatious witness to his faith cost him his life. Then Christianity was communicated to other lives. Persecution carried it even to the hearts of persecutors. Sometimes the witness to the faith found expression in protest against prevailing immoralities and cruelties. Christianity declared itself in appreciable and effective ways for the rights of man. The Christian became the champion of humanity. The result of these conflicts — the result was always a deliverance or a reform — carried Christianity farther and farther into society, and established it more securely in the respect and affections of men. But the chief form in which the Christian testimony found expression was the creed. Very early the Christian learned to say, and to say aloud, "I believe." He seems to have been filled with the spirit of the Psalmist who cried out, "I have become a believer, therefore I must let myself be heard." This affirmation of faith was contagious. Next to the life of the Christian, his creed has been, without doubt, the most effective agency in the communication of Christianity. The clear affirmation of faith, when the reasons can be adduced which support it, especially when these reasons are involved, as in the Apostles' Creed, in the recital of facts, is in itself an argument and an inspiration. It is an invitation to the doubting, troubled, and even defiant heart of this world. The power of the creed — the power, that is, of the *believing* Christian — must always be a chief agent in the spread of Christianity. It is a noticeable fact that each new apprehension of Christianity on the part of the church has been the means of a larger and closer contact with the world. On the whole, the advance of Christianity may be traced in the progress of doctrine.

Perhaps the most natural and available way, to the majority, in which the Christian may fulfill his office of communicating Christianity is through his identification with the world. When this identification becomes formal, as in the alliance between church and state, it becomes dangerous. But there are numberless ways in which it may be vital and even organic, without becoming formal. The Christian is a member of the family, a factor in society, a citizen of the state. He is a partner in the affairs of men. He deals in administration. He is a student, an inquirer into things of common concern, an adventurer, like other men, into the unrevealed and unexplored realms of thought. In all these relations and employments he has the opportunity to leave the personal impress of his Christianity. Probably nothing is more effective or helpful to Christianity than the action of the Christian man, when he is most unconsciously the Christian. But in all these relations there is need for the

Digitized by Google

intentional and well-considered application of Christianity. These are all to be Christianized — vitalized, that is, with the Christian spirit, and informed with the Christian purpose. Sometimes it is difficult to cause the individual Christian to see that his personal responsibility extends beyond the use of his personal example. "If I am a Christian in my business," he may ask, "have I not fulfilled my duty?" No. It is your duty to make it easy, in some cases to make it possible, for others to be Christians in the same business. Nor is it sufficiently considered that it may be easier to one's self to attempt a reform in a given business, when its methods have become unchristian and immoral, than to attempt to maintain alone the true and Christian method. There may be times, under the competitions of business, when the Christian man must resort to questionable methods, or succumb to failure, if he cannot change the method and lift the standard. And when we pass from matters of more private interest to those of public concern, the necessity for the active and coöperative communication of Christian methods and principles becomes apparent. Present examples are to be found in the movement for the protection of the family, and in that for purity in political life.

The communication of Christianity, however, assumes its large and imperative form as it finds expression in the endeavor of the Christian to fulfill his Lord's command in the conversion of the world. Christianity is a salvation. That salvation is meant for every man. And men are to carry it to one another. It is to be on its human side a communicated salvation. It has no other visible power of extension. The figure of the seed or the leaven does not apply to Christianity as a salvation extending from man to man. The human element is the active element in its extension. There must be a going into all the world, a preaching of the gospel to the whole creation. This going into all the world means searching through the city, following along the track of emigration or commerce or adventure, penetrating into the dark and well-nigh inaccessible places of the earth. This preaching the gospel to the whole creation means that wherever man lives the Christian has a message for him. And we are not to forget that the known contents of the message are the reason for the going. Christianity is to be carried because it is a gospel, "good news," "glad tidings." Like his Divine Master the Christian is sent "not to condemn the world, but that the world through him may be saved." It is to be feared that Christianity is suffering more at present in the missionary form of expression than in any other. Christianity is apprehended as a faith, as an institution, as an organic force in society. We fear that it is not sufficiently apprehended as a gospel. The church stands equipped with organization; it lacks, if anywhere, in the spirit of communication. But this lack is serious, and if long continued will visibly diminish the missionary power of the church. We are wont to say in the consciousness of any spiritual want that the church needs a revival of religion. Let us be more specific, in the sense of our present want, and say that the church needs a revival of Christianity.

Digitized by Google

THE SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

THE approaching meeting of the American Board is anticipated with more than the usual pleasure. The fact that it is the seventy-fifth anniversary doubtless has something to do with this special interest. Not that there is anything particularly impressive in this numerical feature of the meeting. Seventy-five is not a number that captivates the imagination. It is possible to appreciate the feeling of those who have supposed that there is a mysterious centurial movement in human affairs. But seventy-five is not a number to conjure with. Yet there has been no mistake in selecting such a year for a celebration. A point half way on from the jubilee to the centennial is a fitting spot to pause at for a moment and look back over the past and onward to the brightening future. Not a few, we presume, who were present at the fiftieth anniversary in Boston will be able to attend in the same city the seventy-fifth. The presence also, as may be anticipated, of the president of the Board, who on the former occasion eloquently interpreted its history, will suitably qualify any exaggeration of the lapse of time. Yet, practically, the present meeting of the Board confronts another generation from that with which it dealt at the previous gathering in Boston. Of the executive officers of that day none are now in service, and only one survives. Of the Prudential Committee two are still members who were so then, having been annually reëlected, to the incalculable advantage of the cause to which they have devoted so much of their time and thought; but nearly half of the intervening period has passed away since the last of their nine associates, Charles Stoddard, Esq., resigned his trust. We think, therefore, that it has been wisely decided to give at the coming meeting, as at the jubilee, a prominent place to historical and commemorative exercises; and the names of the distinguished clergymen who are specially intrusted with leadership in this celebration, the Rev. George Leon Walker, D. D., and the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs, are a sufficient guarantee that the occasion will be suitably improved.

The history of the Board is an interesting study from many points of view. It is a part of a general movement through which evangelical faith, recovering from the prostration caused by long-continued struggles both internal and external, reasserted itself with renewed purity and power. The causes were many, — progress in the apprehension of Christian doctrine, particularly of the central truth of the Atonement, which was liberated from its subjection to the control of a misplaced and misunderstood doctrine of election, wide-spread religious awakenings, increased knowledge of the Asiatic world, the enthusiasm and enterprise of young men whose minds and hearts had been illumined and kindled with fire from the altar of Christ's sacrifice for the salvation of the world. The form which the movement assumed in its missionary development was natural and fitting, that of free societies, unhampered by alliances with States,

Digitized by Google

unfettered by the restricted degree to which the mass of nominal church membership had grasped the problem of missions or entered into its spirit. Even those who most fully understood what was called for, and were most active in labors, but imperfectly apprehended what could be accomplished, or how to bring this to pass. Nothing, for instance, in the early transactions of the American Board is more apparent than the tentative character of all that was done. The young men at Andover Seminary who gave the first impulse submitted to the Massachusetts General Association the inquiries, whether they —the applicants — "ought to renounce the object of missions as either visionary or impracticable; if not, whether they ought to direct their attention to the Eastern or Western world; whether they may expect patronage and support from a missionary society in this country, or must commit themselves to the direction of a European society." When they were ordained it was with the vague designation of "Missionaries to the Heathen in Asia." Their mission was called the "Mission to Asia." None of them reached under the American Board the particular field — "some part of the empire of Birmah" —which it was hoped would be found open. One society, it was thought, would receive the support of all American Protestant Christians.

Such conditions gave to this society a peculiar character at the start, and have shaped its history. It is undenominational. Circumstances have caused it to become the foreign missionary organ of Congregationalists, but so far as Congregationalism is anything other than the most fitting and helpful organization of Christianity for its work in a particular country the Board has nothing to do with it. It is also catholic in doctrine. "Christians of different denominations," said Dr. Woods in his remarkable sermon delivered at the Tabernacle in Salem, at the ordination of the first missionaries of the Board, "Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Moravians, new divinity men and old divinity men, have all been more or less disposed to attach too much importance to the points in which they differ from each other. They have had party spirit. They have had narrow prejudices. . . . They have injured the truth by discussing the *important subjects* of disagreement without due meekness and candor, and by laying out too much strength on those which are *unimportant*. . . . Christians have needed some grand object to seize their hearts and engage all their powers — some great and common cause in which they might be effectually purified from error and find a grave for all their jealousies and animosities; and in which the eternal truths of revelation might be maintained with unyielding firmness, and propagated with augmented and unconquerable zeal. THE SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL and THE CONVERSION OF THE WORLD constitute the very *object* wanted — the *common cause* which ought to unite, and has already begun to unite, the affections, prayers, and labors of the great family of Christians." Similarly, in one of the earliest addresses sent out by the Board to the Christian public, we read: "It will be the

Digitized by Google

desire and aim of the Board so to conduct their affairs as to secure the confidence of all Christians throughout the United States, of every denomination; and they venture to hope for the countenance of all who admit the utility of missions and translations."

Another important characteristic of the work of the Board has been its care for Christian education. This has been one of the main reasons of the stability and steady progress of its work. In the first instructions given to its missionaries the importance of this means of evangelization is fitly recognized. The subsequent history shows variations of method, differences of opinion as to the extent to which the Board may properly promote directly the establishment of the higher institutions of learning, or itself organize them, but the object itself has never been lost sight of.

This is but one aspect of a larger fact. The Board was instituted, and in a good degree has been worked, on the theory of a simple and absolute reliance upon the truth of the gospel as the divine instrumentality for human salvation. Nothing on this point can be more satisfactory than the instructions to the first missionaries, to which we have already referred. "In teaching the Gentiles it will be your business not vehemently to declaim against their superstitions, but in the meekness and gentleness of Christ to bring them as directly as possible to a knowledge of divine truth. It is the truth, the truth as it is in Jesus, which is 'mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds . . . bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ.' So far as the truth has access, so as to produce its effect, the errors and superstitions and vices of Paganism will fall, of course."

We have touched in the foregoing paragraphs upon the secret of the power of the anniversaries of the American Board. It has stood before the public as the representative of catholic and undenominational Christianity; or, in other words, for the gospel in its universality and absoluteness. The presence of missionaries has contributed to this impression. They represent Christianity in its claim to supreme control over personality, in its demand of entire self-sacrifice. They come from fields where the questions that divide Christians at home sink into insignificance, to tell of trophies won for Christ from men in almost every grade of humanity.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of such a society as the Board will be an occasion not only for a review of the past, but for a large outlook over the field of missions, and the gathering of fresh inspiration for new labors. It has been creditable to the Board that it has always professed, and in no inconsiderable degree been quick to exercise, a willingness to learn from experience. As we have noticed, its beginnings were tentative. It has endeavored to follow the leadings of Providence. It has carefully gathered up lessons from every field concerning the most effective methods of prosecuting missions, as its files and reports abundantly show. A comparison of the work now doing at its stations with that which

Digitized by Google

was accomplishing even twenty-five years ago will show, we believe, commendable progress. It doubtless will learn much in the days to come. Yet the thought is full of encouragement and stimulus, that through the various missionary societies now well organized and conducted by men of large experience (the tables which we publish in this number will suggest an aggregate of these societies and a degree of efficiency which we suspect will surprise those who have not paid special attention to the subject) the church to-day might lay a hand of power and blessing — as it were, the very benediction of Christ — on every island and continent of the globe. All that is needed is the inspiration that alone can lift the church to the level of its opportunity. Providence has been developing through the century the requisite organizations. It is now giving access to every field, however long closed and sealed. The continent of Africa is becoming as open to missions as to the sunlight. The remotest provinces of China will soon be in active commercial relations with Western civilization. The islands of the Pacific and the continents of Asia and Africa will, erelong, be more thoroughly crossed and recrossed by routes of travel and traffic than was the Roman Empire when it was conquered by the early church. As never before the world is prepared for the gospel. Has the church a gospel for the world?

This is the underlying question for all Christian missions. It needs to be considered anew. For ourselves we believe that the church cannot be roused to the endeavor to which the events of the present century point as an immediate duty without a reconsideration of questions which some are disposed to consider as no longer open to discussion, and without a clearer and more satisfactory issue to such inquiries.

The impulse to modern missions, the origin of the American Board, was intimately connected, as we have already noticed, with the new views which had gained prominence respecting the universality of the Atonement. Dr. Woods, in the sermon from which we have already quoted, was emphatic on this point. He pleaded as a motive for "effort to seek the conversion of all mankind," "the plenteousness of the provision which Christ has made for their salvation," an atonement not only "sufficient for Asiatics and Africans," but "made for them as well as for us." He rebuked as indicative of the limited and exclusive spirit of Judaism any lower estimate of the Christian dispensation. The two postulates upon which the whole work of the American Board has proceeded from the beginning are: every man's need of the gospel, and the sufficiency of the gospel for every man. Nor at the outset, at least, was this need reduced to a necessity for some secret provision in the divine government by which saving blessings could be mysteriously communicated to men left in entire ignorance of their ground, and an almost equal ignorance of their motive and source and character. It was claimed to be the undeniable teaching of Scripture that men must perish without revealed truth. The necessity of this knowledge is the burden of the early missionary sermons preached before the Board.

Digitized by Google

None of these was more moderate in language, more calm, unimpassioned, thoroughly reasoned and reasonable than President Appleton's. Its object was to show that "the true character of God is not known except by revelation." He declines to agitate the question "whether some individuals may not be sanctified by the Spirit who are precluded from all acquaintance with revealed religion." Such purely exceptional cases he justly regards as of no serious account in the large and practical issue.

With these fundamental principles there was held, though with less firmness of grasp and clearness and fullness of intelligence, another maxim which had previously become prominent in proportion as Christianity had ceased to be asserted and defended in the use of its specific teachings. We refer to the dogma of individual moral probation. This probation, without discussion, was accepted as absolutely limited for all men to the opportunities of the present life. A necessary corollary from this sweeping proposition, combined with the received belief as to the universal need of a knowledge of revealed truth, was that every pagan not reached by the missionary of the cross must inevitably pass from this probationary existence to everlasting punishment. The first missionaries to India make this conclusion emphatic in their memorial to the governor of Bombay, December 4, 1813: —

"We looked upon the heathen, and alas! three fourths of the inhabitants of the globe had not been told that Jesus had 'tasted death for every man.' We saw them following their fathers in successive millions to eternal death. The view was overwhelming."

This dogmatic inference gave special intensity to appeals for missions for a long time. The fundamental Biblical principles of the missionary movement were so clear, the moral degradation of the heathen world was so evident, traditional conceptions of the divine government were so strong, that men's minds swept on to the fearful conclusion of the doom of the pagan without a full realization of what it involved even as a mere process of reasoning. But this could not continue. The whole history of Christian beliefs shows a constant elimination of incidental propositions or imperfect apprehensions under the educating influence of the sure and necessary principles of the system. It was so in this case. The increase of knowledge of other religions than the Christian, the rise and growth of the science of comparative religion, more thorough acquaintance with the Scriptures under improved methods of interpretation, the heightened influence of the gospel, bringing men's minds into larger knowledge of the mind of Christ and deeper sympathy with his love to men, clearer and higher consequent conceptions of the true character of God, have gradually deprived the old appeal from the inevitable doom of the pagan of its effectiveness, even in missionary gatherings. Even where it is recognized in thesis, or at least is not formally abandoned, it is no longer pressed. A secretary of one of our most conservative and powerful missionary organizations, the Presbyterian Board of Missions, speaking not

Digitized by Google

long since in behalf of missions in a prominent church in Philadelphia, affirmed that an intelligent layman had said to him that the vast majority of Presbyterians in that region — forty-eight out of fifty was the proportion given — had come to believe that in some way or other, without foreign missions, large numbers of the heathen would be saved. The secretary, without attempting to correct this belief, proceeded to plead for missionary effort on other grounds. The organ of the London Missionary Society — that society with which the first missionaries of the Board proposed to connect themselves if not sent forth from America, a society with which the Board has been always in peculiarly intimate relations — has recently remarked: —

"There was a time, and this not long ago, when the most forcible appeal for missions was drawn from the belief that the heathen who did not hear of Christ must drop into a hell of unending torment. The nobler thoughts of God which have of late taken possession of the church have rendered it impossible to believe that men could be eternally lost for not having believed truths never offered for their acceptance."

We cannot regard this language as in any respect too strong. The intelligence and heart of the Christian church not merely decline to accept the old dogma of the perdition of the heathen, — they repudiate it. In the absence of any thorough reconsideration of the subject the consequence is that some take refuge in agnosticism; others refuse to think on the subject; others resort to a vague assertion of the divine leniency, a proportioning of judgment to light and opportunity. Practically, it is believed that as many will be saved out of heathendom as out of Christendom.

If this change of belief involved merely the withdrawal or modification of one motive to Christian missions the problem presented would be comparatively simple and unimportant. The only question would be how the argument for missions shall be adapted to such a changed attitude of mind. But the real issue is much broader and deeper. The question of the salvation of the heathen is simply one aspect of the fundamental religious question of our time: the claim of Christianity to be the one perfect and final religion for all mankind. Involved in this issue are inquiries such as these: Is the final judgment universal? Do the ultimate destinies of men turn on their personal relation to Christ? Is Christianity essentially ethical and spiritual? Is its salvation mediated by motives, including personal influence, addressed to and operative in the human reason, affections, and will? Is there one system of salvation for Jew and Gentile, as one final judgment? Is God's purpose of creation and redemption fulfilled except as He manifests himself to every human being as Redeemer as well as Judge? What inference upon this question is legitimate from the universality of Christ's Person in its constitution, the universality of Christ's atonement, and the universality of Christ's judgment? How and why is He the Son of Man, the second Adam, the Creator, Mediator, and Ruler of the universe?

Digitized by Google

We cannot but think that the interests of missions to the heathen require a readjustment of pleas in their behalf in the light of the Scriptural and rational answers which must be given to such questions. If this is not done there is danger not merely of the loss of a particular motive to missions, but of a loss of faith in the principles which underlie the whole missionary movement. The cause of missions stands or falls with the postulates on which the work of the American Board was begun, — universal guilt, universal redemption, the indispensableness of faith. It rests ultimately on the divine command (Matt. xxviii. 18–20), which implies the universality and absoluteness of Christianity. The dogma of the damnation of the heathen is not one of these postulates, but a corollary obtained by introducing a dogma which is no part nor presupposition of the gospel, — that of the limitation of probation for all men to the present life. This dogma is now working, as do all untruthful exaggerations, with a disturbing and injurious effect. It is driving its advocates to positions inconsistent with the fundamental axioms of Christian missions. They cannot accept the old conclusion of the universal perdition of the pagan. They continue, however, to insist upon the limitation of probation. The only and necessary relief is in a reduction of Christianity, a lessening of its claims and a corruption of its ethical and spiritual quality. The endeavor is to find grounds of hope for the heathen outside of Christianity, or outside of the sphere of its operation as moral and spiritual truth working as a new and mighty motive-power in the formation of character. That, in quarters where this limitation of probation is deemed essential to orthodoxy, the drift of opinion is strongly in this direction is abundantly evident. The caution, indeed, is still interposed that the evidence requires us to hold that the "hopeful" cases are rare and purely exceptional, but the line of movement entered upon and the motive to it point decisively in one direction, namely, to a very large inclusion in the kingdom of Christ of men who are supposed to be saved by Him, without knowledge of Him, and by none of the means or motives which are distinctive and characteristic in the Christian life. For the movement cannot be arrested by the recognition of merely exceptional cases. This brings no relief. It does not meet the real difficulty. It fails to take account of the efficient cause of the change in men's views. That cause, as the "Chronicle of the London Missionary Society" asserts, is the growth in Christian consciousness of "nobler thoughts of God, as revealed in Jesus Christ." Exceptional cases are wholly incommensurate with the magnitude such a revelation introduces into the problem. To say that Christ is fitted by the foreordained constitution of his Person to sustain a personal relation to every man, that he actually died in intent and purpose for every man, that he will judge every man, as he created and redeemed every man, and then to say that out of incalculable millions of these very men a paltry few only will be saved, and these without "the establishment of this personal relation to our Lord," — is worse than poor

Digitized by Google

logic, — it is an insult, however unintentional, to Christianity, and practically derogatory to its claims to absoluteness and finality. We recognize in its full value all that can be said about "elect" Chinese or "elect" Jews in Christendom, as about "elect infants" and "all other elect persons who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word." We recall Peter's language: "God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him." But we recall also that Peter was sent to Cornelius to teach him the words by which he and his house should be saved (Acts xi. 14), and that when "filled with the Holy Ghost" the same Apostle affirmed of the historic Christ, — "Jesus Christ of Nazareth," — "in none other is there salvation" (Acts iv. 8, 10, 12): and we cannot but think it derogatory to this salvation to identify it with any experience which does not include the knowledge of the Father through the Son. And if the present movement in certain orthodox circles to relieve the demand from a larger and more Christian view of the character of God for a wide extension of hope for the heathen is not freed from the limitations of this inferential dogma about their probation, it will be impossible to maintain in effectiveness the principle which lies at the very heart of Christian missions — the indispensableness of the gospel.

A firm and practical conviction of the rightful and sole supremacy of Christianity has been the source of the strength and the heroism of the greatest, the most effective missionaries from the days of the Apostle of the Gentiles to the present hour. We are in earnest that no dogma be interposed which limits the operation of its divine power to conditions which exclude its exercise in any intelligible way, or on any extensive scale. We believe, and we think there is need of asserting the principle, that the author of Christianity will give it in time, as in all other respects, a fitting opportunity for its operation. We would send out missionaries who can ask men to renounce all other systems because they are persuaded that Christianity, and this alone, fulfills all that is good in every other, and meets the deficiencies of every other; missionaries who in the light of all of God's revelations of himself, whether by human reason or human history or special inspiration of prophets and apostles or by Incarnation, with clear intelligence and perfect assurance of faith will present Christ as the rightful and the only Saviour and Lord; and we would not weaken their message by loading it with a dogma of the doom of the ancestors of the men to whom they preach, a dogma contradictory to the name they proclaim and into which they baptize, or by accompanying it with an apology for Christianity which lowers it in principle to the level of other religions, or makes it essentially a system operative in some occult way and not as "the truth as it is in Jesus."

As we have seen, the platform of the American Board is pledged by its history to all that is catholic in Christian belief and fellowship. We

Digitized by Google

believe that its missions should be conducted in this large-minded and large-hearted spirit; that young men should be attracted to its service by the grandeur of its aim, and welcomed without scrutiny as to their theological opinions beyond what is necessary to ascertain their full acceptance of fundamental Christianity in their beliefs and in their consecration of purpose. We would raise, as a dividing question, no issue upon the mode in which God will administer his one system of redeeming grace in its application to those of his children who are born in the darkness of heathenism. But all the more are we strenuous that right opinions should prevail as to what the gospel is in its universality and completeness, and that no positions be taken which in the end will inevitably diminish men's convictions of its supreme authority and absolute necessity. And we believe that it is by the prevalence of truer conceptions of its universal character and relations, in connection with the providential opening of the world to its mission and the promised gift of the Spirit, that the coming century — may we not hope and expect, the next quarter of a century? — will show a progress in its extension beyond anything as yet realized.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN: IS IT A NOVEL?

THE republication of this famous work thirty-three years after its first issue suggests some interesting questions concerning the Art of Fiction that were not so prominent before the minds of either the producers or the consumers of novels fifty years ago as they are to-day. The novel has sensibly felt the awakening of the scientific spirit. Science has given new eyes to painter, poet, and novelist. Fiction, as the most influential form of artistic prose creation, has sensitively responded to the recent powerful impetus given to the Philosophy of Æsthetics. The purpose of the novel, its province, function, laws of structure, and the criteria of its technical excellences are now matters of paramount literary importance; half a century ago they were scarcely discussed. Any good-sized story printed between two covers, and more often between six, was a novel. There was no question about the place of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in literature; it was a novel, of course. But to-day its right to such a classification is a possible matter of dispute. Art-criticism, in its present stage of refinement, asserts as one of its dogmas that all works of art which have a practical purpose are not properly works of art. Such works may not be intrinsically bad; very likely they ought to be written; but they must not be regarded as works of art. Art, it is claimed, exists only for pleasure. The novel, as a species of art, has for its ministry the impartation of delight in the arousing of pleasurable emotions through the vivid representation of human feelings and human actions. The novelist, as a prose-poet, need concern himself with nothing beyond fidelity to his own artistic impressions, fidelity to artistic truth, and fidelity to the artis-

Digitized by Google

tic perfection of his work. A work of art has no end outside of itself. "Art for art's sake" is the capital maxim for the workers in all forms of artistic creation.

Now the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" had a conscious and openly avowed practical end in writing the book. Never was a book written with such intensity of moral purpose. Here was no mental activity for mere play; no literary exertion for its own sake; no purpose of imparting pleasure to others by moving their æsthetic emotions. The author's purpose was a far mightier one. It was nothing less than to make her story a revelation, and to promulgate a new political gospel. As a professed abolitionist she intended to unmask the diabolical nature of human slavery, and to aid in securing the repeal of the odious Fugitive-Slave Bill. As a Christian philanthropist she intended to represent the condition of the American negro slave as a question of humanity and of Christian civilization, so as to promote his ultimate emancipation. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was a great cry of agony and revolt against national injustice and oppression; it was an ardent aspiration toward a purged and regenerated nation. Obviously, tested by the criterion of art-criticism just referred to, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," with its openly professed ethical and reformatory ground-motive, is not a novel. Its end was outside of itself. It must be ruled out of the realm of artistic fiction, and relegated to the limbo of political pamphlets and highly wrought rhetorical appeals to inflamed party spirit. As fiction it was simply a political *feuilleton*. But no pamphleteer, no senator, no leading article, no sharp weapon of logic, no loud thunder of oratory, ever shook the public reason and the public conscience and "moulded the hearts of millions into one" as did this nondescript work of fiction. For popular effect "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is unparalleled in the annals of literature. It was nothing less than revolutionary. How are we to account for it?

It is becoming for laymen in art to bow to the utterances of the high priests and legislators of the Beautiful. But while we cordially join in the protest against turning the novel into a pulpit, or a platform for the mediocre deliverances of the opinions and antipathies of loud-mouthed reform, still we confess to a haunting suspicion that somehow "Uncle Tom's Cabin" *is* a novel, — a genuine work of art. Next to its powerful moral purpose, its unprecedented popular impression was due, we believe, to its art-power. Had it not been artistically presented to the public it would not have produced its profound and wide-reaching effects.

As a work of fiction the book found its justification in the freshness and attractiveness of its theme. The system of American slavery as an abstract theory of human relations was a proper subject for the pulpit, the platform, the public press, and the halls of congressional debate; but slavery was more than a theory, — it was a concrete reality of human life, and therefore legitimately within the limits of dramatic treatment. Human passions and human actions were existing in a most interesting form within

Digitized by Google

the environment of a definite section of social and national life. When we affirm this we state the very substance of fiction according to its most scholarly and able professors. Mrs. Stowe's originality manifested itself in her sagacity to perceive, as no one else had perceived, the art-value of such a subject and of such materials. Under the powerful impulse and guidance of profound moral passion she made her searching appeal to the heart and the imagination of her countrymen.

The realistic basis for her art she had made secure through personal observation, original documents, and unimpeachable testimony. Sure of her facts, she was vindicated from all assault upon the score of a want of truth. One great secret of the success of the book was in its impregnable foundation in truth. She was equally mindful of artistic truth in her treatment of all the essential interests that are involved in spirited and life-like portraiture of original characters, in the complex relations of passion, and in the development of the action of the story. The story was unflagging in its interest from beginning to end; and a unity was given to the varied dramatic elements of character, passion, and action, by the intensity of her single burning desire to reveal the true nature of American slavery. The ideal powers of her rich, earnest genius fused the many parts into a consistent whole. Defects of construction and style could be pointed out; the failure of artistic skill is here and there apparent; her descriptions are sometimes tame and inadequate; the character coloring is too monochromatic; the critical reader now and then feels the absence of light where there is shade, and shade where there is light; the good people are altogether good, and the bad people are altogether bad. But with its blemishes it is unquestionably a work of genius, — thought, imagination, sympathy, religious sentiment and faith, and vivid dramatic power shine on every page. One striking peculiarity must be noticed: this is a novel without a lover; but the pages glow with conjugal and parental love and religious affection.

The prejudice of technical estimate may be justified in denying to "Uncle Tom's Cabin" the highest technical excellences according to the present standards of artistic prose. But the prejudice of technique should not blind the cultivated or critical reader to the truly great artistic qualities of the work. Even upon technical grounds modern literary criticism will go astray if it overlooks or undervalues splendid powers that insure an artistic as well as an ethical triumph, notwithstanding defects of execution. Energy of creative power and the capacity for powerfully stirring the emotions are superior to mere technical finish. It is ever the danger of the educated eye to derive more pleasure in observing how a thing is done than what is done, and trivial subjects treated with exquisite technical excellence are apt to give greater delight than a great subject treated with artistic power but full of technical defects, while the treatment is true and grand as a whole. Nevertheless, in the interests of the art of the future, it is essential to insist upon the

Digitized by Google

absoluteness of technique in artistic execution. Emotional pleasure and technical pleasure have met in "Silas Marner" and "Henry Esmond," and will be often gratified by future novelists who work upon the method suggested by a distinguished modern literary artist: "The deepest quality of a work of art," says Henry James, Jr., "will always be the mind of the producer. In proportion as that mind is rich and noble will the novel, the picture, the statue, partake of the substance of beauty and truth."

Then there is the prejudice of theory. Critics are not unfrequently thrown into injudicious antagonism to an author or his work, because a strong writer persists in following the bent of his own genius rather than in subjecting himself to the canons of art-criticism. The roundabout common-sense of appreciative readers will never reject "Uncle Tom's Cabin" from the department of novels on account of its controlling practical purpose. On the same principle of exclusion the prejudice of theory would deny a place in art to many a noble work of fiction. Nearly every one of George Eliot's novels, with their lofty strain of ethical teaching, would be shut out. Even George Sand, whom Sainte-Beuve placed at the head of French novelists, would be thrown out of account as an artist in fiction, for hers was a moral leadership in point of literary purpose. Where shall we place Thackeray, who was as much a moralist as he was a novelist? What shall we do with "Oliver Twist," and "Nicholas Nickleby," and "Bleak House," — indeed, with nearly all of Dickens's works? It may be said of this great novelist, in almost his own words, that he looked upon the world as a scene where it was the duty of each man in his own way to make the lot of the miserable a little less miserable; and having learned that his genius gave him great power, he was bent on using that power effectively. The poetry of Wordsworth and of Browning is the poetry of great preachers teaching the world in musical phrase what they have gained as seekers after truth. They are first in their office as preachers rather than as poets.

With all due deference to the prejudice of theory, we fail to see why the ethical purpose and the artistic purpose cannot coexist and coöperate in any artistic effort that admits of the twofold purpose. Why may not the novelist instruct and stimulate to action through the impartation of pleasure? Like Bret Harte, or like Howells in his later work, he may artistically conceal the end in the means, "teach morality while seeming to dispense with it," and move and charm us all the while. The province of the novelist is limitless, for human life is multitudinous in its ethical and dramatic aspects. The artist in the portrayal of human interests must be allowed all freedom of choice in subject and in purpose. Only let "his mind be rich and noble," and the selection and treatment will be sure to take care of themselves. The novel is, indeed, as the novelists claim, a "most magnificent form of art." As the artist grows richer in experience and equipment, and grows nobler in character and purpose,

Digitized by Google

he will become more appreciative of his high responsibility as a potent factor in the well-being of society, and find that his best work and most enduring as a literary artist will root itself in his personal worth and in his sympathy with the permanent interests of the human spirit. The wise Goethe said: "The fashion of this world passeth away, and I would fain occupy myself only with the abiding."

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STATISTICS OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

BY DR. R. GRUNDEMANN.

(*Condensed Translation by Rev. C. C. Starbuck.*)

TEN years ago I published preliminary statistical accounts of Protestant missions. It might naturally be supposed that the following tables are the long-intended continuation of that work, for which it might well appear that I have taken all needful time. This, however, would be an error. The present contribution to missionary statistics has also been called out by a special occasion. An associate had stirred me up to resume the execution of a plan, formed twenty years ago, of furnishing a yearly chronicle of missions, offering to take by far the greater part of the labor upon himself. But after we had, on this understanding, arranged to publish a Missionary Almanac, of which statistics should form an essential element, my friend found himself so overwhelmed with other affairs that he left everything upon my hands, cumbered with a great packet of English and American reports, which proved however to be an exceedingly defective collection. Thus divided between the apparent presumption of undertaking the preparation of a statistical account under such circumstances and my long growing sense of the imperious necessity of such a work, I was fain to devote my best energies, though most reluctantly, to the dry and difficult task work, which often held me till far into the night over its perplexing computations and combinations. This explanation may well excuse defects. Yet, notwithstanding these, I hope the reader will find, in various respects, a decided advance upon the essay of ten years ago.

Missionary statistics have two sides. We ask: *What are the different Missionary Societies doing* for the conversion of the heathen? and then, also: *What is being done in the different heathen lands?* The computations from both points of view ought to yield the same result. The second point has not as yet been sufficiently held in view. I believe that here an advance will be found over ten years ago. I hope, also, that a far more discriminating account will be found here than is usual of moneys contributed, distinguishing more accurately between genuine yearly offerings of the various Christian countries for Foreign Missions and the interest of funded bequests, which forms not an inconsiderable proportion of missionary outlays. Various societies, moreover, receive

Digitized by Google

considerable assistance from abroad, which must also be deducted from what is raised in the countries in which they have their seat. I have done my best with the round numbers which usually represent these foreign contributions, and hope that I shall be found to have come a good deal nearer to accuracy.

Another important point held in view by me has been to distinguish between trustworthy statements proceeding from competent authority (or computations resting immediately upon these), and such as are made out by probable combinations. Many English and American annual reports, in particular, affix in their tables, in the most unconcerned manner, the note "No Returns" to the names of various stations, and yet sum up regardless of these gaps, the result being a distorted image. In such cases I have done my best by calling to my aid earlier reports to fill out these deficiencies. For the probability of the resulting statements I can easily hold myself answerable, but not for their absolute accuracy. So of those mission fields as to which I could not obtain reports. And as space has not sufficed to give the grounds of these conjectural estimates, they are distinguished from the certain elements of each recapitulation by being printed in "old style" figures. And always, where an amount stated comprised such elements, these have been placed within brackets, or preceded by and ranged beneath the accredited figures.

That missionary statistics have even yet only a very relative value is what I declared ten years ago, and now emphatically repeat. But notwithstanding the caution with which even the following results are to be received, they nevertheless afford an evident proof of the steady progress in the extension of the kingdom of God by means of Protestant missions. Missionary statistics are not an idle mustering of our particular armies, but are rather that system of book-keeping which appertains to the regular conduct of every business. We hope that the attention given to this branch of missionary science will have a fruitful reflex effect upon the cause itself.

Let me remark, in conclusion, that the Annual Reports of 1883–84 are the basis throughout, even where later statements had already come to hand. Only where the Report of that year could not be had have I made use of others.[1]

[[1] Dr. Grundemann's tables give much ampler particulars than are communicated here, doing for each society and each country what, in the recapitulations which are here reproduced, is only done for whole nations that give, or whole continents that receive. These fuller tables are to be found in the June, July, August, and September numbers, for 1885, of Warneck's *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, published at Gütersloh by C. Bertelsmann. — *Translator.*]

Digitized by Google

A. German Societies.

TABLE I.

Recapitulation.

Missionary Societies.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Amount of Expenditures in Dollars.[1]
		European.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Unitas Fratrum	99	145	951	81,258	28,116	2,237	216	16,933	8,250	90,522.24
2. Basle	38	99	339	16,154	8,017	840	170	6,177	1,625	199,827.36
3. Berlin	46	62	300	14,673	6,561	1,559	51	3,283	1,428	79,293.60
4. Rhenish	52	70	368	24,823	8,483 (60)	1,818	65 (40)	4,994	2,275	84,208.08
5. North German	4	11 (10)	30	700	250	–	4	200	75	19,920.00
6. Gossner	11	20	224	31,263 (300)	12,078 (80)	1,849 (20)	79 (2)	3,800	1,100	35,914.32
7. Leipsic	20	21	305	13,103 (100)	4,040	803	137 (2)	3,052 (50)	820	61,105.16
8. Herrmannsburg	64	76	37	11,220 (20)	5,061	1,221	63 (1)	2,028 (20)	750	48,000.00
9. Chrischona	2	6	2	400	–	–	1	26	?	10,112.16
10. Jerusalem Society	3	1	6	300	100	–	3	140	30	6,321.60
11. Brecklume	2	4	1	–	–	–	1	20	–	8,400.00
12. Berlin Ladies' Society for China	1	1	1	81	?	–	1	40	40	3,621.00
13. Ladies' Society	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	2,121.28
14. Free Missionaries	–	1		–	–	–	–	–	–	355.68
Total	342	517 (10)	2,564 (30)	193,975 (1,820)	72,706 (4,530)	10,327 (20)	791 (49)	40,643 (4,070)	16,393	649,722.48

Recapitulation of Increase in the last Decade.

1. Unitas Fratrum	7	(–10)		20,395	5,833			2,047		
2. Basle	5	(–9)		7,715	3,623			2,438		
3. Berlin	12	6		8,430	2,042			1,649		
4. Rhenish	14	8		5,385	3,827			1,242		
5. North German	–	2		450	90			30		
6. Gossner	–	1		10,104	5,307			?		
7. Leipsic	4	4		3,623	1,040			1,213		
8. Herrmannsburg	5	16		8,915	3,509			?		
Total	47	18		64,967	25,271			8,619*[2]		

[1 All receipts and outlays are given by Dr. Grundemann in marks, which we have reduced to dollars, at the rate of 24 cents to the mark. This, of course, involves a slight waste in all financial statements of societies outside of Germany. — Tr.]

[2 The asterisk affixed to a few numbers in the tables is not explained by Dr. Grundemann. — Tr.]

Digitized by Google

German Societies (*continued*).

TABLE II.

I. AFRICA.

Recapitulation.

Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Total Expenditures in Dollars.
		European.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
West Africa	13	22*	104*	5,567*	2,846*	524*	63*	1,686*	494*	89,204.00
		+10	+30	+550	+200		+3	+150	+50	+14,400 00
South Africa	8	186	619	61,112	19,579	3,761	123*	10,926	1,389*	79,790.40
							+40		+3,600	+31,200.00
East Africa	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	609.84
Total of German Missions in Africa	152	219	753	57,229	22,125	4,285	229	12,762	5,488	165,204.24
		(10)	(30)	(550)	(200)		(43)	(150)	(3,650)	(45,600.00)

II. ASIA.

Palestine	4	5	8	700	100	?	4	166	30	15,825.68
Hither India	63	121	743	52,847	16,661	2,949	237	7,266	1,058	158,255.28
				+300	+4,080	+20	+75	+3,800	+1,950	+12,000.00
Farther India	1	2	?	100	40	4	2	50	20	2,172.72
Indian Archipelago	24	31	209	9,525	2,680	755	24	1,610	750	28,542.30
China	12	21	88	3,679	1,640	207	28	655	145	47,528.16
					+60				+53	
Total of German Missions in Asia	104	180	1,048	67,151	25,161	3,935	370	13,547	4,006	258,824.64
				(1,100)	(4,280)	(20)	(77)	(3,850)	(2,803)	(12,000.00)

III. AUSTRALIA AND POLYNESIA.

a. Australian Continent.										
Unitas Fratrum	2	3		111	30	(—4)	2	43	20	923.76
Herrmannsburg	1	3		20	-	?	1	20	-	2,400.00
b. New Zealand.										
North German	1	1		150	50	-	1	50	25	1,440.00
Herrmannsburg	2	2		?	?	?	?	?	?	1,200.00
Total of German Missions in Australia and Polynesia.	6	9		281*	80*	(—4)*	4*	113*	45*	5,963.76
				(170)	(50)		(2)	(70)	(25)	(5,040.00)

Digitized by Google

GERMAN SOCIETIES (*concluded*).

IV. AMERICA.

Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		European.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
a. GREENLAND AND LABRADOR.										
Unitas Fratrum	12	29	68	2,808	1,242	43	39	598	286	3,221.76
b. UNITED STATES.										
Unitas Fratrum	3	6	10	276	113	-	2	36	17	1,530.00
c. WEST INDIES, INCLUDING MOSQUITO COAST.										
Unitas Fratrum	49	38	473	40,598	16,048	757	124	11,307	5,428	18,204.48
d. SOUTH AMERICA.										
Unitas Fratrum	16	36	217	25,632	7,937	1,811	23	2,280	1,128	1,751.52
Total of German Missions in America	80	109	768	69,314	25,340	2,111	188	14,221	6,859	24,707.76
General Recapitulation.										
Africa	152	219	753	57,229	22,125	4,285	229	12,762	5,483	165,204.24
Asia	104	180	1,043	67,151	25,161	3,925	370	13,547	4,006	258,824.64
Australia	6	9	-	281	80	(—4)	4	113	45	5,963.76
America	80	109	768	69,314	25,340	2,111	188	14,221	6,859	24,707.76
Outlay at Home	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	195,151.92[1]
Sum total of German Missions	342	517	2,564	193,975	72,706	10,317	791	40,643	16,393	649,852.82

TABLE III.

Recapitulation.

RECEIPTS AND HOME EXPENSES IN DOLLARS AND CENTS.

Received from											
Germany.[2]	England.	North America.	Holland.	France.	Denmark.	Norway.	Sweden.	Russia.	Colonies.	Funds and Other Sources.	Missionary Gr oun.
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M
524,945.28 (24,680.64)	23,796.24 (3,840.00)	19,879.92	9,708.72	134.40	(387.84[3])	—	4,310,64	12,270.48	3,902.88	81,861.44	9,218.16

689,916.00 (28,520.64).

Amount of Contributions from Switzerland, $68,403.60. From outside of Germany, (B–K) $73,955.28.

Home Outlays,[4] $195,151.92 (14,160.00).

[1] A discrepancy of $120.00 from Table I. I cannot make out where the mistake has occurred, without the use of more time than I have at command.

[2] And Switzerland.

[3] Interest included under L.

[4] Inclusive of training, outfit, and travel of Missionaries, etc.

Digitized by Google

B. British Societies.

TABLE I.

Recapitulation.

Missionary Societies.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		European.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Soc. Prop. Gospel	141	172	1,122	120,292 (4,125)	31,974 (1,490)	7,588	731 (107)	24,937 (2,750)	5,589 (950)	886,831.84
2. Bapt. M. S.	86	76	391	78,645 (40,073)	38,672	842	206 (20)	8,296 (1,200)	2,041 (600)	267,868.56
3. London M. S.	119	148	5,426	444,518	108,520	1,300	2,118	181,201	46,331 (25,000)	544,645.92
4. Church M. S.	216	268	3,181	178,608	41,757	8,835	1,694	68,710	18,448 (700)	1,091,012.40
5. Wesleyan Meth. M. S.	371	282	4,096 (2,000)	435,217 (2,465)	114,937	9,518	1,355 (350)	145,486 (2,100)	59,014 (1,000)	493,958.64
6. General Bapt. M. S.	11	7	23	3,246	1,222	50	25	1,304	247	32,406.96
7. Estab. C. of Scotland	14	22	96	1,254	462	148	43	4,721	311	132,638.16
8. Irish Presb. M.	6	14 (1)	38	1,710	370	25	25	2,054	400	29,349.12
9. Welsh Calv. Meth.	7	7	14	2,604	743	267	37	1,143	316	20,638.92
10. Free Ch. Scotland	27	59	284	8,915 (1,200)	4,700	431	227	15,115	4,364	348,772.32
11. So. Amer. M. S.	2	7	–	180	?	?	2	50	?	20,998.08
12. Eng. Presb. M.	5	28	73	4,099	2,912	154	28	550	127 (60)	89,775.12
13. Un. Presb. F. M.	72	61	425	28,681 (17,100)	11,221	759	195 (78)	11,277 (350)	3,030	170,098.32
14. Indian Female Normal S. S.	–	–	–	–	–	–	36	1,345	1,345	49,610.16
15. Melanesian M.	26	9	45	1,000	?	257 (35)	40	800	?	41,058.68
16. Un. Meth. Free Churches	19	16	147	15,894 (9,450)	6,444	394	52	4,370	1,630	26,289.36
17. Methodist New Connection	3	5	54	2,186 (1,000)	1,186	81	12	142	?	18,531.68
18. Universities M. to Central Africa	6	45	17	150	?	?	12	287	84	80,049.84
19. Christ. Vernac. Ed. Soc.	–	–	–	–	–	–	170	7,399	?	56,890.88
20. China Inland M.	25	66	102	2,100 (1,000)	1,100	20	?	?	?	68,521.28
21. Friends' Foreign M. A.	3	8	–	88 (12)	25 (8)	?	121	14,101 (15)	5,025 (5,015)	28,986.24
22. Primitive Meth. M. S.	1	4	2	756 (400)	356	?	?	?	?	12,574.08
23. Livingstone Inland M.	7	14	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	24,576.00
24. Soc. for Pro. Fem. Ed. in the East	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	35,730.48
Total	1,167 (31)	1,268 (1)	15,490 (2,000)	1,330,038	366,501 (1,489)	80,659 (35)	7,123 (573)	443,818 (11,585)	147,252 (38,385)	4,041,353.04

Digitized by Google

British Societies (*continued*).

Recapitulation of Increase in the last Decade.

Missionary Societies.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		European.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. S. P. G.	13	-		67,688	19,204			9,687		165,231.84
2. Bapt. M. S.	3	17		15,645	10,011			2,011		93,473.28
3. London M. S.	-	(-3)		6,646	10,553			69,982		32,485.92
4. Church M. S.	60	62		71,340	19,202			19,860		227,012.40
5. Wesley. Meth.	168	(-48)		70,007	13,718			19,824		25,958.64
6. General Bapt.	5	2		788	573			305		(-14,008.56)
7. Estab. Ch. Scotland.	9	15		573	136			-1,633		59,643.36
8. Irish Presb.	-	6		1,112	232			855		13,134.72
9. Welsh Calv. Meth.	3	2		762	212			232		3,482.88
10. Free Ch. of Scotland.	7	32		8,724	2,292			3,949		260,748.48
11. So American S.	-	3		130	?			20		3,238.08
12. Eng. Presb.	-	14		?	870			275		50,811.36
13. U. P. F. M.	21	16		?	4,366			2,622		20,309.52
14. Female Normal Sch. S.	-	-		-	-			?		?
15. Melanes. M.	?	?		?	?			?		?
16. U Meth. F. C.	6	2		2,894	1,800			2,385		12,306.96
17. Meth. N. Conn.	1	3		?	944			?		4,200 48
Total	296	118		241,309	84,118			132,007		958,029.36

TABLE II.

Recapitulation.

I. AFRICA.

Mission Fields.										
West Africa	85	65	558	74,452 +5,405	26,536 +30	2,950	224 +22	15,671 +1,750	5,741 +760	204,997.92
South Africa	160	112	672	127,958 +1,500	29,895	5,102	316 +30	20,838 +450	10,163 +500	264,425.04
East Africa	25	83	46	1,259 +200	327	169	9 +14	1,167 +100	122 +130	194,543.76
Egypt	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,391.04
African Islands	38	52	4,212	268,599	67,711	296	1,059 +10	94,028 +150	133 +30,060	135,180.48
Total of British Missions in Africa	309	313	5,488	479,373 (7,105)	123,999 (30)	8,517	1,684 (76)	134,154 (2,450)	47,609 (31,450)	803,538.24

Digitized by Google

British Societies (*continued*).

II. ASIA.

Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		European.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
a. Western Asia	11	12	68	2,103	459	51	44	2,143	200	50,861.60
b. India and Ceylon	430	441	5,580	257,817	64,686	12,646	3,607	168,142	89,425	1,655,871.60
	+5			+14,475	+1,418		+40	+515	+1,115	
c. Farther India	8	7	77	4,165	1,887	394	18	996	189	17,828.00
d. Indian Archipelago	9	11	16	3,344	829	320	8	200	50	18,845.52
e. China	56	179	544	16,453	12,174	1,257	153	3,752	1,195	881,168.72
	+26	+1		+4,456			+16	+570	+230	
f. Japan	11	20	31	744	419	145	7	102	89	40,716.24
				+249			+7	+350	+130	
Total of British Missions in Asia	551	671	6,816	308,806	81,872	14,813	3,900	176,770	42,573	2,164,291.68
	(31)	(1)		(19,180)	(1,418)		(71)	(1,635)	(1,725)	

III. AUSTRALIA AND POLYNESIA.

New Zealand, C.M.S.	16	17	293	31,865	2,850	192	9	462	100	21,858.44
Polynesia	49	44	638	208,708	53,213	1,069	582	72,294	31,909	60,409.44
			+2,000				+355	+150	+50	
Melanesia	33	18	204	11,943	3,591	226	144	5,188	2,328	80,397.12
				+1,200		+35		+800		
Total of British Missions in Australia and Polynesia	98	79	3,135	253,716	59,654	1,522	1,040	78,894	34,387	162,660.00
			(2,000)	(1,200)		(35)	(355)	(950)	(150)	

IV. AMERICA.

a. British North America	45	35	76	11,060	1,516	542	87	948	380	95,874.48
				+300	+50		+10	+300		
b. West Indies	149	148	475	217,100	94,707	3,076	339	44,993	17,317	127,868.24
				49,040			+61	+4,100	+3,600	
c. South America	15	22	72	15,679	5,203	2,189	47	909	306	24,703.44
							+5	+2,250	+1,080	
Total of British Missions in America	209	205	623	293,179	101,476	5,807	499	53,500	22,683	247,946.16
				(49,340)	(50)		(76)	(6,650)	(5,060)	

General Recapitulation.

Africa	309	313	5,488	479,373	123,999	8,517	1,684	134,154	47,609	803,588.24
Asia	551	671	6,816	303,806	81,372	14,813	3,900	176,770	42,573	2,164,291.68
Australia	98	79	3,135	253,716	59,654	1,522	1,040	78,894	34,387	162,660.00
America	209	205	623	293,179	101,476	5,807	499	53,500	22,683	247,946.16
Home Outlays	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	662,901.60
Sum total of British Missions	1,167	1,268	15,562	1,330,074	366,501	30,659	7,123	443,318	147,252	4,041,387.68
	(31)	(1)	(2,000)	(76,825)	(1,498)	(35)	(573)	(11,685)	(38,385)	

Digitized by Google

British Societies (*concluded*).

TABLE III.

RECEIPTS AND HOME EXPENSES IN DOLLARS AND CENTS.

Home Outlays.	The Receipts were from					
	Great Britain.	Germany.	France.	Colonies.	Funds and Other Sources	Missionary Ground.
	3,320,994.72	1,883.28	2,886.82	103,179.60	570,781.44	197,768.40
662,901.60	4,197,493.76					

C. American Societies.

Recapitulation.

Societies.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		American.	Foreign Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. A. B. C. F. M.	72	146	1,498	83,630 (29,411)	26,107	1,687	948 (60)	37,458	14,764 (13,235)	457,545.12
2. Am. Bapt. Miss. Union.	42	82	814	157,549 103,900	53,649	2,458	494	13,168	4,850 (2,992)	295,484.88
3. Am. M. E. Board	90	90	376	21,474 (4,100)	8,750	2,172	473	17,412	5,300 (5,300)	220,951 68
4. P. E. Board	45	54	177	5,540 (2,600)	1,664 (400)	169	77 (20)	2,267 (650)	820 (820)	162,474.48
5. Free Baptist	9	5	15	2,709	551	6	50 (50)	3,089	1,000 (1,000)	13,823.04
6. Presbyterian	70	133	284	24,120 (14,100)	10,020	812	348 (328)	17,627 (250)	5,120	490,717.20
7. Evan. Lutheran (Gen. Synod)	5	5	57	3,802	3,051	944	122 (20)	3,136	864 (600)	21,984.72
8. Seventh-day Bapt.	1	1	5	62 (30)	32	2	2	54	9	6,552.96
9. Southern Bapt.	12	20	24	5,722 (4,100)	2,135 (544)	52	19 (19)	573 (100)	145 (145)	27,747.84 (720.00)
10. So. M. E.	12 (9)	19	117	13,308 (8,201)	5,017	407	24	801	238 (50)	50,545.92
11. A. M. A.	11 (10)	18	88	1,085 (500)	395	?	52 (12)	2,220	70 (70)	32,520.96
12. U. Brethren in Christ (*not* Moravians)	3	6	24	1,244 (800)	444	82	15 (15)	331	100 (100)	18,376.32
13. Ref. Ch. in Am. (Dutch)	11	20	72	7,546 (700)	3,052	198	75	2,198	507 (507)	77,781.12
14. U. Pres.	13	17	226	15,348 (12,700)	2,648	1,129	95	6,334	2,135 (700)	65,232.00
15. Ref. Pres.	2 (2)	5	43	330 (200)	130	16	15 (15)	648	200 (200)	12,884.00
16. So. Pres.	10	17	21	4,324 (3,150)	1,174	20	14	207	44	28,290.80
17. Ger. Evan. Synod	4	4	10	375 (200)	175	28	8 (3)	110	30 (30)	4,058.12
18. Evan. Lutheran (Gen. Council)	4	4	45	1,000	300	220	18	230	70 (70)	8,197.44
19. Chr. F. M. S. (Discip. of Christ)	4	5	–	331	331	–	–	–	–	7,872.00
20. Cumberland Pres.	5 (5)	6	–	2,250 (1,500)	750	–	–	–	–	17,198.40

Digitized by Google

AMERICAN SOCIETIES (*continued*).

Societies.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		American.	Foreign Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
21. Evan. Asso.	1	2	4	296 (150)	146	–	4 (4)	132	50 (50)	8,264.64
22. Meth. Prot.	1	1	–	–	–	–	1	44	–	1,461.12
23. Af. M. E.	1	1	7	1,753 (1,100)	653	–	19 (19)	730	250 (250)	3,132.48
24. Af. Meth. Zion C.	–	–	–	200	200	–	–	–	–	–
25. Ass. Ref. Synod	1	1	2	101	50	–	–	–	–	1,008.96
26. Gen. Conf. Mennonites	2	2	–	–	–	–	1	40	–	1,949.76
27. Ref. Pres. (Gen. Synod)	1	1	–	79	79	–	20 (20)	749	542	4,800.00 (4,800.00)
28. Friends' Miss.	3 (2)	3 (2)	6 (5)	520 (520)	322 (310)	144	28 (28)	1,070	340 (240)	7,200.00 (7,200.00)
Total	435 (28)	663 (2)	3,865 (5)	360,198 (188,052)	122,825 (1,254)	10,546	2,907 (613)	111,128 (1,000)	37,448 (26,459)	2,042,550.96

Recapitulation of the Increase in the last Decade.

1. A. B. C. F. M.	4	10	–	15,883	1,988	–	–	24,377	–	39,945.12
2. Am. Bapt. Un.	19	38	–	81,349	29,166	–	–	6,554	–	137,084.88
3. M. E. F. M. Board	30	11	–	10,014	3,350	–	–	11,420	–	57,751.68
4. P. E. F. M. Board	28	36	–	3,840	1,043	–	–	1,060	–	52,074.48
5. F. Bapt. F. M. So.	5	–	–	1,909	288	–	–	2,689	–	3,128.84
6. Pres. F. M. Board	6	11	–	10,820	6,100	–	–	6,934	–	27,997.20
7. Evl. Luth. G. S.	1	1	–	6,202	2,297	–	–	2,623	–	1,344.72
8. Seventh-day Bapt.	–	–	–	22	12	–	–	–	–	552.96
9. So. Bapt. F. M. S.	3	10	–	876	689	–	–	?	–	3,987.84
10. M. E. South.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11. A. M. A.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12. U. Brethren in X.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
13. Ref. Ch. (Dutch)	(-2)	4	–	3,046	1,754	–	–	1,274	–	28,809.60
14. Un. Presbyterian	(-5)	6	–	13,648	1,999	–	–	4,576	–	2,205.12
Total	89	127		147,609	48,676			61,607		354,877.44

[*To be continued.*]

THE NEW MOVEMENT TOWARD UNITY.[1]

THIS compact volume of the Proceedings of the American Congress of Churches is an important contribution to the interest in Christian Unity in the United States, and to the present state of opinion in regard to it among men of widely differing beliefs. It records the beginning and first stages of a movement that must do something to bring separated

[1] *The American Congress of Churches.* Proceedings of the Hartford Meeting, 1885. Published under the Direction of the Executive Committee. 8vo, pp. 149. Hartford: The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company.

Digitized by Google

Christians together, a movement whose magnitude and importance are likely to increase. The papers and discussions are not final; they are valuable chiefly as indicating the present state of public opinion; they emphasize positions more than they formulate unity; they show how a certain number of representative men feel and think on this subject, but hardly do more than break ground in directions where men have most in common; they indicate what lies within the region of possibility. The questions discussed were "The Relations of a Divided Christendom to Aggressive Christianity," "The Function of Worship in Promoting the Growth of the Church," "The Attitude of the Secular Press toward Religion," and "The Historical Christ as the True Centre of Theology." The religious leaders could not go far wrong on these topics, and they afforded ground for that preliminary skirmishing in which men measure themselves with one another. There is nothing weak or belated in these papers and addresses. Their chief value in a published form is that of initiating a movement, showing the gravity and seriousness of the situation, and of suggesting to thoughtful persons a broader and larger consideration of the grounds of unity and of the measures by which it may be reached. Here is a substantial proof that unity among Protestants is entertained as a future possibility, and that many of our religious leaders are working earnestly in this direction. It is the first evidence in America that the problem of unity has been grappled with in a large way and by a right method. The book is valuable for what it contains, but its chief importance grows out of the forces that are behind it.

The "Congress of Churches" began not as an original movement, but as a revival of what had been attempted through the agency of the Episcopal Church thirty years before by the venerable Dr. William A. Muhlenberg, a movement toward unity for which American religious society was not then prepared. "The last years of Dr. Muhlenberg's life," said its first circular of November 10, 1883, "were spent in persistent and fruitless efforts to establish a Commission on Christian Unity, reaching forth to the scattered bodies of Protestants from the basis of the Anglican Communion." There was something inspiring in asking the prophets of the day to come together for the peace of the kingdom of God under the leadership of Dr. Muhlenberg's name, and in continuation of the movement in which he failed because he was in advance of his age. The Berkshire men appeared with the mantle of Muhlenberg on their shoulders. It was like the form of Samuel rising from the grave and inspiring men for fresh services in bringing together the brethren of a common faith.

Dr. Muhlenberg, at the moment when the Episcopal Church began to rise to something higher than the party spirit which had given it too largely the method and spirit of sectarianism, rose to the level of memorializing the House of Bishops on the subject of the relations of his own branch of the Church of Christ to those of his Protestant brethren in America. It was the first time that the idea of the federation of the Christian organizations in this country had been distinctly proposed, the first time that any one saw the Church of Christ in America as a comprehensive unity. Bishop Alonzo Potter, one of the foremost ecclesiastical statesmen which our country has produced, understood the content and aim of the "Memorial Movement," as it was then called, better than any other man of his generation, and his volume of "Memorial Papers" is the only book in our literature where Christian Unity has yet been ade-

Digitized by Google

quately discussed. It is something to be remembered that the religious body whose immediate prospects in this country thirty years ago were the darkest has been the first to take a stand for unity and definitely to forecast the future upon this basis. The movement was in abeyance until Dr. Muhlenberg had passed away, but the spirit which he had aroused remained and waited for its opportunity.

There is a spiral movement in religious as in secular history; the past is always related to the present; there are times when the spirit of the past is breathed anew into the forces that control present life. It was such a time, November 10, 1883, the four hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Luther, the father of the Reformation, when the call was issued from the Berkshire hills for "an inter-ecclesiastical Congress, to be to the different religious bodies of Protestant Christendom what the Church Congress has been to the Protestant Episcopal Church." The belief was expressed that the fullness of time for such a gathering had come, and that all schools of thought in the American Protestant Church would unite in the effort to bring representative men together upon the basis of some common platform. "The movement must begin somewhere," wrote President Porter from New Haven, "and why not among the Berkshire hills?" Thus felt the Rev. William Wilberforce Newton, a Berkshire clergyman, who had already written editorial articles on the subject in "The Christian Union," and had felt his way to the minds and hearts of the Christian clergy of Pittsfield, where he resided, to the extent that they had signed with him the call for the inter-ecclesiastical Congress. It was such a venture of hope as Noah showed when he sent first the raven and then the dove from the window of the ark to see if the waters were abated. When asked his opinion of his rector's plan, one of his wardens promptly replied: "I think it 's a humbug." Ninety-nine people out of every hundred among Christians would probably have said the same. Mr. Newton and his associates trusted their spiritual intuitions and went forward, but it was a day of doubt and darkness and small things. The first response came from "The New York Churchman," in which the meaning of the movement was at once recognized. It said: —

"This call for an inter-ecclesiastical Congress, for a free utterance of convictions, for a large platform on which earnest men can meet without compromise, may prove to be the missing link in efforts for unity, and the fact that it comes like the voice of St. John in the wilderness, the voice of almost unknown men — it may be the voice of God speaking through them by his Spirit — entitles the call to an amount of deference and sympathy which otherwise it might not seem entitled to receive. Luther had no thought of the Reformation, though there was the consciousness of a mighty revolution going on in his own soul. So no men may now have large hopes ahead, but, in so far as they stand together to-day, and stand for unity, they have the prayers and hopes of at least Protestant Christendom behind them. It is a time to pause and hear what God may put into the hearts of men to say. Is the note-message from Berkshire a sign of the new day?"

These words of welcome were fairly representative of the feeling in many quarters toward the movement, and are almost prophetic of the way in which it has been received and grown to its present size. The following extract from an editorial in "The Boston Herald" indicates still more clearly what was aimed at: —

"It is only through a comparison of views, and through the higher education

Digitized by Google

that comes from honest discussion, that we are to reach that spiritual force in ecclesiastical organization which is able to use men and money to advantage in spiritual things. . . . The Episcopal Church is in a position to be of special service in the possible reconstruction of Christian bodies in America, but this ought not to lead any member of that body to think that it has a monopoly of grace, wisdom, or good works. There is not a single religious body in the whole country, entitled to call itself Christian, that has not in the course of its history wrought nobly in the service of religious ideas, and is not entitled to a hearing. When the question is how the interests of Christianity can best be maintained or advanced in America, all but 'Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics' have a right to be heard. The point is not that each may contribute bricks to a new Protestant Babel, but that each, in the presence of the other, may perceive the things in which they agree, and be willing to learn of others in a teachable spirit about their honest differences. The dream of Christian Unity is one of the innocent vagaries of men who know nothing of the world. Unity in the sense of uniformity is not needed to-day and could not be tolerated, but unity of organization, unity in general spirit and purpose, unity in which the many-sidedness of religious truth is fully recognized, is evidently the feeling which has asked for an inter-ecclesiastical Congress ; and if this sort of unity shall be made to seem more desirable, and men of faiths at present divergent shall come to work together under larger plans, and in such a way that the great forces of the Church of Christ in history shall animate and inspire their labors, there can be no question as to the results that may be reached."

The steps taken to carry the plan of the Berkshire pastors into effect were in keeping with such a large scheme. "The next step," said Rector Newton, "toward coming together is to come together." The second circular, published January 10, 1884, stated that the signers of the original call, J. L. Jenkins, Wm. Wilberforce Newton, T. T. Munger, George Skene, George W. Gile, C. H. Hamlin, and J. M. Turner, had met together on New Year's Day, and that the letters received "were so numerous and encouraging, though the difficulties were not overlooked, that it was impossible not to regard them as a response of approval and a summons to onward movement." It was then "decided to ask two clergymen and one layman from the religious bodies represented by the signers, and also from the Presbyterian and Reformed Dutch Churches, to act with the signers of the call in considering what further steps should be taken." Bishop Clark pointed out the difficulty in one direction. He said: —

"I like the idea of 'an inter-ecclesiastical Church Congress' very much, and think that it might result in much good, provided that certain delicate preliminaries could be wisely adjusted. Among these, as it seems to me, the most troublesome would be to determine just where to drop the line between those denominations who are orthodox enough to be represented and those who are not."

A rector in Philadelphia made a good point in another direction. He said of the projected Congress: —

"To be of any practical effect it must contain at least some of the men whom the party spirit of each sect will trust. These men will be hard to secure, but their presence will be necessary. Much, indeed everything, will depend upon the preliminary conference. If that conference can agree upon a policy, upon men, and can approach such men so as to secure their presence and voice, it will succeed ; otherwise not."

Judge Dewey wrote: —

"I am in strong sympathy with the movement, and would be glad to do any-

Digitized by Google

thing in aid of it. I shall be disappointed if this feeling does not prove to be wide-spread among intelligent laymen."

A New England clergyman said: —

"The Lord be with you. I don't feel sure who else will be! I don't feel sure that the time has come for your movement. But one thing is sure, you can't find out until you try. Certainly, if I know myself, I am a good deal nearer to Munger than I am to Dix. . . . In these days of Luther anniversaries I don't see why Protestants should not draw a little closer together."

Another Episcopal rector wrote: —

"I am surprised that none of your clerical friends on the call objected to the language of it, as it seems to me to base the project on the P. E. Church position, which I fear may hurt it elsewhere."

Professor Andrews, of Brown University, wrote: —

"I hope that your enterprising Berkshire clergymen will go forward in this important enterprise, even should the response to your tentative not be as large or as hearty as could be wished. I believe that great good may come of such an effort, and that God has put the thought in your hearts."

Dr. Howard Crosby said: —

"Anything that will bring Christians together on the grand basis of love to their divine Saviour, letting them hold individual opinions on all else, is in accord with my life-long sentiments. I am ready to attend any Congress framed on this basis, and to coöperate in any movement of this kind."

Dr. James Freeman Clarke wrote of the proposed Congress: —

"I expect no success till we can make it a union for Christian work, not belief, and have Jesus Christ himself, not any theory about Him, as the chief corner-stone."

Mr. Joseph Cook wrote: —

"A divine breath is sounding in the tops of the spiritual forests on the Berkshire hills!"

These are a few of the greetings which met the call for an inter-ecclesiastical Church Congress. There was an instant recognition among representative minds, and, if the full correspondence were published, it would explain why the Berkshire clergymen issued on the 24th of May, 1884, the call for their first conference, which was held on the 18th of June following. At that meeting the Hon. Justin Dewey was chosen chairman, and Bishop Clark, President Julius H. Seelye, and Dr. Joseph Anderson were added to the force of the Berkshire clergy; the name "The American Congress of Churches" was decided upon, and its object was declared to be "to promote Christian union, and to advance the kingdom of God by a free discussion of the great religious, moral and social questions of the time." It was determined that the idea of the Church Congress, so-called, should serve as the model of the new organization, and the circular of the original committee was in substance indorsed. It was also voted that the general management of the new organization should be intrusted to a committee, not exceeding twenty-five in number, in which both clergymen and laymen should be represented; that the original committee, now increased to eight members, should increase its number to twenty-five; and that as soon as the election and acceptance of fifteen members had been secured, the large committee should be convened for the work intrusted to them. It was further decided to hold the first meeting of the "American Congress of

Digitized by Google

Churches" in May, 1885, and that it should be convened at intervals of two years. The committee of twenty-five was now completed by the addition of representatives from the different leading denominations, and the organization of the Congress was fully arranged.

It was at this juncture that Dr. Heman Dyer, one of the most sagacious and influential of the elder Episcopal clergy, wrote: —

"Nearly all my life, certainly for more than fifty years, I have been laboring with others to break in pieces the cast-iron ecclesiasticism which has so cramped and disfigured our common Christianity, and I thank God and take courage for what in my old age I am permitted to see. Just look at our own church. What changes have already taken place, and what still greater changes are in the near future! I shout and wonder at what is going on. I tell you my heart is jubilant, and I feel like throwing up my cap and giving one big hurrah. God be praised for it all. . . . One of the last things which will disappear from the Christian world will be our denominationalism. I suspect that up near the gates of the heavenly city there are and long will be heaps of this old rubbish. I hope at the first Congress that some giant will have assigned to him the subject of the uses and abuses of this denominationalism."

Dr. George P. Fisher expresses himself as "in full sympathy with the spirit and purposes of the originators of the plan for an 'American Congress of Churches.'" From this point onward it was felt that the movement had been fairly launched, and only needed the good judgment of its promoters and friends to carry it on to a fair degree of success. The committee of twenty-five had now been appointed, and many of the best men in all parts f the country could be counted on as strongly in its favor. A great advantage had also been gained in securing sympathy and coöperation without raising any antagonism. The question now came up, and was settled affirmatively, whether the left-handed Christian bodies, and those that enter the Christian world by a single issue, should be allowed to participate in the proceedings of the first meeting. The men in charge of the movement had the mind to meet this and other related questions on the high plane of their aspirations. It was felt that the Congress had gathered support far and wide, and that it had drawn men together in sympathy because it did not attempt to realize a dream, but was rather content with doing what was possible and practicable. At a meeting of the committee of twenty-five held in New Haven November 20, 1884, the movement was still further systematized. It was then decided to hold the first meeting in Hartford, and subsequent meetings in the spring of every year, and many matters of detail were digested. There remained little to do beyond the launching of the enterprise in Hartford in the following spring, and the efforts of Rector Newton and his Berkshire associates had been so taken up and divided among excellent workers that the earnest of success was already essentially assured. Beginning, as has been seen, with a certain assumption of the Episcopal position as the basis of conference and action, the movement now needed broadening in its interpretation as it came before the public and asked for the support of Christian people of various names, and perhaps no man in New England could have been chosen to make the preparations and supervise the appointments of the first meeting who had in his character and composition the qualities of a wise and judicious leader in a higher degree than Dr. Joseph Anderson. The success of the Hartford meeting was evident from the start; the whole thing took shape, as a vessel glides from its stays into the element in

Digitized by Google

which it is henceforth to live, on the first evening; the difficulty of bringing men together and starting the inert man quickly disappeared in the face of the enthusiasm of the first session, and before the meeting was over, to use the subsequent words of Bishop Coxe, "even more had been gained than we could have foreseen," while Dr. James Freeman Clarke could say of it out of a warm heart: —

"It satisfied me that 'the fullness of time had come' for this movement. All other methods of making the Church one having failed, we may now, I believe, fall back on the original method of 'the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.'"

But the success at Hartford was due in a very large degree to Dr. Anderson's discreet management as chairman of the executive committee, and to the fraternal spirit existing in Hartford among Protestant Christians, which had prepared the public to appreciate the larger unity which the Congress had in view.

While attention was given to the inauguration of the movement for unity in the East a counter development was going forward in St. Louis. During the Lenten season of 1885 the Rev. Dr. John Fulton, the rector of St. George's, had invited the representative clergymen of six different denominations to give lectures on Sundays to the congregation in his own church, and had received the sanction of the Bishop of Missouri, Dr. Robertson, for the act. These lectures attracted much attention, and their delivery was warmly indorsed by several other American bishops. It was believed that no real bar to this preaching existed in the canons of the Episcopal Church, and Dr. Fulton had the courage of his convictions to test the comprehensiveness of his own communion. The aim of this act of courtesy toward the clergy of other religious bodies in the city was to show that the Church to which Dr. Fulton belonged would go as far as any other religious communion in a matter that concerned Christian unity. It drew attention to the subject in the West, and prepared the way for the proposed holding of the second meeting of the Congress next spring in St. Louis. After these Lenten lectures were over, and two of the Berkshire clergy had visited St. Louis, Bishop Robertson wrote as follows: —

"My own key-thought is here. Every good gift is of God's Holy Spirit. Our separated brethren, those outside of lines which we have been accustomed to regard as alone historic and regular, have for a succession of generations brought forth the fruits of the Spirit. They are not, speaking broadly, degenerating. The old theory to which we were early made accustomed, that their life was that of the branch which will not wither for some time after it is broken off, will not serve. They have a well-spring of life. If these are facts, then we must reconstruct our theories and grant that there is life, that there are graces, that there are functions, honored of God, outside of our historic lines. We must recast our theories to fit these facts. It is no concession to honor what God's Holy Spirit honors."

These words have the right ring, and are the substance of a remarkable sermon delivered a year ago before the annual convention of the diocese of Missouri. They show that the spirit of Dr. Muhlenberg now rules in the minds and hearts of the authorized leaders of the Church to which he belonged. They manifest that fidelity to tradition and to fact, without which no real progress can be made in the religious world.

It is easy to magnify a movement which as yet has barely made a ripple in ecclesiastical circles. But it is not a small thing to have over-

Digitized by Google

come the fears of many cautious men who cannot afford to make a mistake, and to have made a favorable impression. The gain at Hartford was the gain of a new method. The movement, begun in the Berkshire hills, has grown to its present importance not so much because it had strong men to lead it as because God put it into the minds and hearts of earnest and honest men to go forward to do what they could. It has grown out of the mutual quickening of individual hearts, the increasing sympathy of Christian people with one another, and seems destined to do something to break down the lines of separation which the clergy have built up between those whose duty it is to love one another. It advances by the right method. There is nothing like the free and thorough discussion of vital questions to make people see what they have in common. Nothing satisfies the public so much as a discussion which goes beyond the limitations of a single denomination. The Congress of Churches discusses religious questions upon the basis of the interests of the entire country. It offers for the first time in America a free ecclesiastical parliament. The present tendency in democratic commonwealths is to magnify the individual at the expense of the community. The aim of the Congress of Churches is to bring men to see truth from more than one point of view, and to break down needless partition-walls. It looks toward the organization of the religious life of the people upon a more comprehensive basis than has yet been reached, and is likely to do something to bring up the arrears where ecclesiastical divisions have prevented Christianity from building up society upon a proper ethical foundation. Christian unity may be far off, but the preparation for it is the duty of the hour, and the "Congress of Churches" can do much to prepare the way. This is its sphere and field of work.

Julius H. Ward.

BOSTON, MASS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

PROPHECY AND HISTORY in relation to the Messiah; the Warburton Lectures for 1880–1884, with two appendices on the arrangement, analysis, and recent criticism of the Pentateuch. By ALFRED EDERSHEIM, M. A. Oxon., D. D., Ph. D., author of "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah." Pp. xxiv, 391. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 1885.

PROPHECY and History look forward to the coming kingdom of God. To show this with reference to Old Testament history and prophecy is the object of this book. It consists of twelve lectures given in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, London, in the years 1880–1884. The first lecture shows the connection of Christianity with the Old Testament, and the vast importance of that connection. A strong Messianic hope existed in the hearts of the Jewish people at the time when the Christ appeared. This is evident from the many false Christs who, notwithstanding the absurdity of their claims, drew away great multitudes of the people. This Messianic hope was not of recent origin. It did not originate in post-exilian times, but had its root in the Old Testament, the whole of which is prophetic of a king who should reign in righteousness over a ransomed world. The second lecture aims to illustrate the prophetic character of the Old Testament, and to show that its leading, pervading idea is the

Digitized by Google

kingdom of God. Prophecy is not history written in advance. Often the fulfillment does not correspond literally to the prediction. The prophets were instructors and reformers of the times in which they lived, but their instructions are given in the light of coming events, and so are for the enlightenment of every generation. The third lecture shows that Old Testament prophecy was fulfilled in Jesus Christ, or if not fulfilled in Him can never be fulfilled in any other. Interesting testimony is given from the Talmud and other Jewish authorities respecting the deep and wide-reaching impression made by Jesus of Nazareth upon the priests and rabbis of the time, bringing to mind the words of James to Paul, "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe." Pliny's letter is quoted and commented on for the same purpose. The fourth lecture begins with an examination of the fifty-third of Isaiah to illustrate the principle that prophecy is to be interpreted by its fulfillment. The prophetic reference is made clear by the historic event. Many other special predictions can be interpreted only as relating to the Messiah, but the author thinks it of more account to maintain that the Old Testament as a whole is Messianic and full of Christ than to lay stress on the Messianic application of individual prophecies. The fifth lecture sets forth the supremacy of the moral element in Old Testament history and prophecy, and at the close the lecturer vents his righteous indignation at the indignities recently inflicted in Europe upon the Jews. The sixth lecture is a continued unfolding of the spiritual meaning of the Old Testament. Its prophecy, its history, and all its legal institutions are an exaltation of the divine holiness. The seventh and eighth lectures are an argument for the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. Its Messianic element indicates an early date, and is different from what it would be if written after the settlement of the nation in Canaan. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh lectures set forth the Messianic hope of the Jewish people as seen in their apocryphal literature and in the later stages of their history. The twelfth and last lecture is an admirable characterization of John the Baptist and his relation to the Messiah.

The intervals between the delivery of these lectures may have occasioned some diffuseness and repetition of argument, but there is one grand moving idea set forth in them from beginning to end with ever unfolding clearness, and that is the promised kingdom of God which shall unite all men in the one Divine Man who reconciles men with God, and in so doing reconciles them with one another. Many readers will wish that the author had given more instances of the application of special prophecies to Christ, and had shown more particularly how the prophets, while speaking for their contemporaries and writing histories of their own times, were also writing perpetual histories, and declaring things to come; or how the same Scripture applicable to the generation in which it was written is also progressively applicable to all succeeding generations. It is undoubtedly so, and perhaps is plain enough to every reader of the Scriptures. The author uses this illustration (page 129), "The reading of prophecy seems like gazing through a telescope which is successively drawn out in such manner as to adapt the focus to the varying vision." He rejects the "clumsy device of a twofold application of prophecy," but he finds a perpetual application that is to continue through all the ages, and says (page 130), "We might almost apply to prophetism this in the Epistle to the Hebrews: 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.'"

Digitized by Google

The book is written with an evident earnest faith in Jesus Christ as the fulfillment of all prophecy, the centre of all history. The treatment of the topic is limited to Jewish history, with an occasional reference to Gentile history as parallel with it. Would that some one of equal earnestness and ability might take up the same topic with reference to the history of the ancient Gentile world, and show also its prophetic character in relation to Christianity. For does not the gospel have a very close relation to other preëxisting religions besides the Jewish? Was not the Gentile development, as well as the Jewish, preparatory to the coming Lord of all? Paul, I think, would have answered these inquiries in the affirmative, and Daniel's interpretation of Belshazzar's dream teaches the same thought also.

Edward Robie.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM. Its Origin and Early History. Together with an Appendix of Letters and Documents, many of which have recently been discovered. By CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D. D., Davenport Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages in the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. With Maps. Large 16mo, pp. xviii, 373. Appendix, pp. cxlii. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

THIS is a frank, hearty, manly, large-minded book, the Presbyterianism of which is all the more thorough because the author emphatically rejects the assumption that it is final, but holds it only for a very eminent development within the church, destined, after the perfect explication of its specific excellences, to be merged into "the main of waters" of reconstituted and reunited Christendom. For the author, with bold brotherhood, will not stop with Protestantism, but embraces the whole church, in her elder and her younger forms alike, in his foresight of reunion. A Puritan can afford this. If there is any Protestant church whose theology does not ring clear and full of the *fides sola*, and in whose government the people have but dubious rights, such a church may well be tempted to cover its defects by vaunting itself the peculiar champion of Protestantism, and scornfully refusing to look yet further in its forecast of final inclusion. But Presbyterianism, so sound, so popular and yet so stable, historic yet thoroughly modern and fresh, warmly experimental, but with an experience raised by its profound indoctrination above all the mawkishness of mere pietism, maintaining a manly hold on public interests, yet above the faintest suspicion of manipulating them for its own ecclesiastical ends, she, in the lead of her sister forms of Puritanism, can afford to be as large in forecast as the Spirit of Christ may bid her be.

We never knew before how near Presbyterianism, prior to the Revolution, came to being the church of the country, as overwhelmingly predominant in the colonies at large, at least in the central ones, as Congregationalism in New England. In 1759 the Presbyterians proper had in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York 100 ministers, and with the Dutch Reformed 120, against 43 of other denominations in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Indeed, adding some probable estimates, the Presbyterianism of the three national types, British, Dutch, and German, had 145 ministers, and, throwing out the South, 122 against 43. The rupture of the Synod consequent on the Great Awakening ruined the prospect of ascendency. Dr. Briggs sees the hand of God in the failure. The realization, he says, might well have

Digitized by Google

involved a premature struggle with the crown, and would certainly have established a system which had not yet mastered, and thus largely in the ascendant would not soon have mastered, the thought of the free church in the free state. Even now, we venture to say, there is too much of Scottish rigor and solemn cumbrousness of method left in it to admit of its being all that it might be for us. On this weak side it redounds too much to the advantage of a race of sharp and narrow, and somewhat acrid, "ecclesiastical lawyers," as we have heard them designated by the wife of a Presbyterian pastor, now an eminent Congregational professor. But American Presbyterianism is capable of abundant readaptation without ceasing to be Presbyterian. It is curious that in Elizabeth's time that veritable Presbyterian Hildebrand, Thomas Cartwright, teaches that the consent of the church is necessary to all acts of excommunication or deposition. The wide extension of the limited eldership perhaps comes near enough to this element of Congregationalism.

But, taken as it is, the "Independent" has good reason to say that all things considered, — numbers, central position, stability of character, living piety, balance of administration, wealth and learning, and historic dignity, — Presbyterianism may fairly be called the Established Church of the United States. If she follows the line of development laid out for her in this book, in thorough conformity with her original precedents, she will become more illustriously so.

Some of the author's preliminary propositions sound High Church enough. To appearance, Dr. Miller himself was hardly more peremptory in maintaining the absolute necessity of an uninterrupted succession of ordinations by presbyters (bishops, of course, being presbyters) from the apostles till now, in order to the validity of our present ordinations. We in New England, of course, share in this "apostolic succession." But such an assumption here would only provoke a smile. And we fancy that a demure twinkle lurks in the author's eye in propounding it. The truth is, that after breaking the *linea ordinationis* of 1,400 years, no Protestant communion has ever been able to make serious work of disputing any *de facto* ministry of godly men in a godly church, or to balk on such a ground at admitting them *ad eundem*, to her own. The "chief presbyters" robbed their colleagues too thoroughly of all such exclusive pretensions in the second century to give these a chance of reclaiming them in the nineteenth. Even the church of Iona, though she made her presbyter-abbot supreme, always summoned a bishop to ordain. Perhaps if the elders had not been, unscripturally and unhistorically, divided into ordained and unordained, their united force might have carried things farther.

The author sets out with another "sop to Cerberus" of the largest description. He says:

> "Presbyterianism is built upon all the previous constructions of Christianity. It is Christian, Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant, and Puritan. It comprehends all these characteristics, and rises upon them to the distinctive traits of Presbyterianism."

Having thus "made his manners" to the assumptions of sectarianism within his own particular sect, he slights them pretty thoroughly the rest of the way. The real tenor of the book is much better expressed in this:

> "Richard Baxter and a few kindred spirits were the only consistent Puritans. None of the forms of Church government is of divine right. None of

Digitized by Google

them represents the apostolic model as it is presented in the New Testament or the recently discovered 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.' Only the simple forms common to all the great religious bodies can claim Scripture authority. The government of the Church must adapt itself to the circumstances of the age, and the land, and the people; and so it must assume the form that will best express the religious life of the people."

To be sure, Dr. Briggs speaks of a "moderate Presbyterianism" as "alone worthy to prevail over the world." But his actual definition of this is so elastic as to comprehend pretty much every variety of polity between "the proud prelates" and Independency run mad. This is not true of his formal definition of Presbyterianism, which is lofty and hierarchical enough, but of his practical treatment of it. With a synodical episcopacy, whose centre of gravity should be somewhere between Baxter and Ussher, he repeatedly signifies that true Puritanism need have had no quarrel. Nor can we believe he would insist that the mandatory form is essential, in an advanced state of Christian society, to give due effect to synodical decisions. Indeed, the mandatory form is but poorly suited to the occasions of the spiritual life. Its over-prevalence in Presbyterianism appears to be somewhat owing to the fact that in Scotland the General Assembly, since there was one, has always been the true Parliament of the nation.

The author's formal definitions, indeed, are the most exceptionable part of his book. They are decidedly strained, subjective, and arbitrary. Thus, he certainly makes us stare when he defines the Greek Church as Catholic, but not Orthodox. The reverse statement would have been nearer right. The celebration of the "Sunday of Orthodoxy," by the Holy Orthodox Oriental Church, expresses her true instinct in her choice between the two notes of the undivided Œcumenical Church, in a way which no definitions can upset. Stagnation in the passage out of theology proper of course we allow. It is less objectionable, yet not admissible, to say that the Latin Church has declined into heterodoxy. She has declined into worse things, but not into heterodoxy, for orthodoxy and heterodoxy do not mean truth and error, but an externally and historically accredited standard of truth and error. And as Orthodoxy from the beginning was inclined to say, "Roma locuta est: causa finita est," it is a pity we could not leave these disagreeable and frigid terms to those who have the prescriptive right to use and abuse them.

So, both here and in his "Independent" article, Dr. Briggs shocks the general instinct, whose final expression in such matters is infallible, by delighting to call Edwards and the Tennents, Methodists. The little band of Oxford ascetics was, it is true, the hearth on which the holy fire was relumed; but that did not make all among whom it spread Methodists. We might almost as well go farther forth and call them all Moravians. It is with difficulty we call even Whitefield a Methodist, because he so early detached himself from the germ which has since grown into that vast cellular aggregation of societies "having the form and seeking the power of godliness," which has by unconscious and therefore indisputable right substantially absorbed the Methodist name. And why should he make out Methodism to be a revival of Puritanism, merely because it was a revival of experimental piety? George Herbert and Bishop Ken had as much experimental piety as any Puritans, and original Methodism had rather that than the Puritan imprint. Nor has it ever assumed this. Despotic and democratic, hierarchical and popular, shallow in its theology,

Digitized by Google

facile in its accommodations, in England complaisant to the Crown and in America to the Demos, and at either end essentially incongruous with Puritanism, far more amply just to the genius and gifts of woman, flexible to the free breath of the Spirit as no school of unmixed Puritanism has had in it to be, penetrated through and through with the spirit of Wesley, this magnificent child of the saintly Anglican Loyola has the right to be treated as, in its virtues and its vices alike, a unique and independent development in the church.

The very heart of this book, which will make its author's name venerable and dear to the wiser generations which are coming, is this, that speaking from the very heart of Presbyterianism he so manfully and unflinchingly follows up the denial of the truth "that God alone is Lord of the conscience" into all the evasions by which it has sought to appear as the opposite of itself. He says: —

"The Presbyterian principle recognizes the supremacy of the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures, but declines to imprison his divine energy in its [? their] external form and letter. Presbyterianism did not reject the authority of the papal church and the prelatical church in order to establish the authority of a Presbyterian church. It did not make the Bible supreme as a book, but as the living word of the living God. It did not bind itself to a *written* book, but to the Holy Spirit, who uses the Bible (written or spoken) as a means of grace. Presbyterianism recognizes the enthroned Christ as the source of Christianity to every age."

And, indeed, although that sublime sense of the incommunicable mediatorial rights of the Redeemer, which throws so majestic an aureole around the Church of Scotland, was chiefly turned towards the grosser forms of civil usurpation, it equally implies all the deductions which our author draws from it. It is easily shown by him to be as hostile to the tyranny of Subscription as to the tyranny of the Stuarts. And we are surprised to see how clearly the struggling fathers of American Presbyterianism held this. But then, as he says, "Subscription to the Westminster Confession did not originate in the Church of Scotland." Jonathan Dickinson, "the great representative American Presbyterian of the Colonial Period, the symbol of all that was noble and generous in the Presbyterian Church," opposed this usurper of Christ's authority with unreserved energy. He touches that high-water mark of true Presbyterianism at whose level it is to be hoped that the "ample and brim fulness of her force" will finally rest. After Dr. Briggs has so distinctly set forth the true constitutive principles of original American Presbyterianism, may it never be known that a minister on trial before a presbytery shall be impudently told, like Messrs. Belden and Hill before the North River presbytery in 1843, on appealing to the Bible, that "they were not there to be tried by the Bible, but by the Confession of Faith." The writer of this notice remembers how the *elder* Skinner blushed when he brought this up to him. This book shows that the Union Seminary of to-day amply inherits his large, free, sound, and thoroughly Presbyterian spirit. And though the parallax of Presbyterianism between New York and Princeton is not inconsiderable, yet we are well persuaded that the resultant line of the impulses given by these "twin stars of learning" will be an ascending path, which shall retain the glowing depth and firm definiteness of Scotland, and shall add to it the plasticity and elastic freedom of America.

We would note the dignified and grateful dedication to the Senatus

Digitized by Google

Academicus of Edinburgh, on completing its Tercentenary, and the two maps which show the feeble *primordia rerum* of the two great sister-growths of cisatlantic Puritanism.

Charles C. Starbuck.

HEGEL'S ÆSTHETICS. *A Critical Exposition.* By JOHN STEINFORT KEDNEY, S. T. D., Professor of Divinity in the Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minnesota. [Griggs's Philosophical Classics.] Pp. 302. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1885.

THIS book has interest and value for a somewhat wider class of readers than that to which the other volumes of the series are especially addressed. In addition to those who are pursuing philosophical studies, and who wish to trace the History of Speculative Thought, a work on Æsthetics appeals to all who have an interest in Art; — certainly a wide circle at the present time, when objects of art and art collections are so rapidly accumulating, and when the churches are giving renewed attention to the religious value of Art in its varied branches of Architecture, Decoration, Music, and Poetry.

The general importance of the subject gives fitness to the plan of this book, in which Hegel's Æsthetics is not only *expounded* but *critically* expounded. It hardly need be said that the general tendency of thought in recent times has been decidedly away from the extreme idealism of Hegel, yet the "Æsthetics," as Professor Kedney remarks, contains much that is richly compensating even for those who do not accept the Hegelian philosophy. Hegel was not merely one of the most profound men of his time, but he was also a man of active interest in social life, a frequenter of art galleries, a friend of authors, actors, and artists, and an ardent student of their works. In his "Æsthetics," especially the later portions of it, the results of this rich personal experience are drawn from in the elaboration of his system.

Hegel makes, of course, a threefold [1] division of the "Æsthetics." He expounds, *first*, the Art Ideal; *second*, the historical development of the Art-impulse (in which three Periods are distinguished); and *third*, the analysis and classification of the several arts in which the Ideal has expressed itself.

In Part First of this book, — the "Philosophic Basis," — Professor Kedney's comments are, as would be expected and desired, most frequent and extensive, occupying nearly one third of the space. The soundness of his animadversions will be generally recognized. To assail Hegel's main standpoint would be, of course, foreign to the purpose of the book, and probably to the author's inclination.

Many, however, would doubtless be glad to see a more thorough protest against Hegel's disparagement of the natural universe and his limitation of pure beauty to the mind's contemplation of its own ideals. Hegel had great scorn for the beauty of nature. The meanest whims and fancies of the mind were to him better revelations of the Divine Idea than all the grandeurs of the external world. There is no reason to doubt Heine's

[1] Hegel sets forth all things in threefold groups. He declares that "the triangle is a law of mind." Kant's suggestion of a threefold movement of mind, in Thesis, Antithesis, and Synthesis, is fully adopted by Hegel, and a system of mental triangulation is rigorously and often rather artificially applied in all his discussions.

Digitized by Google

statement that, to a rhapsody on the beauty of the stars, Hegel once retorted, "The stars are only glowing pimples on the face of the sky!" His low estimate of nature finds frequent expression in the work before us. He speaks (page 4) of the "illusory forms of the gross and imperfect world;" again (page 45), he says the "soul failing to find in the sphere of reality, and amid its bounding circumstances, the vision and the delight of its freedom is forced to seek satisfaction in a more elevated region," which is Art. Again, attaching his thought to a poem of Schiller's, he says (page 55), "The spirits which belong [in the realm of the Ideal] are *dead to the real life*, detached from the needs of natural existence, delivered from all the bondage to external things," and much more, here and elsewhere, in a similar strain. What Professor Kedney says (page 25) (pages 34–38 *et al.*) in behalf of a more comprehensive treatment of nature is welcome, but against the arrogant assumption that the artist's loftiest moments are when he soars to the contemplation of his own mental activity one would fain point to Shakespeare's "Hold the mirror up to nature," or to the noble realism seen in the best modern work of the painter's and actor's arts, or to the striving in modern music to express the passion, the yearnings, and the devotion which throb in *living* hearts in the sphere of reality.

In the First and Third Parts of his book Professor Kedney has aimed to reproduce Hegel's words with substantial literalness. In the Second Part he presents an original disquisition, following closely, however, Hegel's thought, especially in his distinction and analysis of the Three Periods. The History of Art is thus divided into the Symbolic, Classical, and Romantic Periods, a division which is parallel to that in Hegel's Philosophy of History, in which he recognizes but three eras in the history of mankind, the Oriental, Classical, and Germanic. This classification has much significance and suggestiveness, but is not free from the Hegelian fault, which Professor Kedney recognizes, of "over-systematization." Among the purely original contributions of the author in the Second Part is a detailed, critical comparison, showing fine discernment and noble appreciation of Raphael's Sistine Madonna and the Madonna St. Sebastian of Correggio.

To say that this exposition is always quite clear would be doubtful praise. For, remembering Hegel's reputed saying, "One man alone has understood me; also he did not!" — one might suspect that if the book were facile reading it could not be a faithful rendering.

There are, however, some things sufficiently obscure, and a few things sufficiently contradictory, to give us assurance of faith that we have the genuine Hegel.

The treatment of the several arts in the Third Part is thoroughly delightful and finely appreciative, although much condensed from the original. The work may be commended as a worthy member of the important series in which it appears.

Edwin H. Higley.

Digitized by Google

MICROCOSMUS: An Essay concerning Man and his Relation to the World. By HERMANN LOTZE. Translated from the German by ELIZABETH HAMILTON and E. E. CONSTANCE JONES. 2 vols., pp. xxvi, 714; x, 740. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1885.

THE translation of Lotze's "Microcosmus" is the most important of recent events in our philosophical literature. Except for the professional reader this is the most interesting of Lotze's works. In his "Logic" and "Metaphysics" his philosophy is more formally and systematically expounded; but in the "Microcosmus" we have his principles in application. Formally the work claims to be an anthropology, but in effect it covers the whole field of speculation. Philosophical skepticism or the foundations of knowledge, materialism or the nature of life and mind, the mechanical philosophy of science and the opposing views of idealistic speculation, history and the law of its progress, the essential principles of ethics, the nature of fundamental being, the personality of God and his relation to the world and to truth, — such are the questions dealt with. The discussion is carried on on the basis of an almost encyclopædic knowledge and with the profoundest and subtlest critical insight. We know of no other work containing so much of speculative suggestion, of keen criticism, and of sober judgment on these topics. It is well calculated to abate the claims of a one-sided physical philosophy and to remove all panic and even apprehension of the triumph of atheism and materialism. It is equally adapted to abate the claims of a one-sided and pretentious intellectualism by showing how vast is the problem of the world and life and how little we are in a position to solve it. For Lotze the deepest thing in man is not the understanding with its laws of formal logic, but life itself with its perennial interests and aspirations. These give both the driving and the guiding force to the cognitive faculties, and furnish the foundation on which our scientific and speculative structures rest.

In his formal conception of philosophy Lotze agrees with Herbart; both define philosophy as a critical procedure for the working over of our conceptions so as to make them at once harmonious and adequate. In this rectification of our conceptions experience is taken for granted, and the aim is to bring consistency into it. But in the working out of this aim Lotze differs so widely from Herbart that he always refused to be called a Herbartian. In his ontology, indeed, he approached more nearly to Leibnitz than any other; and, in one of his "Streitschriften," in which he forbids his critics to call him a Herbartian, he says that if any one philosopher is to be named as his master it is Leibnitz much more than Herbart. Probably his ontology would have been clearer if with Leibnitz he had found the mark of being in force, that is, in causality, rather than in "a standing in relations." The latter phrase is finally made to mean a maintenance of causal relations, and has the disadvantage of being clumsy and obscure.

According to Lotze himself he was first led to philosophy by his strong poetic and artistic tendencies. This was probably the reason why he gave life, feeling, æsthetics, so important a position in speculation. His aim was less at a rounded logical system than at a general view of things which should make room for ideals and for aspiration toward them. And this he did in two ways: first, by criticising the attempts to exorcise ideals and showing their own untenability; and, second, by showing that the mind cannot take a step even in the cognitive realm without making

Digitized by Google

ideal assumptions which rest upon nothing but their fitness to be. This is the meaning of his claim that metaphysics is founded on ethics and æsthetics.

Probably no thinker of recent times has done as much as Lotze in helping his readers to mental peace while at the same time keeping them loyal to fact and experience. Still he who reads the "Microcosmus" for the first time should be prepared in advance to find much rejected which he has received, and much affirmed which he has rejected, and much besides which at first seems palpably absurd. He will also find many a discussion ending in no positive decision, because such a decision is impossible. On this account many a reader will find the work unsatisfactory; but the wise will read it with comfort and edification. Even Wisdom herself is justified only of her children.

B. P. Bowne.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. American Commonwealths. Michigan. A History of Governments. By Thomas McIntyre Cooley. 16mo, pp. viii., 376. 1885. $1.25; — Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. New Edition. With an introductory account of the work by the author. Pp. xlii., 500. 1885. $1.00.

Scribner & Welford, New York. Microcosmus: An Essay concerning man and his relation to the world. By Hermann Lotze. Translated from the German by Elizabeth Hamilton and E. E. Constance Jones. In two volumes, 8vo. vol. i., pp. xxvi., 714; vol. ii., pp. x., 740. 1885; — The Unknown God and other sermons preached in St. Peter's Vere Street. By the Rev. Alexander H. Craufurd, M. A., formerly Exhibitioner of Oriel College, Oxford, author of "Seeking for Light." Pp. viii., 298; — Pastoral Theology of the New Testament. By the late J. T. Beck, D. D., Professor of Theology, Tübingen. Translated from the German by Rev. James A. M'Clymont, B. D., Aberdeen; and Rev. Thomas Nicol, B. D., Edinburgh. Pp. xii., 348; — The Religious History of Israel. A discussion of the chief problems in Old Testament History as opposed to the Development Theorists. By Friedrich Eduard König. The University, Leipzig. Translated by Rev. Alex. J. Campbell, M. A., Barry. Pp. viii., 192.

Funk & Wagnalls, New York. Daniel the Prophet. Nine Lectures, delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford. With copious notes. By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D. D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church. Pp. lxxiii., 519. 1885. $3.00.

Thomas Whittaker, New York. Expositions by the Rev. Samuel Cox, D. D., author of "A Commentary on the Book of Job," "Balaam, An Exposition and a Study," "Salvator Mundi," etc., etc. Pp. xi., 453. 1885. $2.25.

Pamphlets. Standard League Documents, Nos. 1–5: Non Partisanship in Temperance Effort. By Rev. Daniel Dorchester, D. D.; — A Jurist's Plea for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic. By Hon. D. L. Rhone; — Latest Drink Sophistries. By Daniel Dorchester, D. D.; — Political Ethics. By Mrs. Ellen Foster; — Will a Prohibition Party help the Cause of Prohibition? By Henry Graham, D. D. — *W. R. Climie, Bowmanville, Ont.* Congregational Polity and Work. By Rev. John Burton, B. D. Pp. 20. 1885. — *G. P. Putnam's Sons.* Frolicsome Girls. A Comedy. By Dr. W. H. Benson. Pp. 40. 1884. — *Carl Schoenhof, Boston.* Zwanzig geistliche Lieder. Komponirt von W. Kniepkamp. Pp. 32.

Digitized by Google

THE

ANDOVER REVIEW:

A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

VOL. IV. — NOVEMBER, 1885. — No. XXIII.

THE NEW EDUCATION.

DURING the past year the freshmen of Harvard College have chosen a majority of their own studies. Hitherto no college, so far as I know, has allowed its first year's men any choice whatever. Occasionally, one modern language has been permitted rather than another; and where colleges are organized by "schools" — that is, with independent groups of studies each leading to a different degree — the freshman by entering one school turns away from others, and so exercises a kind of selection. But with these possible exceptions, the same studies have always been required of all the members of a given freshman class. Under the new Harvard rules, but seven sixteenths of the work of the freshman year will be prescribed; the entire remainder of the college course, with the exception of a few exercises in English composition, will be elective. A fragment of prescribed work so inconsiderable is likely in time to disappear. At no distant day the Harvard student may mark out for himself his entire curriculum from entrance to graduation.

Even if this probable result should not follow, the present step toward it is too significant to be passed over in silence, for it indicates that after more than half a century of experiment the Harvard Faculty are convinced of the worth of the elective system. In their eyes, option is an engine of efficiency. People generally treat it as a concession. Freedom is confessedly agreeable; restive boys like it; let them have as much as will not harm them. But the Harvard authorities mean much more than this. They have thrown away that established principle of American education, that every head should contain a given kind of knowledge; and having already organized their college from the top almost to the bottom on a wholly different plan, they now declare that

Copyright, 1885, by HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO.

Digitized by Google

their new principle has been proved so safe and effective that it should supplant the older method, even in that year where students are acknowledged to be least capable of self-direction. On what facts do they build such confidence? What do they mean by calling their elective principle a system? Does not the new method, while rendering education more agreeable, tend to lower its standard? Or, if it succeeds in stimulating technical scholarship, is it equally successful in fostering character and in forming vigorous and law-revering men? These questions I propose to answer, for they are questions which every friend of Harvard, and indeed of American education, wishes people pressingly to ask. Those most likely to ask them are quiet, God-fearing parents, who, having bred their sons to a sense of duty, expect college life to broaden and consolidate the discipline of the home. These are the parents every college wants to reach. Their sons, whether rich or poor, are the bone and sinew of the land. In my judgment the new education, once understood, will appeal to them more strongly than to any other class. But it is not easy to understand it. My own understanding of it has been of slow growth. When, in 1870, I left Andover Seminary and came to teach at Harvard, I distrusted the more extreme developments of the elective system. Up to 1876, I opposed the introduction of voluntary attendance at recitations. Not until four years ago did I begin to favor the remission of Greek in the requisites for entrance. In all these cases my party was defeated; my fears proved groundless; what I wished to accomplish was effected by means which I had opposed. I am therefore that desirable persuader, the man who has himself been persuaded. The misconceptions through which I passed, I am sure beset others. I want to clear them away, and to present some of the reasons which have turned me from an adherent of the old to an apostle of the new faith.

An elementary misconception deserves a passing word. The new system is not a mere cutting of straps; it is a system. Its student is still under bonds, bonds more compulsive than the old, because fitted with nicer adjustment to each one's person. On H. M. S. Pinafore the desires of every sailor receive instant recognition. The new education will not agree to that. It remains authoritative. It will not subject its student to alien standards, nor treat his deliberate wishes as matters of no consequence; but it does insist on that authority which reveals to a man his own better purposes and makes them firmer and finer than they could have become if directed by himself alone. What the amount of

Digitized by Google

a young man's study shall be, and what its grade of excellence, a body of experts decides. The student himself determines its specific topic. Everybody knows how far this is from a prescribed system; not so many see that it is at a considerable remove from unregulated or nomadic study. An American at a German university, or at a summer school of languages, applies for no degree and is under no restraint. He chooses whatever studies he likes, ten courses or five or one; he works on them as much as suits his need or his caprice; he submits what he does to no test; he receives no mark; the time he wastes is purely his own concern. Study like this, roving study, is not systematic at all. It is advantageous to adult students — to those alone whose wills are steady, and who know their own wants precisely. Most colleges draw a sharp distinction between the small but important body of students of this class — special students, as they are called — and the great company of regulars.[1] These latter are candidates for a degree, are under constant inspection, and are moved along the line only as they attain a definite standard in both the quantity and quality of their work. After accomplishing the studies of the freshman year — partly prescribed and partly elective — a Harvard student must pass successfully four elective courses in each of his subsequent three years. By "a course" is understood a single line of study receiving three hours a week of instruction; fifty per cent. of a maximum mark must be won in each year in order to pass. Throwing out the freshman year, the precise meaning of the Harvard B. A. degree is therefore this: its holder has presented twelve courses of study selected by himself, and has mastered them at least half perfectly.

Here, then, is the essence of the elective system, — fixed quantity and quality of study, variable topic. Work and moderate excellence are matters within everybody's reach. It is not unfair to demand them of all. If a man cannot show success somewhere, he is stamped *ipso facto* a worthless fellow. But into the specific topic of work an element of individuality enters. To succeed in a particular branch of study requires fitness, taste, volition — incalculable factors, known to nobody but the man himself. Here, if anywhere, is the proper field for choice; and all American colleges are now substantially agreed in accepting the elective principle in this sense and applying it within the limits here marked out. It is an error to suppose that election is the hasty "craze"

[1] In 1884–85 the special students at Harvard, in the college proper, numbered seventy.

Digitized by Google

of a single college. Every senior class in New England elects a portion of its studies. Every important New England college allows election in the junior year. Amherst, Bowdoin, Yale, and Harvard allow it in the sophomore. Outside of New England the case is the same. It is true, all the colleges except Harvard retain a modicum of prescribed study even in the senior year; but election in some degree is admitted everywhere, and the tendency is steadily in the direction of a wider choice. The truth is, Harvard has introduced the principle more slowly than other colleges. She was merely one of the earliest to begin. In 1825, on the recommendation of Judge Story, options were first allowed, in modern languages. Twenty years of experiment followed. In 1846 electives were finally established for seniors and juniors; in 1867 for sophomores; in 1884 for freshmen. But the old method was abandoned so slowly that as late as 1871 some prescribed study remained for seniors, till 1879 for juniors, and till 1884 for sophomores. During this long and unnoticed period, careful comparison was made between the new and old methods. A mass of facts was accumulated, which subsequently rendered possible an extremely rapid adoption of the system by other colleges. Public confidence was tested. Comparing the new Harvard with the old, it is plain enough that a revolution has taken place; but it is a revolution like that in the England of Victoria, wrought not by sudden shock, but quietly, considerately, conservatively, inevitably. Those who have watched the college have approved; the time of transition has been a time of unexampled prosperity. For the last fifteen years the gifts to the University have averaged $250,000 a year. The steady increase in students may be seen at a glance by dividing the last twenty-five years into five-year periods, and noting the average number of undergraduates in each: 1861–65, 423; 1866–70, 477; 1871–75, 657; 1876–80, 808; 1881–85, 873.

These facts are sufficient to show that Harvard has reached her present great prosperity by becoming the pioneer in a general educational movement. What made the movement general was the dread of flimsy study. Our world is larger than the one our grandfathers inhabited; it is more minutely subdivided, more finely related, more subtly and broadly known. The rise of physical science and the enlargement of humanistic interests oblige the college of to-day to teach elaborately many topics which formerly were not taught at all. Not so many years ago a liberal education prepared men almost exclusively for the four professions,

Digitized by Google

— preaching, teaching, medicine, and law. In the first century of its existence one half the graduates of Harvard became ministers. Of the graduates of the last ten years a full third have entered none of the four professions. With a narrow field of knowledge, and with students who required no great variety of training, the task of a college was simple. A single programme decently covered the needs of all. But as the field of knowledge widened, and men began to notice a difference between its contents and those of the college curriculum, an effort was made to enlarge the latter by adding subjects from the former. Modern languages crept in, followed by sciences, political economy, new departments of history, literature, art, philosophy. For the most part, these were added to the studies already taught. But the length of college days is limited. The life of man has not extended with the extension of science. To multiply subjects was soon found equivalent to cheapening knowledge. Where three subjects are studied in place of one, each is pushed only one third as far. A crowded curriculum is a curriculum of superficialities, where men are forever occupied with alphabets and multiplication-tables, — elementary matters, containing little mental nutriment. Thorough-going discipline, the acquisition of habits of intellectual mastery, calls for acquaintance with knowledge in its higher ranges, and there is no way of reaching these remoter regions during the brief season of college life except by dividing the field and pressing along paths where personal friction is least. Accordingly, alternative options began to be allowed, at first between the new subjects introduced, then between these and the old ones. Liked or dreaded, option was a necessity; but in its inevitable adoption a new principle was introduced whose germinal force could not afterwards be stayed. The old conception had been that there were certain matters, a knowledge of which constituted a liberal education. Compared with the possession of these, the temper of the receiving mind was a secondary affair. This view became untenable. Under the new conditions, college faculties were forced to recognize personal aptitudes, and to stake intellectual gains upon them. In assessing the worth of studies, attention was thus withdrawn from their subject-matter and transferred to the response they called forth in the apprehender. Hence arose a new ideal of education, in which temper of mind had preëminence over *quæsita*, the guidance of the powers of knowing over the store of matters known. The new education has accordingly passed through two stages of development: first, in order to avoid superficiality when

Digitized by Google

knowledge was coming in like a flood, it was found necessary to admit choice; secondly, in the very necessity of this admission was disclosed a more spiritual ideal of the relation of the mind of man to knowledge.

And this new ideal, I hold, should now commend itself not as a thing good enough if collateral, but as a principle, organic and exclusive. To justify its dominance a single compendious reason is sufficient: it uplifts character as no other training can, and through influence on character it ennobles all methods of teaching and discipline. We say to our student at Harvard, "Study Greek, German, history, or botany — what you will; the one thing of consequence is that you should will to study something." The moral factor is thus put forward, where it belongs. The will is honored as of prime consequence. Other systems treat it as a merely concurrent and auxiliar force. They try to smuggle it into operation wrapped in a mass of matter-of-course performances. It is the distinctive merit of the elective system that it strips off disguises, places the great facts of the moral life in the foreground, forces the student to be conscious of what he is doing, permits him to become a partaker in his own work, and makes him perceive that gains and losses are immediately connected with a volitional attitude. When such a consciousness is aroused, every step in knowledge becomes a step toward maturity. There is no sudden transformation, but the boy comes gradually to perceive that in the determination of the will are found the promise and potency of every form of life. Many people seem to suppose that at some epoch in the life of a young man the capacity to choose starts up of itself, ready-made. It is not so. Choice, like other human powers, needs practice for strength. To learn how to choose, we must choose. Keep a boy from exercising his will during the formative period from eighteen to twenty-two, and you turn him into the world a child when by years he should be a man.[1] To permit choice is dangerous; but not to permit it is more dangerous, for it renders dependency habitual, places the springs of action which should be set within the character outside it, treats personal adhesion as of little account, and through anxiety to shield a young life from evil cuts it off from opportunities of virile good. Even when successful, the directive process breeds an excellence not to be desired. Plants and stones commit no errors. They are under

[1] The average age of the students who entered Harvard last year was eighteen years and ten months. The number considerably above or considerably below the average is small in every class.

Digitized by Google

a prescribed system, and follow given laws. Personal man is in continual danger, for to self-direction is attached the prerogative of sin. For building up a moral manhood, the very errors of choice are serviceable.

I am not describing theoretic advantages. A manlier type of character actually appears as the elective principle extends. The signs of the better life are not easy to communicate to those who have not lived in the peculiar world of a college. A greater ease in uprightness, a quicker response to studious appeal, a deeper seriousness, — still keeping relish for merriment, — a readier amenability to considerations of order, an increase of courtesy, a growing disregard of coarseness and vice, a decay of the boyish fancy that it is girlish to show enthusiasm, — tendencies in these directions, hardly perceptible to others, gladden the watchful heart of a teacher and assure him that his work is not returning to him void. Every company of young men has a notion of what it is "gentlemanly" to do. Into this current ideal the most artificial and incongruous elements enter. Perhaps it is counted "good form" to haze a Freshman, to wear the correctest cut of trousers, to have a big biceps muscle, or to be reputed a man of brains. Whatever the notion, it is allegiance to some such blind ideal, rather than the acceptance of abstract principles of conduct, which guides a young man's life. To change ever so little these influential ideals is the ambition of the educator; but they are persistent things, held with the amazing conservatism of youth. When I say that a better tone prevails as the elective system takes root, I mean that I find the word "gentleman," as it drops from student mouths, enlarging and deepening its meaning from year to year, departing from its usage as a term of outward description and drawing to itself qualities more interior. Direct evidence on a matter so elusive can hardly be given, but I can throw a few side-lights upon it. Hazing, window-smashing, disturbing a lecture-room, are things of the past. The office of Proctor — the literary policeman of the olden time — has become a sinecure. Several years ago the Faculty awarded Honorable Mention at graduation to students who attained a high rank in three or more courses of a single department. The honor was not an exalted one, but being well within the powers of all it soon became "not quite the thing" to graduate without it. In the last senior class 91 men out of 191 received Honorable Mention.[1]

[1] It is often asked whether a young man choosing studies for himself will choose them coherently. Will he not scatter among many subjects the atten-

Digitized by Google

This last fact shows that a decent scholarship has become reputable. But more than this is true: the rank which is reckoned decent scholarship is steadily rising. I would not overstate the improvement. The scale of marking itself may have risen slightly. But taking the central scholar of each class during the last ten years, — the scholar, that is, who stands midway between the head and the foot, — this presumably average person has received the following marks, the maximum being 100: —

YEAR.	1874-75.	1875-76.	1876-77.	1877-78.	1878-79.	1879-80.	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.	1883-84.
Fresh.	59	55	57	56	62	62	65	67	64	63
Soph.	59	64	63	65	67	68	70	69	69	68
Jun.	67	65	66	67	70	68	72	75	72	72
Sen.	67	70	70	73	76	73	77	75	79	81

It will be observed that the marks in this table become higher as the student approaches the end of his course and reaches the years where the elective principle is least restricted. Let the eye pass from the left upper corner of the table to the right lower corner and take in the full significance of a change which has transformed freshmen, doomed to prescribed studies and half of them ranking below sixty per cent., into seniors so energetic that half of them win four fifths of a perfect mark in four electives. It is not only the poor who are affected in this way. About half the men who appear on the Rank List each year receive no pecuniary aid, and are probably not needy men.

But it may be suspected that high marks mean easy studies. The many different lines of work cannot be equally severe, and it is said that those which call for least exertion will be sure to prove the favorites. As this charge of "soft" courses is the stock objection to the elective system, I shall be obliged to examine it somewhat minutely. Like most of the popular objections, it rests on an *a priori* assumption that thus things must be.

tion which should be concentrated? These figures give the answer. Nearly half the members of the last senior class chose at least three closely related courses.

Digitized by Google

Statistics all run the other way. Yet I am not surprised that people believe it. I believed it once myself when I knew nothing but prescribed systems. Under these, it certainly is true that ease is the main factor in making a study popular. Where choice is permitted, the factor of interest gets freer play, and exerts an influence that would not be anticipated by those who have never seen it in operation. Severe studies are often highly popular if the subject is attractive and the teaching clear. Here is a list of the fifteen courses which in 1883–84 (the last year for which returns are complete) contained the largest numbers of seniors and juniors, those classes being at that time the only ones which had no prescribed studies: Mill's political economy, 125 seniors and juniors; European history from the middle of the eighteenth century, 102; history of ancient art, 80; comparative zoölogy, 58; political and constitutional history of the United States, 56; psychology, 52; geology, 47; constitutional government of England and the United States, 45; advanced geology, with field work, 43; Homer, sixteen books, 40; ethics, 38; logic, and introduction to philosophy, 38; Shakespeare, six plays, 37; economic history, advanced course, 36; legal history of England to the sixteenth century, 35. In these years the senior and junior classes together contained 404 men, who chose four electives apiece. In all, therefore, 1,616 choices were made. The above list shows 832; so that, as nearly as may be, one half of the total work of two years is here represented. The other half was devoted to interests more special, which were pursued in smaller companies. Are these choices unwise? Are they not the studies which should largely occupy a young man's thoughts toward the close of his college life? They are the ones most frequently set for the senior and junior years by colleges which retain prescribed studies. From year to year choices differ a little. The courses at the lower end of the list may give place to others which do not appear here. I print the list simply to indicate the general character of the studies elected. In it appears only one out of all the modern languages, and that, too, a course in pure literature in which the marking is not reputed tender. Another year a course of French or German might come in, but ordinarily — except when chosen by specialists — the languages, modern and ancient, are elected most largely during the sophomore year. Following directly the prescribed linguistic studies of the freshman year, they are deservedly among the most popular, though not the easiest, courses. In nearly half the courses here shown no text-book is used, and the

Digitized by Google

amount of reading necessary for getting an average mark is large. A shelf of books representing original authorities is reserved by the instructor at the Library, and the pupil is sent there to prepare his work.

How, it will be asked, are choices so judicious secured? Simply by making them deliberate. Last June, studies were chosen for the coming year. During the previous month, students were discussing with one another what their electives should be. How this or that course is conducted, what are the peculiarities of its teacher, what is the proportion in it between work given and gains had, are matters which then interest the inhabitants of Hollis and Holyoke as stocks interest Wall Street. Most students, too, have some intimacy with one or another member of the Faculty, to whom they are in the habit of referring perplexities. This advice is now sought, and often discreetly rejected. The Elective Pamphlet is for a time the best-read book in college. The perplexing question is, What courses to give up? All find too many which they wish to take. The Pamphlet of this year offers 189 courses, divided among twenty departments. The five modern languages, for example, offer, all told, thirty-four different courses: Sanskrit, Persian, Assyrian, Hebrew, and Arabic, 14; Greek and Latin, 18 each; natural history, 19; physics and chemistry, 18; mathematics, 18; history and philosophy, 12 each; the fine arts, including music, 11; political economy, 7; Roman law, 2. These numbers will show the range of choice; on its extent a great deal of the efficiency of the system depends.[1] After the electives are chosen and reported in writing to the Dean, the long vacation begins, when plans of study come under the scrutiny of parents, of the parish minister, or of the college graduate who lives in the next street. Until September 21st, any elective may be changed on notice sent to the Dean. During the first ten days of the term, no changes are allowed. This is a time of trial, when one sees for himself his chosen studies. Afterwards, for a short time, changes are easy, if the instructors consent. For the remainder of the year no change is possible, unless the reasons for change appear to the Dean important. Other restrictions on the freedom of choice will readily be understood without explanation. Ad-

[1] But a great deal of the expense also. How much larger the staff of teachers must be where everything is taught to anybody than where a few subjects are offered to all, may be seen by comparing the number of teachers at Harvard — 146, instructing 1,586 men — with those at Glasgow University in 1878 — 42, instructing 2,018 men.

Digitized by Google

vanced studies cannot be taken till preliminary ones are passed. Notices are published by the French and German departments that students who elect those languages must be placed where proficiency fits them to go. Courses especially technical in character are marked with a star in the Elective Pamphlet, and cannot be chosen till the instructor is consulted.

By means like these the Faculty try to prevent the wasting of time over unprofitable studies. Of course they do not succeed. I should roughly guess that a quarter, possibly a third, of the choices made might be improved. This estimate is based on the answers I have received to a question put to some fifty recent graduates: "In the light of your present experience, how many of your electives would you change?" I seldom find a man who would not change some; still more rarely one who would change one half. As I look back on my own college days, spent chiefly on prescribed studies, I see that to make these serve my needs more than half should have been different. There was Anglo-Saxon, for example, which was required of all, no English literature being permitted. A course in advanced chemical physics, serviceable, no doubt, to some of my classmates, came upon me prematurely, and stirred so intense an aversion to physical study that subsequent years were troubled to overcome it. One meagre meal of philosophy was perhaps as much as most of us seniors could digest, but I went away hungry for more. I loved Greek, but for two years I was subject to the instructions of a certain professor, now dead, who was one of the most learned scholars and valueless teachers I ever knew. Of the studies which brought me benefit, few did so in any vigorous fashion. Every reader will parallel my experience from his own. Prescribed studies may be ill-judged or ill-adapted, ill-timed or ill-taught, but none the less inexorably they fall on just and unjust. The wastes of choice chiefly affect the shiftless and the dull — men who cannot be harmed much by being wasted. The wastes of prescription ravage the energetic, the clear-sighted, the original — the very classes who stand in greatest need of protection. What I would assert, therefore, is not that in the elective system we have discovered the secret of stopping educational waste. That will go on as long as men need teaching. I simply hold that the monstrous and peculiarly pernicious wastes of the old system are now being reduced to a minimum. Select your cloth discreetly, order the best tailor in town to make it up, and you will still require patience for many misfits; but they will be fewer, at any rate, than when

Digitized by Google

garments are served out to you and the whole regiment by the government quartermaster.

Nobody who has taught both elective and prescribed studies need be told how the instruction in the two cases differs. With perfunctory students, a teacher is concerned with devices for forcing his pupils onward. Teaching becomes a secondary affair; the time for it is exhausted in questioning possible shirks. Information must be elicited, not imparted. The text-book, with its fixed lessons, is a thing of consequence. It is the teacher's business to watch his pupils, to see that they carry off the requisite knowledge; their business, then, it soon becomes to try to escape without it. Between teacher and scholar there goes on an ignoble game of matching wits, in which the teacher is smart if he can catch a boy, and the boy is smart if he can know nothing without being found out. Because of this supposed antagonism of interests American higher education seldom escapes an air of unreality. We seem to be at the opera bouffe. A boy appears at the learning-shop, purchases his parcel of knowledge, and then tries to toss it under the counter and dodge out of the door before the shopman can be quick enough to make him carry off the goods. Nothing can cure such folly except insistence that pupil's neglect is not teacher's injury. The elective system points out to a man that he has something at stake in a study, and so trains him to look upon time squandered as a personal loss. Where this consciousness can be presumed, a higher style of teaching becomes possible. Methods spring up unlike formal lectures, unlike humdrum recitations. The student acquires — what he will need in after life — the power to look up a single subject in many books. Theses are written; discussions held; in higher courses, problems of research supersede defined tasks. During 1860–61, fifty-six per cent. of the Harvard undergraduates consulted the college library; during 1883–84, eighty-five per cent.

In a similar way governmental problems change their character. Formerly, it was assumed that a student who followed his own wishes would be indisposed to attend recitations. Penalties were accordingly established to compel him to come. At present, there is not one of his twelve recitations a week which a Harvard student might not "cut." Of course I do not mean that unlimited absence is allowed. Any one who did not appear for a week would be asked what he was doing. But for several years there has been no mechanical regulation — so much absence, so much penalty. I had the curiosity to see how largely, under this system of

Digitized by Google

trust, the last senior class had cared to stay away. I counted all absences, excused and unexcused. Some men had been sick for considerable periods; some had been worthless, and had shamelessly abused their freedom. Reckoning in all misdeeds and all misfortunes, I found that on the average each man had been absent a little less than twice a week.[1] The test of high character is the amount of freedom it will absorb without going to pieces. The elective system enlarges the capacity to absorb freedom undisturbed.

But it would be unfair to imply that the new spirit is awakened in students alone. Professors are themselves instructed. The obstacles to their proper work, those severest of all obstacles which come from defective sympathy, are cleared away. A teacher draws near his class, and learns what he can do for it. Long ago it was said that among the Gentiles — people spiritually rude — great ones exercised authority, while in a state of righteousness this should not be so; there the leader would estimate his importance by his serviceability. It was a teacher who spoke, and he spoke to teachers. To-day teachers' dangers lie in the same direction. Always dealing with inferiors, isolated from criticism, by nature not less sluggish than others, through the honorable passion which they feel for their subject disposed to set the private investigation of it above its exposition, teachers are continually tempted to think of a class as if it existed for their sakes rather than they for its. Fasten pupils to the benches, and nothing counteracts this temptation except that individual conscience which in all of us is a faculty that will well bear strengthening. It may be just to condemn the dull, the intolerant, the self-absorbed teacher; but why not condemn also the system which perpetuates him? Nobody likes to be inefficient; slackness is largely a fault of inadvertence. That system is good which makes inadvertence difficult and opens the way for a teacher to discover whether his instructions hit. Give students choice, and a professor gets the power to see himself as others see him. How this is accomplished may be seen by examining three possible cases. Suppose, in the first place, I become negligent this year, am busy with private affairs, and so content

[1] Or sixteen per cent. of his recitations. Readers may like to compare this result with the number of absences elsewhere. At a prominent New England college — one of the best of those which require attendance — a student is excused from ten per cent. of his exercises. But this amount does not cover absences of necessity — absences caused by sickness, by needs of family, and by the many other perfectly legitimate hindrances to attendance. The percentage given for the Harvard seniors includes all absences whatsoever.

Digitized by Google

myself with imparting nothing, with calling off questions from a text-book, or reading my old lectures; I shall find out my mistake plainly enough next June, when fewer men than usual elect my courses. Suppose, secondly, I give my class important matter, but put it in such a form that young minds cannot readily assimilate it; the same effect follows, — only in this case I shall probably attract a small company of the hardier spirits — in some subjects the very material a teacher desires. Or suppose, lastly, I seek popularity, aim at entertainment, and give my pupils little work to do; my elective becomes a kind of sink, into which are drained off the intellectual dregs of the college. Other teachers will get rid of their loafers; I shall take them in. But I am not likely to retain them. A teacher is known by the company he keeps. In a vigorous community a "soft" elective brings no honor to its founder. I shall be apt to introduce a little stiffening into my courses each year, till the appearance of the proper grade of student tells me I am proved to have a value. There is, therefore, in the new method a self-regulating adjustment. Teacher and taught are put on their good behavior. A spirit of faithfulness is infused into both, and by that very fact the friendliest relation is established between them.

I have left myself little room to explain why the elective system should be begun as early as the freshman year, and surely not much room is needed. A system proved to exert a happy influence over character, and thence over manners and scholarly disposition, is exactly the maturing agency needed by the freshman of eighteen. It is the better suited to him because the early years of college life are its least valuable portion, which can bear, therefore, most economically the disciplining losses sure to come when a student is learning to choose. More than this, the change from school-methods to character-methods is too grave a one to be passed over as an incident in the transition from year to year. A change of residence should mark it. It should stand at the entrance to a new career. Parents should be warned, and those who have brought up their sons to habits of luxurious ease should be made fully aware that a college which appeals to character has no place for children of theirs. Every mode of training has its exclusions. I prefer the one which brings least profit to our dangerous classes — the indolent rich. Leslie Stephen has said that the only argument rascals can understand is the hangman. The only inducement to study, for boys of loose early life, is compulsion. But for the plain democratic many, who have sound seed

Digitized by Google

in themselves, who have known duty early, and who have found in worthy things their law and impulse, the elective system, even during the freshman year, gives an opportunity for moral and mental expansion such as no compulsory system can afford.

Perhaps in closing I ought to caution the reader that he has been listening to a description of tendencies merely, and not of completed attainment. In no college is the New Education fully embodied. It is an ideal, toward which all are moving, and a powerfully influential ideal. In explaining it, for the sake of simplicity I have confined myself to tracing the working of its central principle, and I have drawn my illustrations from that Harvard life with which I am most familiar. But simplicity distorts; the shadows disappear. I am afraid I may seem to have hinted that the Harvard training already comes pretty near perfection. It does not — let me say so distinctly. We have much to learn. Side by side with the nobler tendencies to which I have directed attention, disheartening things appear. The examination paper still attacks learning on its intellectual side, the marking system on its moral. All that I have sought to establish is this: there is a method which we and many other colleges in different degrees have adopted, which is demonstrably a sound method. Its soundness should by this time be generally acknowledged, and criticism should now turn to the important work of bettering its details of operation. May what I have written encourage such criticism and help to make it wise, penetrative, and friendly.

G. H. Palmer.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

THE "THÉODICÉE" OF LEIBNITZ.

II.

THE bulk of the "Théodicée" is taken up with the problem of *moral* evil, and, as connected with this, the questions of freedom and necessity, and of the punishment of sin. The strongly deterministic views of Leibnitz render the problem a peculiarly difficult one.

The law of non-contradiction makes it impossible to ascribe evil directly to God. Yet, inasmuch as all forms of existence must have their origin in the Divine Being, evil must somehow have its

Digitized by Google

ground in God. Here, as we have seen, Leibnitz avails himself of the distinctions between possibility and actuality, and between the Understanding and the Will of God. Evil, as possible, has its ideal source in the mind of God, or rather in those eternal truths which are its objects; more precisely still, it is to be ascribed to that negative element of limitation which, by metaphysical necessity, belongs to the very idea of created existences. God is not the author of evil, however, because He is not the author of his own understanding. "Il n'est point auteur de son propre entendement."

As respects the actuality of moral evil, it must be said that the ground of all actuality, and therefore of actual evil, must be sought in the Divine Will. To relieve the Divine Being of the charge of complicity with sin, we must now distinguish as theologians do between the *formal* and the *material* elements which enter into a sinful act. The latter, the *material cause*, is the power put forth. All power to act proceeds from God. Whatever is positive in its nature is a good and perfect gift, coming down from above, from the Father of lights. Energy *per se* is good, though sinfully employed. The power put forth in a sinful action is from God. The *formal* cause of a sinful act is the wrong direction given to that power, and this constitutes the sinfulness of the act. Although then, the will of God may be said to be the material cause, it is in no wise the formal cause of sin. The sinfulness of an act is to be ascribed solely to the being who sins.

But sin implies freedom. The relation, therefore, of human freedom to the Divine Will must be considered, and particularly with reference to the justice of God in punishing sin. As regards the nature of freedom, it must be understood that an act is never free in the sense of being undetermined by motives, nor is there ever an equilibrium of motives such as to make action impossible. The case of Buridan's ass perishing between two bundles of fodder so precisely alike that no difference could be discerned between them, and therefore presenting no grounds of choice, is a purely hypothetical case, and could not occur in real experience. But while every act is *determined* by motives it is not *necessitated* by them. There is one form of necessity, particularly, which is incompatible with freedom. Where metaphysical necessity exists, an alternative is impossible, and freedom cannot be exercised. Freedom can be exercised only in relation to events which are in their nature contingent, that is to say, where an opposite event is possible. Moreover, the influence which motives exert upon the

Digitized by Google

will is not compulsion. To borrow a maxim from a pseudo-science, "Astra inclinant, non necessitant."

And yet, while there is no metaphysical necessity nor physical compulsion in the case, free actions may be infallibly certain. Future events, though contingent, are future still, that is, are certain to occur. The future is as certain as the past. That I shall write to-day was as true a hundred years ago as that I have written will be true a hundred years from now. What is the ground of this certainty of the future? It is not foreknowledge, because an event, to be foreknown, must be already certain. The true ground is that which is the basis of all certainty, the divine decree. Not foreknowledge, but foreordination, is that which establishes the certainty of all future events, free actions included. Predestination, however, does not *necessitate* an action and thereby annul its moral character. God may predetermine sinful as all other acts, and yet not be the author of evil. The Molinists, indeed, endeavor to avoid the difficulty by their doctrine of a *scientia media*, but it all comes finally to predestination. To illustrate: When David was threatened with siege in Keilah he inquired of the Lord whether the men of Keilah would deliver him up to Saul in case Saul besieged the place. The Lord answered that they would. David thereupon left Keilah. Now the Molinists say that God, foreseeing what the men of Keilah would do, decreed to refuse them circumstances favorable to their design. But the objection to this whole theory of mediate knowledge is that God must have some *ground* for his knowledge of what men say the men of Keilah will or will not do. An act purely contingent contains no such ground of certitude. God can know what will happen only by knowing its causes, and his own decrees are the first causes of events. So it all comes back to foreordination. The true explanation is found in the principle of an infinity of possible worlds, the objects of the Divine Intelligence, within which possible worlds all contingent events are included. The case of the siege of Keilah actually taking place is an event in a possible world which does not differ from our own in anything except the changes which would have resulted had the siege occurred. From among all possible worlds that one was not chosen, but ours was chosen.

In the region of the possible, actions are represented as they are, that is, as contingent and free, and in passing out of the state of possibility into that of actuality their nature as contingent and free is not changed. Predestination does not affect freedom ex-

Digitized by Google

cept to establish it. Out of all possible worlds God chose one which contained freedom as an essential characteristic, one whose history was to turn on the use made of freedom by those endowed with it. Everything, indeed, in human action is certain because determined in advance. Yet neither futurition, nor divine prevision, nor predetermination of causes, nor even the decree of God, destroys contingency or liberty, — nothing short of metaphysical necessity destroys freedom.

There are two principles which control thought and existence: the first is the law of non-contradiction, and determines metaphysical necessity. As applied to thought it is the principle: Of two contradictory propositions, the one is true, the other false. A truth which is necessary in the absolute sense is one whose opposite is impossible, because implying contradiction. The fact that I shall write to-day is not necessary in this sense, namely, that the contrary fact is impossible. Allowing that God has foreseen it as a fact it is indeed necessary that it should happen, that is, this consequence follows from the divine infallibility. But this is merely a *conditional* necessity, *nécessité hypothétique*, and it is only absolute necessity which contradicts freedom. The second principle is that of Sufficient or Determinant Reason. Nothing happens without a determinant reason why it happens so and not otherwise. Free action is not exempt from this law. There is always in the case of choice a reason which prevails with the will, and liberty is saved, if this reason inclines without necessitating. The will is never induced to act except through the representation of a good which prevails over contrary representations. This is admitted with reference to God, good angels, and the spirits of the blessed, and that they are none the less free on that account. God never fails to choose the best, yet he is not constrained, save by moral necessity, to do so. To act otherwise would be a defect; to act without any inclining motive an absurdity.

Aristotle has observed that in freedom there are two elements, to wit, spontaneity and choice. Liberty implies the conjunction of understanding and will, a judgment and a volition. One who has been deprived of the power of judgment is no longer free. But in willing we do not always follow the last dictate of the understanding, but rather the result of all the influences which come from the side of reason as well as of the passions. We are not properly conscious of freedom. We are not always aware of the causes, often imperceptible, upon which our resolution depends. It is very much as if a magnetic needle, being animated, should find

Digitized by Google

pleasure in turning to the north. It would suppose itself to turn freely, not perceiving the motions of the magnetic fluid. But we shall presently see in what sense it still remains true that the human mind is its own principle of action, dependent upon itself, and independent of all created being. There is in us a certain wonderful spontaneity which renders the soul in its volitions independent of all physical influence. This spontaneity, little understood hitherto, is an essential element in the *system of the pre-established harmony*, which must now be explained. The philosophers of the school have held that there was a reciprocal physical influence between body and soul, but certain moderns have denied this, while admitting a metaphysical connection such as to constitute body and soul one person. The absolute physical separation of soul, as thought, from body, as extension, has given rise to the doctrine of occasionalism, the substance of which is that, on occasion of a thought in the mind, the corresponding movement of the body follows, not by any influence exerted upon the body by the mind, but by the direct action of God, who moves the body according to the intent of the mind, and, also, on occasion of an impression made upon the body, excites in the mind the corresponding perception. Leibnitz will admit neither the doctrine of reciprocal physical influence nor that of occasionalism, but proposes in the place of both his own theory of preëstablished harmony, which is this: God from the beginning so created the mind that it should produce and represent in itself in order whatever happened in the body, and the body He so created that it should perform whatever the mind should ordain. The laws which connect thoughts in the order of final cause and according to the sequence of perceptions produce images which meet and correspond with impressions made upon the organs of sense; and, on the other hand, bodily changes, occurring under the laws of efficient causation, meet and correspond with the thoughts of the mind, so that the action of the body occurs at the moment when the mind wills it. Upon this theory, inasmuch as whatever happens in the mind proceeds from itself, its succeeding state following only from its own present state, we may attribute to the mind the greatest degree of independence. But although everything which takes place in the mind depends on the mind alone, yet everything does not depend on *will*. The mind has an order of *distinct perceptions* which constitute its sovereignty, but also an order of *confused perceptions*, the passions, which constitute its bondage. The mind, nevertheless, has some control, though indirect, over

Digitized by Google

its confused perceptions, the passions. It can moderate them, it can give itself new passions, and even new moral habits. A similar indirect control it may exert over its distinct perceptions by taking measures in advance to prevent false judgments, and to will and think in the future differently from what it now thinks and wills. To speak strictly, the mind has in itself the principle of all its actions and of all its passions. But the same is true of all substances, although liberty exists only in the intelligent. Now although this is the true doctrine of the relation of mind and body, yet in the popular sense, and speaking according to appearance, we must say that the mind depends in some measure on the body and on the impressions of sense, just as in the case of the rising and setting of the sun we speak according to Ptolemy and Tycho and the popular view, but we think with Copernicus. The true and philosophical meaning of the mutual dependence of the body and the soul is that the one depends on the other *ideally*, so that the reason of what takes place in the one can be assigned in what happens in the other. This ideal dependence already existed in the mind of God when by his decree He established in advance the harmony which was to subsist between the body and the soul.

Now the bearing which this doctrine of the mind's independence of the body has upon the question at issue, namely, the vindication of God in his treatment of human sin, is this: It is objected that if all human action is necessitated it is not just in God to punish men for their evil deeds. But by virtue of this principle of the spontaneity of the soul, and its independence of physical influence, it appears that men are not necessitated in their action, but free. A being which acts from itself must be free; that is the very definition of freedom, according to Aristotle. But where freedom exists there is responsibility, and possibly guilt; that is, amenability to punishment. God may therefore justly punish transgressors as being such.

But even if absolute mathematical necessity be maintained in respect to voluntary action, there would still remain a place for reward and penalty. One may take the life of a madman if one cannot otherwise defend himself. Venomous reptiles may be destroyed, although it is no fault of theirs that they are harmful. One may inflict suffering upon a brute devoid of reason and freedom if it be judged that the suffering will serve for correction. Capital punishment even may be inflicted upon brutes to serve for example or to inspire terror in others. And since experience proves that the fear of punishment and the hope of reward deter

Digitized by Google

men from evil and incline them to do well, the use of these means is right and reasonable, no matter by what form of necessity human action is determined.

It may still be objected that, if good and evil are necessitated, it is useless to employ these or any means to secure the one and prevent the other. The answer is that whatever theory one may adopt concerning freedom and necessity, experience shows that hope and fear do hinder evil and promote good actions. Moreover, good and evil actions are not necessitated *absolutely*, but only *hypothetically*, that is, through means, namely, the hope of reward and the fear of penalty, and, accordingly, if good and evil are thus necessary, these means are a part of the whole cause which renders them necessary. There is, however, one form of justice which has no reference to correction, nor to example, nor even to the reparation of evil. It is a kind of justice founded only in the fitness of things. Such punitive justice has been denied by Socinians, by Hobbes, and others. They have declared that it has no proper foundation. But it has foundation in a relation of fitness, *principe de la convenance*, not only as respects the offense, but the moral judgments of those who witness it, just as beautiful music or fine architecture is pleasing to minds rightly constituted. It may even be said that certain rights are violated unless punishment follows crime. The moral order is restored when sin is punished. It is upon this principle that the penalties of the lost continue even when they no longer serve to restrain them from evil, and the rewards of the blessed even when they serve no longer to confirm them in goodness. Moreover, it may be said that the lost continually draw upon themselves new sufferings by new sins, and that the blessed always gain new happiness by new progress in holiness. This also results from the principle of the fitness of things, in accordance with which the course of events is so regulated that a bad action *naturally* draws upon itself its punishment and a good action its reward. There is a parallelism between the two kingdoms, namely, that of final and that of efficient causation. God has established a connection between action and its penalty or reward, such that *in the natural course of things* vice is punished and virtue rewarded. This is another instance of *preëstablished harmony*, distinct from that which exists in the case of the soul and the body.

It must be granted that punitive justice cannot properly be exercised in relation to beings which act without true freedom.

Digitized by Google

In their case the end had in view in punishment would be correction simply, not satisfaction (κόλασις, οὐ τιμωρία). But human action, not being subject to absolute necessity, is so far free that it may incur punishment of either sort, and therefore the goodness of God is justified in view of the sufferings He inflicts upon men for the sake of discipline, while his justice is vindicated in view of those which are simply punitive.

Some persons of intelligence have said that, where all is controlled by necessity, no one can be praised or blamed for his vices or his virtues. But apparently they say this merely to show their wit, — their pretext being that actions if necessary are no longer in our power. But these necessary actions are in our power, if we are able, under the pressure of hope and fear, to do them or refrain from doing them. Moreover, were virtue and vice necessary, we should still praise or blame them as natural qualities. Nay, we may even say that the virtue which amounts to practical necessity is the more praiseworthy. It was all the more to the praise of Cato of Utica that he was in a manner compelled by natural disposition to be virtuous, and that he found it impossible to be otherwise.

The difficulties hitherto considered are mostly common to natural and revealed theology. It remains to speak of a revealed doctrine, — election and reprobation. But in answering the preceding objections the way has been opened for replying to those that remain. There is scarcely any objection against revelation which does not have its origin in those which can be raised against truths known by reason.

Theologians are divided in respect to the subject of predestination and grace. Some regard the Deity in a manner more metaphysical, others in a manner more moral. It is necessary to maintain, on the one hand, the independence of God and the dependence of the creature, and on the other hand, the justice and goodness of God, which make Him *dependent upon himself*, that is, his will dependent on his understanding, on his wisdom. What chief end did God have in view in his decrees relating to man? Was it his own glory in the manifestation of his attributes? or had He regard to the voluntary actions of intelligent beings whom He designed to create? In truth, God, in forming the design of creating the world, proposed solely to manifest and communicate his perfections in a manner most worthy of his greatness, his wisdom, and his goodness. But this very purpose required Him to take into account all the actions of his creatures, while they were yet in the state of mere possibility.

Digitized by Google

A wise man in forming his plans will not separate the end from the means. He will not propose an end without knowing whether there be at hand means to realize it. A great architect who proposes to himself, as an end, the satisfaction, or the renown, of having built a beautiful palace, considers everything that is to enter into the edifice: the form, the materials, the site, the workmen, the expense, before he fully decides upon his plan and its execution. There may still be people in the world who imagine that God, being absolute master of everything, is indifferent to everything external to himself, and that He renders some persons happy and others miserable without any reason for doing so. But to think so is to deprive God of his wisdom and his goodness. Even his regard for himself will oblige Him to have respect to his creatures and their happiness. All God's decrees have their grounds in wisdom, justice, and goodness. There is no *absolute* reprobation; the ground of reprobation is foreseen final impenitence. There are authors who declare that God, desiring to manifest his mercy and his justice according to reasons worthy of Him, but to us unknown, chose the elect and rejected the reprobate prior to any consideration of sin, even that of Adam; and that, in accordance with this determination, He found it good to permit sin in order to display these two attributes, mercy and justice, and that He decreed grace in Jesus Christ to some in order to save them, and refused the same to others in order to punish them. Those who hold this view are called Supralapsarians, because the decree to punish, in their way of looking at the matter, precedes the knowledge of future sin. But the more common opinion held among the Reformed churches is that of the Infralapsarians, namely, that God having willed to permit the sin of Adam and the corruption of the human race, for reasons just but reserved, chose, in his mercy, out of the mass of corruption, some to be saved by the merit of Christ, while he resolved, in his justice, to punish others according to their deserts. The question at issue between the disputants amounts, in part, to a question respecting the *order* of the divine decrees. The whole dispute might be ended at a stroke by saying that all the divine decrees are simultaneous, not only in time, in which all agree, but *in signo rationis*, in the order of nature. To make this simultaneity appear we must resort to the conception already presented of God's choice of the best world.

This world was chosen as a whole. There is but one decree which covers the whole case. Before decreeing anything God con-

Digitized by Google

sidered and compared with all possible systems this which he finally chose. In this system, as yet existing in idea only, there are present to the mind of God these features of its history: That our first parents sinned and corrupted their posterity; that Jesus Christ redeemed the race; that some souls, aided by grace, attained to faith and salvation; and that others, with or without such favors of grace, failed of salvation. To this system God gave his approbation, but He did so only after having entered into the whole in detail, weighed everything, and compared the whole with all other possible systems. Having done this, He causes by one fiat this present world to pass from possibility into actuality.

Leibnitz next enters into the question of the origin of souls, and passes under review the rival theories of preëxistence, creationism, and traducianism. Upon physiological grounds he decides for the latter, though in a modified form. He appears also to hold to a doctrine of preëxistence of this sort: that all souls have existed in the form of organized bodies or germs since the beginning of things, and that at the instant when the animal soul is to become a human soul it then for the first time receives the additional endowment of reason, whether by natural means, which he considers hardly possible, or, as he inclines to think, by a special divine act, which he would call a kind of transcreation. That God should place a rational soul in a body, in which it must inevitably become corrupted, does not seem to Leibnitz so well to accord with the divine justice as that He should endow the animal soul, already corrupt in its nature through the sin of Adam, with a new perfection, namely, reason. He then passes on to the consideration of the questions: whether God can justly punish men for original sin, whether unbaptized infants are condemned, and whether the multitudes who in civilized as well as in barbarous communities have never had a saving knowledge of God and Jesus Christ may be saved by means to us unknown. In dealing with the difficulties here presented Leibnitz avails himself of the principle: "Facienti quod in se est, non denegatur gratia necessaria," which maxim he holds to express an eternal truth. He cites in this connection the reply made by Francis Xavier to the Japanese that, if their ancestors had made good use of their natural light, God would have granted unto them the grace necessary for salvation. If a knowledge of Jesus Christ incarnate is necessary to salvation, we may very well believe, Leibnitz affirms, that God will bestow it upon all who do what depends upon themselves, even if to impart that knowledge he must work a miracle.

Digitized by Google

Again, we cannot know what passes in souls in the article of death, and if many wise and grave theologians maintain that infants receive a species of faith in baptism, although when afterwards inquired of respecting it they cannot recall it, why may not something of the same sort, only more urgent and decisive, happen to the dying, although after they are dead we cannot question them about it? We do not know what one among the infinite ways open to him God may choose whereby to satisfy the claims of his goodness.

And, in conclusion, all our arguments have served but to make it evident that there are a thousand means at hand for the vindication of the divine dealings, and that, notwithstanding all the evils we see, and in spite of all the difficulties that can be brought forward, it is still reasonable to believe that there is nothing so exalted as the wisdom of God, nothing so just as his judgments, nothing so pure as his holiness, and nothing so benign as his goodness.

Henry A. P. Torrey.

Burlington, Vt.

(*To be continued.*)

A TYPICAL NOVEL.

In "The Rise of Silas Lapham" Mr. Howells has given us his best and his most characteristic work; none of his earlier stories discloses so clearly the quality and resources of his gift or his conception of the novelist's art. As an expression of personal power and as a type of the dominant school of contemporary fiction in this country and in France, whence the special impulse of recent realism has come, this latest work of a very accomplished and conscientious writer deserves the most careful and dispassionate study. If Mr. Howells's work possessed no higher claim upon attention, its evident fidelity to a constantly advancing ideal of workmanship would command genuine respect and admiration; whatever else one misses in it, there is no lack of the earnestness which concentrates a man's full power on the thing in hand, nor of the sensitive literary conscience which permits no relaxation of strength on subordinate parts, but exacts in every detail the skill and care which are lavished on the most critical unfoldings of plot or disclosures of character. Mr. Howells evidently leaves nothing to the chance suggestion of an inspired moment, and

Digitized by Google

takes nothing for granted; he verifies every insight by observation, fortifies every general statement by careful study of facts, and puts his whole force into every detail of his work. In spite of its evident danger in any save the strongest hands, there is a tonic quality in this exacting conscientiousness which writers of a different school often lack, and the absence of which is betrayed by hasty, unbalanced, and incomplete workmanship. It is this quality which discovers itself more and more distinctly in Mr. Howells's novels in a constant development of native gifts, a stronger grasp of facts, and a more comprehensive dealing with the problems of character and social life to which he has given attention. In fact, this popular novelist is giving thoughtful readers of his books a kind of inspiration in the quiet but resolute progress of his gift and his art; a progress stimulated, no doubt, by success, but made possible and constant by fidelity to a high and disinterested ideal.

Nor has Mr. Howells spent his whole force on mere workmanship; he has made a no less strenuous endeavor to enlarge his knowledge of life, his grasp of its complicated problems, his insight into the forces and impulses which are the sources of action and character. If he has failed to touch the deepest issues, and to lay bare the more obscure and subtle movements of passion and purpose, it has been through no intellectual willfulness or lassitude; he has patiently and unweariedly followed such clews as he has been able to discover, and he has resolutely held himself open to the claims of new themes and the revelations of fresh contacts with life. The limitations of his work are also the limitations of his insight and his imagination, and this fact, fully understood in all its bearings, makes any effort to point out those limitations ungracious in appearance and distasteful in performance; if personal feeling were to control in such matters, one would content himself with an expression of hearty admiration for work so full of character, and of sincere gratitude for a delicate intellectual pleasure so varied and so sustained. The evidence of a deepened movement of thought is obvious to the most hasty backward glance from "The Rise of Silas Lapham" and "A Modern Instance" to "Their Wedding Journey" and "A Chance Acquaintance." In the early stories there is the lightness of touch, the diffused and delicate humor, which have never yet failed Mr. Howells; but there is little depth of sentiment, and almost no attempt to strike below the surface. These slight but very delightful tales discover the easy and graceful play of a force which deals with trifles as seriously as if

Digitized by Google

it were handling the deepest and most significant problems of life. Seriousness is, indeed, the habitual mood of this novelist, and in his early stories it was the one prophetic element which they contained. There is a progressive evolution of power through "The Lady of the Aroostook," "The Undiscovered Country," "Dr. Breen's Practice," and "A Modern Instance"; each story in turn shows the novelist more intent upon his work, more resolute to hold his gift to its largest uses, more determined to see widely and deeply. His purpose grows steadily more serious, and his work gains correspondingly in substance and solidity. The problems of character which he sets before himself for solution become more complex and difficult, and, while there is nowhere a really decisive closing with life in a determined struggle to wring from it its secret, there is an evident purpose to grapple with realities and to keep in sympathy and touch with vital experiences.

In "The Rise of Silas Lapham" Mr. Howells has made a study of social conditions and contrasts everywhere present in society in this country; not, perhaps, so sharply defined elsewhere as in Boston, but to be discovered with more or less definiteness of outline in all our older communities. His quick instinct has fastened upon a stage of social evolution with which every body is familiar and in which everybody is interested. The aspect of social life presented in this story is well-nigh universal; it is real, it is vital, and it is not without deep significance; in dealing with it Mr. Howells has approached actual life more nearly, touched it more deeply, and expressed it more strongly than in any of his previous stories. The skill of his earliest work loses nothing in his latest; it is less evident because it is more unconscious and, therefore, more genuine and effective. There is the same humor, restrained and held in check by the major interests of the story, but touching here and there an idiosyncrasy, an inconsistency, a weakness, with all the old pungency and charm; a humor which is, in fact, the most real and the most distinctive of all Mr. Howells's gifts. There is, also, stronger grasp of situations, bolder portraiture of character, more rapid and dramatic movement of narrative. Still more important is the fact that in this novel life is presented with more of dramatic dignity and completeness than in any of Mr. Howells's other stories; there is a truer and nobler movement of human nature in it; and the characters are far less superficial, inconsequential, and unimportant than their predecessors; if not the highest types, they have a certain force and dignity which make us respect them, and make it worth while to write

Digitized by Google

about them. Add to these characterizations of "The Rise of Silas Lapham" the statement that Mr. Howells has never shown more complete mastery of his art in dealing with his materials; that his style has never had more simplicity and directness, more solidity and substance, and it will be conceded that the sum total of excellence which even a reader who dissents from its underlying conception and method discovers in this story is by no means inconsiderable; is, indeed, such as to entitle it to very high praise, and to give added permanence and expansion to a literary reputation which, from the standpoint of popularity at least, stood in small need of these things.

And yet, when all this has been said, and said heartily, it must be added that "The Rise of Silas Lapham" is an unsatisfactory story; defective in power, in reality, and in the vitalizing atmosphere of imagination. No one is absorbed by it, nor moved by it; one takes it up with pleasure, reads it with interest, and lays it down without regret. It throws no spell over us; creates no illusion for us, leaves us indifferent spectators of an entertaining drama of social life. The novelist wrote it in a cool, deliberate mood, and it leaves the reader cold when he has finished it. The appearance and action of life are in it, but not the warmth; the frame, the organism, are admirable, but the divine inbreathing which would have given the body a soul has been withheld. Everything that art could do has been done, but the vital spark has not been transmitted. Mr. Howells never identifies himself with his characters; never becomes one with them in the vital fellowship and communion of the imagination; he constructs them with infinite patience and skill, but he never, for a moment, loses consciousness of his own individuality. He is cool and collected in all the emotional crises of his stories; indeed, it is often at such moments that one feels the presence of a diffused satire, as if the weakness of the men and women whom he is describing excited a little scorn in the critical mind of the novelist. The severest penalty of the persistent analytic mood is borne by the writer in the slight paralysis of feeling which comes upon him at the very moment when the pulse should beat a little faster of its own motion; in the subtle skepticism which pervades his work, unconsciously to himself, and like a slight frost takes the bloom off all fine emotions and actions. There are passages in Mr. Howells's stories in reading which one cannot repress a feeling of honest indignation at what is nothing more nor less than a refined parody of genuine feeling, sometimes of the most pathetic experi-

Digitized by Google

ence. Is Mr. Howells ashamed of life in its outcries of pain and regret? Does he shrink from these unpremeditated and unconventional revelations of character as vulgar, provincial, inartistic; or does he fail to comprehend them? Certainly the cool, skillful hand which lifts the curtain upon Silas Lapham's weakness and sorrows does not tremble for an instant with any contagious emotion; and whenever the reader begins to warm a little, a slight turn of satire, a cool phrase or two of analysis, a faint suggestion that the writer doubts whether it is worth while, clears the air again. Perhaps nothing more decisive on this point could be said of Mr. Howells's stories than that one can read them aloud without faltering at the most pathetic passages; the latent distrust of all strong feeling in them makes one a little shy of his own emotion.

This failure to close with the facts of life, to press one's heart against them as well as to pursue and penetrate them with one's thought; this lack of unforced and triumphant faith in the worth, the dignity, and the significance for art of human experience in its whole range; this failure of the imagination to bridge the chasm between the real and the fictitious reproduction of it, are simply fatal to all great and abiding work. Without faith, which is the very ground upon which the true artist stands; without love, which is both inspiration and revelation to him, a true art is impossible. Without faith there would never have come out of the world of the imagination such figures as Jeanie Deans, Colonel Newcome, Eugénie Grandet, Père Goriot, and Hester Prynne; without love — large, warm, generous sympathy with all that life is and means — the secret of these noble creations would never have been disclosed. Mr. Howells and Daudet practice alike the art of a refined realism, but what a distance separates the Nabob from Silas Lapham! Daudet is false to his theory and true to his art; life touches him deeply, fills him with reverence, and he can no more rid himself of the imagination than he can part the light from the flower upon which it falls. The Nabob might have suggested a similar treatment of Silas Lapham. How tenderly, how reverently, with what a sense of pathos, through what a mist of tears, Daudet uncovers to us the weakness and sorrows of Jansoulet! The Nabob is always touched by a soft light from the novelist's heart; poor Silas Lapham shivers in a perpetual east wind. Imagine the "Vicar of Wakefield" treated in the same spirit, and the fatal defect of Mr. Howells's attitude towards life is apparent at a glance.

The disposition to treat life lightly and skeptically, to doubt its

Digitized by Google

capacity for real and lasting achievement, to stand apart from it and study it coolly and in detail with dispassionate and scientific impartiality, is at bottom decisive evidence of lack of power; that is, of the dramatic power which alone is able to reproduce life in noble dramatic forms. A refined realism strives to make up in patience what it lacks in genius; to make observation do the work of insight; to make analysis take the place of synthesis of character, and "a more analytic consideration of the appearance of things" — to quote Mr. James — the place of a resolute and masterly grasp of characters and situations. The method of the realism illustrated in "The Rise of Silas Lapham" is external, and, so far as any strong grasp of life is concerned, necessarily superficial. It is an endeavor to enter into the recesses of character, and learn its secret, not by insight, the method of the imagination, but by observation, the method of science; and it is an endeavor to reproduce that character under the forms of art, not by identification with it, and the genuine and almost unconscious evolution which follows, but by skillful adjustment of traits, emotions, passions, and activities which are the result of studies more or less conscientiously carried on. The patience and work involved in the making of some novels constructed on this method are beyond praise; but they must not make us blind to the fact that no method can take the place of original power, and that genius in some form — faith, sympathy, insight, imagination — is absolutely essential in all true art. The hesitation, the repression of emotion, the absence of color, are significant, not of a noble restraint of power, a wise husbanding of resources for the critical moment and situation, but of a lack of the spontaneity and overflow of a great force. Ruskin finely says that when we stand before a true work of art we feel ourselves in the presence, not of a great effort, but of a great force. In most of the novels of realism it is the effort which impresses us, and not the power. In Turgénieff and Björnson, masters of the art of realism, and yet always superior to it, the repression and restraint are charged with power; one feels behind them an intensity of thought and feeling that is at times absolutely painful. No such sensation overtakes one in reading "The Rise of Silas Lapham" or "The Bostonians;" there is no throb of life here; the pulse of feeling, if it beats at all, is imperceptible; and of the free and joyous play of that supreme force which we call genius there is absolutely not one gleam. If either novelist possessed it, no method, however rigidly practiced, could wholly confine it; it would flame like

Digitized by Google

lightning, as in Björnson, or suffuse and penetrate all things with latent heat, as in Turgénieff, or touch all life with a soft, poetic radiance, as in Daudet.

Mr. Howells has said, in substance, that realism is the only literary movement of the day which has any vitality in it, and certainly no one represents this tendency on its finer side more perfectly than himself. Its virtues and its defects are very clearly brought out in his work: its clearness of sight, its fixed adherence to fact, its reliance upon honest work; and, on the other hand, its hardness, its lack of vitality, its paralysis of the finer feelings and higher aspirations, its fundamental defect on the side of the imagination. Realism is crowding the world of fiction with commonplace people; people whom one would positively avoid coming in contact with in real life; people without native sweetness or strength, without acquired culture or accomplishment, without that touch of the ideal which makes the commonplace significant and worthy of study. To the large, typical characters of the older novels has succeeded a generation of feeble, irresolute, unimportant men and women whose careers are of no moment to themselves, and wholly destitute of interest to us. The analysis of motives that were never worth an hour's serious study, the grave portraiture of frivolous, superficial, and often vulgar conceptions of life, the careful scrutiny of characters without force, beauty, aspiration, or any of the elements which touch and teach men, has become wearisome, and will sooner or later set in motion a powerful reaction. One cannot but regret such a comparative waste of delicate, and often genuine, art; it is as if Michael Angelo had given us the meaningless faces of the Roman fops of his time instead of the heads of Moses and Hercules.

It is certainly a mental or a moral disease which makes such trivial themes attractive to men of real talent. The "storm and stress" period returns at intervals, and, in spite of its extravagances of feeling, is respectable because of the real force and promise that are in it; one has a certain amount of patience with Werther, and with the hero of Schiller's "Robbers." But our modern misanthrope gropes feebly about for some clew to the mystery of his existence, and, not finding it ready to hand, snuffs out the flame of life in obedience, not to an honest conviction of the hopelessness of things, but because something goes wrong at the moment. Here is the modern hero skillfully displayed on a small canvas: —

"Vane walked up to Central Park, and returned to dress for

Digitized by Google

dinner. Where was he to dine? The Club was the best place to meet people. His lodgings were dark, and he had some difficulty in finding a match; then he dropped one of his shirt-studs on the floor, and had to grope for it. Another one broke, and he threw open the drawer of his shaving-stand, impatiently, to find one to replace it. Lying in the drawer was an old revolver he had brought from Minnesota two years before. He took it out, placed the muzzle at his chest, and drew the trigger. As he fell to the floor, he turned over upon his side, holding up his hands before his eyes."

If such diseased and irresolute youths as Vane were the refuge of weak but ambitious writers groping for subjects with which to illustrate their own feebleness, there would be no significance in the fact; there is deep significance, however, in the fact that the man who wrote this story has genuine strength and skill. That such a character as Vane should attract such a writer, that Mr. James's stories should uniformly convey the impression, not of the tragic pathos of life, but of its general futility, that Mr. Howells should, for the most part, concern himself with men and women of very slender endowments and very superficial conceptions of life, are phenomena which lead us very directly to a conclusion somewhat similar to that reached by Mr. Stedman, after a survey of the present condition of poetry in this country, in his article on the "Twilight of the Poets" in a recent issue of the "Century Magazine." The work of the younger generation of American poets, in the judgment of this acute and accomplished critic, is full of the resources of a delicate art, and not without qualities of individual insight and imagination; but, as a whole, it lacks vigor, variety, grasp, and power. It is an interlude between the poetic activities of a generation now fast becoming silent and a generation not yet come to the moment of expression. Fiction has, however, a better outlook than poetry; there are already in the field novelists to whom life and art speak as of old with one voice, and who are illustrating under new forms those imperishable truths of character and destiny, the presence of which lifts the most obscure life into the realm of art, and the absence of which leaves life without a meaning, and devoid of all interest. It is very significant that realism either fails to grasp life firmly and present it powerfully, or else seizes upon its ignoble aspects; its vigor is mainly on the side of moral pathology.

The great name of Balzac is a word of power among the realists; and yet it is not easy to find in this master of fiction on a

Digitized by Google

great scale either the principles or the method of the writers who profess to stand in direct line of succession from him. His realism was of that genuine order which underlies the noblest art of every age; it studies with most patient eye, and reproduces with most patient hand, the facts of life, in order that it may the more powerfully and the more faithfully discover the general law, the universal fact, which are the sole concern of art, behind them. The "more analytic consideration of the appearance of things" which one finds in Balzac is accompanied by a more powerful irradiation of the imagination. It is easy to understand Zola when he says "l'imagination de Balzac m'irrite;" it is just this imagination, this penetration of the real with the ideal, which makes the *Comédie Humaine* such a revelation of the age, such a marvelous reproduction of the complex life of the most complex epoch of history. The Naturalism of Zola, which is not psychological but physiological, which reduces life to its lowest factors, has little in common with the art of Balzac, which found all methods and facts inadequate for the complete illustration of the sublime, all-embracing fact of life. Naturalism is worthy of study, not only because of the great place it fills in contemporary literature, but because it is the logical result of realism, and, by exaggeration, makes the defects and limitations of realism more apparent.

The issue between the theoretical realism of the day and the older and eternal realism of fidelity to nature as the basis of all art is the more momentous because it is concealed in many cases by so much nice skill, and so much subtlety and refinement of talent. The divergence between the two is in the nature of a great gulf fixed in the very constitution of things; it goes to the very bottom of our conceptions of life and art. To see nature with clear eyes, and to reproduce nature with deep and genuine fidelity, is the common aim of the old and the new realism; the radical character of the difference between them is made clear by the fact that the realists of the new school deny the existence in nature of the things which the older realists have held to be deepest and truest. The new realism is not dissent from a particular method; it is a fundamental skepticism of the essential reality of the old ends and subjects of art. It strikes at the very root of the universal art growth of the world: adherence to its fundamental precepts would have made Greek art an impossibility; would have cut the ground from under Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; would have prevented the new growth of art and literature

Digitized by Google

in the Renaissance; would have paralyzed the old English drama, the classical French drama, and the late but splendid flowering of the German genius from Lessing to Heine. If the truth lies with modern realism, we must discard all those masters by whom the generations have lived and died, and seek out other teachers and shrines. Realism writes failure and barrenness across the culture of the world as the hand once wrote a similar judgment on the walls of an Assyrian palace. Fortunately, the parallel fails at the vital point; it requires a stronger faith than realism is able to furnish to identify the inspiration of the modern and the ancient interpreter, to discover in Zola the successor of Daniel.

The older art of the world is based on the conception that life is at bottom a revelation; that human growth under all conditions has a spiritual law back of it; that human relations of all kinds have spiritual types behind them; and that the discovery of these universal facts, and the clear, noble embodiment of them in various forms, is the office of genius and the end of art. The unique quality of the Greek race lay in its power to make these universal, permanent elements of life controlling. This is the secret of its marvelous and imperishable influence upon the minds of men. This was the work for which it was so lavishly endowed with genius. The art instinct among the Greeks was so universal and so controlling that all individual thought, feeling, and living seemed to be a kind of transparent medium for the revelation of elements and qualities which are common to the race. What was personal, isolated, unrelated to universal life has largely disappeared, and there remains a revelation, not of Greek character, but of human life of unequaled range and perfection. Every great Greek character is a type as truly as every Greek statue; and it is the typical quality which lifts the whole race into the realm of art. But modern realism knows nothing of any revelation in human life; of any spiritual facts of which its facts are significant; of any spiritual laws to which they conform in the unbroken order of the Universe. It does more than ignore these things; it denies them. Under the conditions which it imposes art can see nothing but the isolated physical fact before it; there are no mysterious forces in the soil under it; there is no infinite blue heaven over it. It forms no part of a universal order; it discovers no common law; it can never be a type of a great class. It is, in a word, practical atheism applied to art. It not only empties the world of the Ideal, but, as Zola frankly says, it denies "the good God;" it dismisses the old heaven of aspiration and possible fulfillment

Digitized by Google

as an idle dream; it destroys the significance of life and the interpretative quality of art.

Such was not the conception of the great Balzac. With characteristic acuteness and clearness he puts the whole issue in a paragraph: "A writer who placed before his mind the duty of exact reproduction might become a painter of human types more or less faithful, successful, courageous, and patient; he might be the annalist of the dramas of private life, the archæologist of the social fabric, the sponsor of trades and professions, the registrar of good and evil. And yet to merit the applause at which all artists should aim, ought he not also to study the reasons — or the reason — of the conditions of social life; ought he not to seize the hidden meaning of this vast accretion of beings, of passions, of events? Finally, having sought — I will not say found — this reason, this social mainspring, is he not bound to study natural law, and *discover why and when Society approached or swerved away from the eternal principles of truth and beauty?*" And he adds, to the same end, "History does not, like the novel, hold up the law of a higher ideal. History is, or should be, the world as it has been; the novel — to use a saying of Madame Necker, one of the remarkable minds of the last century — *should paint a possible better world.*" Readers of Balzac do not need to be told that his work, defective as it is on the side of moral insight, is still a commanding interpretation of life because it penetrates through individual fact to the universal fact, and through particular instances to the common law. It is only when one sees clearly this denial of the spiritual side of life, and sees it in all its results, that one understands why Naturalism inevitably portrays the repellant, and a refined realism the superficial, aspects of life. In this pregnant fact lies the secret of its rigidity, its coldness, its inevitable barrenness. A natural method, a true and vital conception, are always capable of further expansion. Is there anything beyond Zola? He has pressed his theory so far that even his hottest adherents see no step left for another to take. The energetic Naturalist — a man of great force and splendid working power — has left his followers not a single fig leaf to be plucked off the shameless nudity of the "bête humaine" — the human animal — in the delineation of which he rivals the skill of Barye. It is equally difficult to imagine any further progress along the lines of a refined realism; it has brought us face to face with the hard, isolated facts of life, and, having discarded the only faculty that can penetrate those facts to their depths and set

Digitized by Google

them in the large order of the higher reason, there remains nothing more to be done by it. Materialism in art reaches its limits so soon that it never really gets into the field at all.

This denial of the imagination, this effort to discard it entirely and banish it into the region of moribund superstitions, is at bottom a confession of weakness. It is the refuge of writers who have inherited the skill, but not the impulse, of the great literary creators, and who are driven, unconsciously no doubt, to adopt a theory of art which makes the most of their strength and demands the least of their weakness. It is a new illustration of the old tendency to elevate individual limitations into universal laws, and to make the art bend to the man rather than the man to the art. We need not concern ourselves about the imagination, as if any man, or body of men, could discard it, or, for any long time, even obscure it; the imagination may safely be left to care for itself; what we need to concern ourselves about is the fact that we are on the wrong road, and that men of genius, unconsciously mistaking the way along which the sign-boards have all been carefully misplaced, may lose time and heart in the struggle to free themselves from misleading aims. We are in great danger of coming to accept as work of the first order that which has no claim to any such distinction, and adopt as the standards of the noblest literary art the very delightful but very inadequate creations of some of our contemporary writers. It is always wisest to face the truth; if the poets of the time lack the qualities which go to the making of great singers, let us acknowledge the fact and make the best of it; if our realistic novelists are more skillful than powerful, more adroit and entertaining than original and inspiring, let us admit this fact also. But, in the name and for the sake of art, let us decline to accept these charming story-tellers as the peers of the great masters, and, above all, let us refuse to impose their individual limitations upon the great novelists of the future. "The Rise of Silas Lapham" and the novels of its class are additions to the literature of fiction for which we are grateful; but it is a great injustice to them and to their writers to insist upon placing them side by side with the great novels of the past.

What is needed now, in fiction as in poetry, is a revitalization of the imagination and a return to implicit and triumphant faith in it. The results of the scientific movement are misread by men of literary genius no less than by religious people; in the end, they will be found to serve the noblest uses of art no less than of

Digitized by Google

religion. Their first effect is, indeed, to paralyze all superficial faiths and inspirations, by disturbing the order of facts upon which these rested, or from which they were derived; but, in the end, it will be found that the new order of the universe has under it a harmony of sublime conceptions such as no art has ever yet so much as dreamed of, and no religion ever yet grasped with clearness and certainty. Science not only leaves the imagination untouched, but adds indefinitely to the material with which it works. The more intelligent study of facts which it has made possible and inevitable purifies and enlarges in a corresponding degree the conceptions which underlie them, and will add in the end immeasurably to the scope and majesty of life. The hour is fast approaching for a new movement of the imagination; a new world awaits interpretation and reproduction in art at its hands. The first effects of the scientific tendency, evident in the uncertain note of contemporary poetry and the defective insight of realistic fiction, must not be mistaken for the final effects; it is this mistake which gives our poetry its elegiac note and our fiction its general confession of the futility of all things. Great works of art never come from hands afflicted with this kind of paralysis. The real outcome of the scientific spirit is something very different from the interpretation of realism; for its interpreters and prophets the time is fast approaching, and no blindness and faint-heartedness of this generation will delay their coming when the hour is ripe. They, too, will be realists as all the great artists have been; realists like Dante and Shakespeare; like Balzac and Thackeray; like the wise Goethe, who held resolutely to the fact because of the law behind it, who saw that the Real and the Ideal are one in the divine order of the universe, and whose clear glance into the appearance of things made him the more loyal to the Whole, the Good, and the True.

Hamilton Wright Mabie.

Digitized by Google

DESIRABLE METHODS IN ENGLISH LITERARY STUDY.

It is patent to every careful observer of educational progress in modern times that new interest is constantly awakening in all that pertains to the English language and literature, nor is it possible or necessary to state in which of these two sections of the same general department such interest is the more pronounced. While as to English philology the student's attention is directed to the rapid increase of books and appliances, careful inspection will mark a similar enthusiasm in distinctively literary work. This healthful zeal is seen in all the branches of such work; in history, fiction, biography, in descriptive, philosophical, and miscellaneous prose, and in poetry. One of the special features of this modern development is found in the large variety of suggestion that is given relative to the best methods in which such a study may be conducted, how the academic student or the citizen at large can best secure those helpful results which are supposed to follow from diligent attention thereto. Such volumes as the "English Men of Letters" series, edited by Motley, or the "American Men of Letters" series, edited by Warner, are of this special character. They are admirably designed, on the one hand, to give a sufficiently scholarly view of English and American letters to satisfy the critical student, and, on the other, so to simplify and vary the subject discussed as to bring it within the province of the readable and popular. Much of the profit and pleasure arising from such a form of intellectual pursuit depends on the particular method of procedure. No department has suffered more than that of English letters, both from the absence of any definite method and from the application of superficial methods. In no department is a well-adjusted order of study more desirable and feasible. It will be the purpose of this paper briefly to enforce some of those cardinal principles which the literary student of English must have in mind in the prosecution of his work. Applicable in substance to all literatures, we shall find it of benefit to apply the teaching more especially to that of English-speaking peoples.

1. *Literary.* The study of literature should, first of all, be a literary study, as distinct from any other possible form. As has been well remarked, "We are to learn language by the study of language, and literature by the study of literature." Literature

Digitized by Google

is one thing, linguistics is another. Hence, those among us who incline to make the study of our literature purely, or in the main, philological are guilty of confounding two lines of study that should be kept clearly distinct. Such an erroneous conception seems to be gaining rather than losing ground in our day, and, unless checked in its progress, will work irreparable harm to the cause it espouses. Let us not be misunderstood. There is a true sense in which English literature as a branch of study has to do with the English language as a study. No one will deny, for example, that in the examination of such an author as Milton or Coleridge close attention must be had to certain linguistic features, — as to the vocabulary, in its richness or poverty; as to the use of words in etymological or popular senses; as to correctness of idioms and other matters mainly philological. There should be enough of this element in all literary work to secure the presence of good diction and propriety of structure, but this is the limit of its presence. When such study of an author becomes, as it so often does, mainly a dictionary study of words and forms, then does it overreach itself, and impair to that degree the true function of literary art.

In the sphere of poetry no author should have suffered less, and none has suffered more, than Shakespeare, at the hands of these "anatomists" of literature. This order of critics is fast succeeding in reducing Shakespearean study to that of diction and structure. Even so excellent a series of English prose and poetry as the "Clarendon Press" series is not without fault at this point. Here, as elsewhere, much of this evil is due to the fact that such so-called literary work is prepared originally for teachers and schools of learning. With the idea of a manual prominently before the author or editor, he is led to follow the class-room method of verbal analysis, rather than that distinctively literary method that is applied more easily in the outside literary world, and should find a larger place in the college itself. English literature must, at times, be studied linguistically, but when so studied things are to be called by their right names. Craik's "English of Shakespeare," as illustrated in the play of "Julius Cæsar," is a strictly philological study of the dramatist, and does not claim a place under the head of literary study proper. Rolfe's editions of Shakespeare's plays are of a similar order, and so understood. Morley's "English Writers" is a strictly literary study of English letters. Hudson's "Art and Characters of Shakespeare" is of this order, as is Warner's "Life of Irving," or Lounsbury's "Life

Digitized by Google

of Cooper." More precisely, the literary method is that by which the study of the author's style is made prominent. In such a study, diction, structure, and idiom will enter, but always subordinately. The great topics will be: the way in which the author embodies his thought, his intellectual cast as a writer, the quality and range of his imagination, the clearness of his poetic conceptions, his narrative skill, and his ability to illustrate the great principles of successful discourse. In fine, the study is one of taste, art, and sensibility. It addresses itself to the sublime and beautiful, to the appropriate and effective in written expression, and ministers as such to the highest forms of mental pleasure. It is, in the best sense of the words, rhetorical and æsthetic, a study of style as related to the thought and personality behind it. There is a valid intellectual element in all true literary art as an æsthetic art, and it should never be lowered to that level on which the French school of polite letters has seen fit to place it. The strictly literary method, however, is but one among a number, and reveals the flagrant error of those who have made the study of literature nothing more nor less than a study of taste and æsthetic criticism. As a method it should never exist alone. Essential in its true place, that place is subordinate and not primary. It needs that infusion of energy and that special disciplinary value that comes from the presence of those higher modes to which attention is to be called.

2. *Suggestive and Comprehensive.* This is noticeable at once as a higher modus than the one just discussed. While it is a study both of thought and style, the primary reference is to the former. It has mainly to do with the intellectual character of the authorship examined, and but secondarily with its æsthetic and emotive elements. It might fitly be termed the philosophic method, as having to do with causes and effects, laws and agencies in literary life, rather than with any form of detailed inspection. On such a method the limits of literary eras are determined more by the development of ideas in the national mind than by anything merely chronological. There is now what President Bascom has called the Philosophy of Literature. There is now an inquiry into the scientific basis of literature as an art; its hidden relations to political, social, and religious life; the great active forces that underlie and determine it, — in a word, the principles that compose it. On such a plan as this, the study is at once uplifted from the level of the technical and formal to a real intellectual gymnastic. It is more than philosophical. It is a psychological study

Digitized by Google

outside of mental science proper, and serves to coördinate literature with all that is far-reaching and thorough. In terming this method a suggestive and comprehensive one, the student of literature is guarded against that unduly minute examination of authorship which magnifies the text above the spirit and forestalls any such result as genuine literary stimulus. "The marvel of Shakespeare's diction," says Mr. Whipple, "is its immense suggestiveness — the power of radiating through single expressions a life and meaning which they do not retain in their removal to dictionaries." If this be so, the principle will apply outside of the great dramatist's work, and is so applied by representative minds. The language of our leading authors is indicative rather than exhaustive. There is a potential reserve behind all that is made actual in expression; "more is meant than meets the ear." Hints and glimpses are given in order to awaken interest and reward research, and the student is to interpret the truth in the same comprehensive manner in which the author has embodied the truth. On the basis of such a method as this, barren and fruitful eras alike yield a rational explanation. We understand the Restoration and the Augustan periods. Literature has a soul as well as a visible form. Conscience, intellect, and will are there as well as taste. Despite the strong tendency to the microscopic method, this wider one is fast gaining the practical support of modern critics, and may yet fully obtain among us. Until such an era opens, the best results of literary criticism will be out of reach.

3. *Logical.* This observance of what may be called a logical consecutiveness in literature would seem to be involved in the very word "method." The terms are synonymous, and yet their wide separation is so frequent as to call for special notice. By the logical method in literature is meant the emphasis of its unity and regular sequence all along the line of its different periods of development. Amid the limitless diversity of English letters there is the presence of this unity. Despite all variation and digression there is ever visible a law of continuity, holding everything in place, and enabling the student to relate all that precedes to all that follows. There is nothing of what Coleridge would call "the non-sequacious." All is coördinated and centralized. It is one of the first offices of the literary student to understand and reveal this principle, and the more decidedly he is able to effect this the more recompensing will his labors become. So marked is this principle of logical movement in English letters that there would seem to have been some one superintending mind presiding

Digitized by Google

over its evolution, correcting its tendency to deflect from clearly drawn lines of advance, and restraining it within the prescribed bounds originally assigned it. This is done, even while individual forces and authors work with the most pronounced freedom. Though these lines of sequence may be for a time concealed and apparently obliterated by great political changes, by the presence of marked intellectual lethargy, or by a general tendency to literary lawlessness, a careful scrutiny will detect its unvarying presence, and in due time it will emerge into prominence. No student of our literature can venture to ignore for a moment the operation of this law. Providential or not as it may be, it still exists and acts. The literature of any people at all progressive is not a haphazard product of fortuitous combinations, but the normal outgrowth of definite principles, and is always able to give us the best of reasons for the particular type of literary life which it exhibits in any particular era. It is just by reason of this logical closeness of structure and growth that all literary periods have more or less overlapped each other. Such encroachment has been unavoidable and manifest in proportion to the individuality of the era. No critic can afford to be too dogmatic as to the boundaries of such epochs. We speak of Chaucerian and of Elizabethan days; of the literature of the Commonwealth and of the Restoration; of Augustan and of Georgian letters. All such distinctions are but relative and conventional. No one can tell us precisely when First English became Middle English, or when English literature as dialectic became fully national. Who can determine exactly the limits of the Augustan age, or when the classical era of Pope as defined by Mr. Gosse passed over into the romantic school of Burns and Cowper? Convenient as such lines may be, they have no existence in the nature of things, and will always mislead him who so interprets them. The logical nexus is beneath the letter and form. "In the literature of any people," says Morley, "we perceive, under all contrasts of form produced by variable social influences, the one national character from first to last." It is in this national character that we find the law of continuity. It is because amid the infinitely diversified unlikeness of such character there is a substantial likeness and unity that the sequence is apparent. This is signally true of the English mind and soul as expressed in written form. The Englishness is always marked, however flexible its forms. There are behind every author of note both a national and a personal individuality. To say, therefore, that we must proceed after a logical method is simply to say that

Digitized by Google

we must follow the development of the English character in English literature, let it lead us where it may.

4. *Comparative.* There is such a thing as international literature. Such is the local position of the British Isles relative to the other countries of Europe that this method becomes especially essential in our literary study. Speaking geographically and etymologically, it may be said that English literature should not be *insulated* — confined to the island in which it took national origin. The leading nations of modern Europe on each side of the English Channel are so conjoined in the great movements of civilization, and so interdependent in the sphere of national industries, that the literary life of the one affects that of all, and is affected by it. On the very highways that are opened up for commerce and trade these higher influences find their avenues of entrance, while, apart from this, scores of unseen agencies are at work to bring adjacent peoples more fraternally together in the interests of general culture. The Continent of Europe may thus be regarded by the literary student as one vast central organism in the world's culture rather than as a collection of independent centres. The Straits of Dover are far too narrow to effect any valid separation of interest and progress. As the student of English applies this comparative method more specifically, he is led to note the threefold influence of Italy, France, and Germany. The first of these countries developed its golden age under Dante and Petrarch just at the time when English poetry was taking on its national form in the pages of Chaucer. Later on, in the days of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, it exhibited an almost equally vigorous life in the persons of Ariosto and Tasso. Hence, the influence of Italian letters upon English in Chaucer's time, and especially in the days of Wyatt and Surrey, Spenser and Sidney, must form an important factor in the study of our authorship. In the seventeenth century, in England, the second of these countries rose into prominence. The effect of the Norman-French in Middle English times quite apart, a distinctively Gallic school of writers appeared at the Restoration, dating its inception as far back as the founding of the French Academy in the reign of Charles I. Visible, particularly, in the realm of dramatic poetry under Dryden, it permeated the national thought and life, and reappeared in more didactic form in the days of Pope through the agency of Boileau. At the very time when literature at home was inferior and despondent, such French authors as Racine, Molière, Fénelon, La Sage, and Voltaire were in their glory, and England, of course,

Digitized by Google

was under Continental sway. The supremacy was partly for good and mainly for evil. So as to Germany. Quite devoid of influence in England since the invention of printing and the time of Luther, it came to potency in the reign of George II. through the influence of Klopstock and Lessing, and rose to masterly prominence under George III., through the authorship of Schiller and Goethe. It was, in fact, to this invigorating German force as much as to any other one cause that the correct school of English poetry, under Pope, gave way to a more impassioned verse. It may almost be said to have introduced the era of modern English literature. When Southey and Wordsworth are seen tendering their respects to Klopstock, and Coleridge busies himself with the translating of Schiller's dramas, it is evident that international comity exists among the authors. Enough has been said to mark the necessity of this comparative method. It is thus that Mr. Sismondi gives us his graphic view of the connected literatures of Southern Europe. It is thus that Schlegel presents a combined account of dramatic writings from Euripides to Shakespeare, while our own historian, Hallam, follows a similar method in his narrative of European literature. In each case the method is the same, and is happily in keeping with that plan of study now obtaining in all the important departments of human thought. In common with the fact that the modern drift is toward specialisms, it is fortunately true that specialists themselves are obliged to apply the comparative method within the domain of their respective specialisms. As the scientific specialist in any one science must be conversant with all forms of physical science, so the man of letters must aim to compass the general province of letters as it affects the separate section in which he is working. It is impossible to see how, upon such a basis, the student of literature can be narrow-minded — how he can fail to see the truth in all its bearings and so present it. Literary criticism is the last sphere in which bigotry should have sway. How far existing facts correspond with such a theory must be left to the intelligent observer to decide.

5. *Historical.* So vital is the relation of English literature to English history that the one may be said to be the interpreter of the other, or, rather, the two may be viewed as but different forms of expressing the same fundamental ideas. "In Greek history," says Hare, "there is nothing truer than Herodotus save Homer;" to which we might add, conversely, that in Greek literature there is nothing truer than Homer save Herodotus. This his-

Digitized by Google

torico-literary law is amply illustrated among all peoples. Why the golden ages of Arabian, Spanish, Greek, Roman, and English literature should have occurred precisely when they did is a question that finds much of its explanation in the political and religious history of the respective nations, shaped as it was in each case by the general providence of God. No intelligent reader can fail to see the close connection between the rich development of Arabian letters in the reign of the caliphs, from the eighth century onward, and the political character of the government which they established. Under their benignant rule every capital city was as much a literary as it was a civil metropolis. The successive aspirants to the throne of the Abassides vied with each other to foster the interests of letters, and nothing apparently could have limited that development then begun save what actually did arrest it, — a speedy return to the evils of Mohammedanism. The Periclean and Augustan ages of the older empires came just in the fullness of time, as designated by historic life. If the golden age of our letters is coincident with the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it is so largely by reason of the political character of the time, and the special historical relations of the epoch to the Protestant Reformation. Such an element as this is no less emphatic in days of literary decline, as in the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries in England. We have but to open contemporary records in each of these periods to find sufficient explanation of such results. So true is this historic relation that, were the civil records lost, much of their substantial meaning could be gathered up from the literature. In the writings of Chaucer a large part of Middle English records could be restored. If Guizot and Clarendon had not written on the English Revolution, we might resort to the Puritan authors of that century for the facts. If, later on, we are startled by the rise of a skeptical school in literature in the persons of Hume and Gibbon, the very literature is historical. It is history itself. In aiming to account for the peculiar type of our letters at the close of the eighteenth century, we must study with care the history of Germany and that of the revolutions in France and America. The older students were right, in motive at least, when they insisted on dividing literary periods into successive centuries, if so be the progress of national civil life might exactly correspond to that of national culture. Their error lay, as we have seen, in pushing this division to the extreme of mechanism. Decided improvement is manifest in modern times in the application of a higher method. Such authors as Morley, Arnold, Azarias, Coppee,

Digitized by Google

and Tyler are working in obedience to it. Historical literature, or literary history, is coming into favor. One of the best results of this method is the addition of a new interest to the department. The study is made attractive. To a narrative and descriptive element, already present, it unites the special feature of historical narration and description. To a distinctively personal element already present in the lives of authors it adds the personality of great historic personages and peoples. Events themselves assume personality. When we deem it essential to read Masson's "Life and Times of Milton" before reading Milton himself, we acknowledge this natural bond between the historic and the literary. In such a method we derive the double benefit of understanding more clearly the meaning of the author and enjoying more fully that graphic effect which history lends to literature.

6. *Independent and Impartial.* It is yet an open question in literature as to what the precise relation is between what are traditionally termed standard authors and those next in rank: whether the latter are in every sense subordinate, and whether, after all, the dependence may not be mutual. This is fitly suggested by Hazlitt, in speaking of the relative position of Shakespeare to the other dramatists of his time, as he says: "These writers are the scale by which we can best ascend to the high table-land of literary prominence which Shakespeare occupied." Though not upon the table-land themselves, they make the approach to it possible, even for those who may be termed their superiors. Reciprocal indebtedness must always exist between the higher and the lower. The one can never look with disdain upon the other. Shakespeare himself acknowledged such indebtedness, "desiring this man's wit and that man's scope." Had it not been for Wiclif and Tyndale, the English Reformers of later date might have failed. Long before Bacon compacted those principles by which men should better know how to apply philosophy to practical ends, Telesior, Bernard, Campanella, and others, had opened up the way along a similar line of inquiry. The "Novum Organum" was not so new, after all. There has never been any great awakening in church or state that has not thus been heralded and hastened by some John the Baptist. This is preëminently so in literature and in English literature, and the point we are pressing is, that in the estimate of these authors and agencies criticism must be independent and scrupulously just. Traditional opinions as to first, second, and third class writers

Digitized by Google

must be reëxamined in the light of newly-revealed facts, and the student must insist upon an intelligent freedom of view. Here, as everywhere else, men must know what they believe, and why they believe it, nor is such a state of mind in any sense devoid of deference to the history of opinion and rightful precedent. We are convinced that the tendency has been far too strong to study so-called representative authors exclusively, quite disconnected from any lesser names. It is still reserved for some discriminating and kindly pen to write the record of English letters with this thought in mind: to give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; to show what second-rate authors have done for first-rate authors; or, perchance, to show that the accepted classification of our authors should be readjusted on more independent principles. The quaint and keen Sir Thomas Browne wrote thus in "The Urn Burial": "Who knows whether the best of men be known or whether there be not more remarkable persons forgot than any that stand remembered in the account of time!" The exclamation is a timely one. Who knows, we may add, why in English prose we have traditionally limited the best of standard authors, from Bacon to Carlyle, to about a score of names! Why should Addison and Lamb rank above Steele and Goldsmith! Where is the true place of Charles Kingsley in prose fiction; of Coleridge, in philosophical prose; of Dryden, in critical prose; of Wordsworth, in poetry? In our poetry, as in no other department of our literature, is a more impartial spirit needed. Nowhere is the traditional classification so arbitrary. Should not Shakespeare stand absolutely by himself? Who with Milton are to form the second group? Is Mr. Gosse at all consistent in ranking Gray as high as he does? What valid claim have such modern versifiers as Robert Browning and Swinburne to the position critically assigned them? Why should Keats occupy so exalted a place among the classical poets of English, and where, after all, are we to place the poet laureate? Unbiased literary criticism must look at these authors anew, and test them by the best criteria at command, quite apart from what has or has not been agreed concerning them. Much of the good work that Mr. Hazlitt has done for English letters has been in this sphere of independent opinion. Despite the hostility which he naturally provoked, many of his positions are as yet unassailed. "Very little of me would be left," says the great Goethe, "if I could but say what I owe to my predecessors and contemporaries." It is part of the duty of modern criticism to discuss and express such indebtedness, and to examine a

Digitized by Google

vast number of similar questions now arising for settlement. This spirit of literary servility should certainly decrease with the growth of general culture; and there are some signs of promise in this direction. The protest in New England against Mr. Arnold's estimate of Emerson was a healthful one, in the line of personal independence at the very shrine of the Delphian oracle. Mr. Froude's attitude relative to Carlyle in the face of English opinion has been similarly courageous, while it may be said that in literature, as elsewhere, the principle is spreading that if men are to give reasons for the character of their beliefs they must first of all examine the grounds of their beliefs. No method in literature is more needful, and none will yield more helpful results. Here, as in higher spheres, it is the truth that makes free.

In closing this discussion, and with special reference to the readers of this "Review," it may be remarked that prominent English writers are calling attention to the increasing need of recognizing the ethical side of our literature. No literary method is thorough that leaves this out of the account. Morley, in his "Illustrations of English Religion," calls attention to the contributions made in English literature to the cause of good morals. Stopford Brooke, in his "Theology of the English Poets," magnifies this element. Such essays as "The Ethics of Wordsworth" or "Pope as a Moralist" deal with this phase of the subject. Mr. Selkirk, in his "Ethics and Æsthetics of English Poetry," develops this idea in full. There is the ethical as well as the æsthetic, and they are to be viewed conjointly. In a former article on a kindred topic ("Presbyterian Review," July, 1881), we called attention to the presence of this feature in our earlier literature, from the poetry of Caedmon to the Scriptural work of Wiclif and Tyndale. At this time the literature was more than ethical. It was Biblical and Christian. To some extent, at least, this moral feature has been visible all along the line of our letters, enough so to make it impossible for any critic of moral indifference properly to examine it. The history of English literature cannot possibly be written as Buckle has written that of European civilization, or as Leckey and Lewes have written on similar topics. Whatever may be true of Continental Europe, there is a true sense in which the authorship of England may be said to postulate moral ideas. Such a principle is all-important in the present tendencies of literary criticism so potent in certain circles. It is the *mode* to speak of the school of Arnold and Swinburne as the leading representatives of modern literary

Digitized by Google

criticism, and of such criticism as of the first order. These writers, we submit, are critics purely on the secular side of English letters, and are at pains so to state it. As such they are, at times, untrustworthy. They lack that delicate perception of the *morale* of our literature which is essential to fullness and fairness of judgment. Their sympathies in this direction are not strong enough to guide them aright. The author of "Literature and Dogma" has once and again unfortunately illustrated such a combination by severing the ethic and æsthetic. The "sense of conduct" and the "sense of beauty" inhere in the same personality, and co-work to the same literary results. The drift of present sentiment is adverse to such interaction, and is altogether contrary to the genius and informing spirit of our literature. "There is," says Mr. Taine, "a certain *earnestness* in this English people that leads them out of idle sentiments into noble ones and an innate consciousness of the vanity of all things human." It is this "earnestness," or moral gravity, which the critic must see and mark. It is in point here to emphasize the fact that, quite apart from purely intellectual grounds, no secular study would be more profitable to the clergy than that of English literature on its ethical side. It is seen to be a study of conscience and moral life in their more popular expression, and opens up to the spiritual mind new suggestion and inspiration. More than this; do not the clergy, as the teachers of the people, owe it to themselves and their calling to be thoroughly conversant with "the best that has been thought and said?" There is a literary element in Scripture, as there is a moral element in literature, so that the divinities and humanities may be said to meet. The minister of the gospel is not to be literary, as distinct from being spiritual, or in any way at the expense of the spiritual, but to be a man in whom conscience, intellect, and taste develop conjointly and to one great end, — the development of character in self and others. In these days, when Christianity is said to be one thing and culture another, and cynical skepticism urges that as the one declines the other advances, it may be well for the ministry to illustrate in their own persons the unity of the two. The greatest foe at present to the progress of the church is found in popular literature as skeptical and immoral. In some way, therefore, the appointed guardians of the truth and of public morals must come into closer connections with the public press and popular authorship.

Such, as we conceive them, are some of the leading methods of literary study, as exemplified in English letters. Being, first of

Digitized by Google

all, a literary method, it must be also suggestive, logical, comparative, historical, and impartially independent, while with all students, and most especially with the Christian clergy, the ethics of literature must ever be prominent. On such a basis the study becomes one of the highest order as to knowledge, discipline, and culture, and is just as recompensing as the student himself is pleased to make it. It is at once a study of mind, of character, and of æsthetic art, while, in addition to what it is in itself, it stands as one of the most helpful mediums through which national life is to express itself and be transmitted to future generations. Let it, moreover, be specially emphasized that there is one thing more important than the best possible method can be, and that is the living agent behind it, giving it direction and effect. The student of literature, as the author or the critic, must, first of all, be a man whose literary personality pervades and quickens all his work. Back of English letters as a product are English men of letters as a creative cause. Back of the method is the man.

T. W. Hunt, Ph. D.

PRINCETON COLLEGE, NEW JERSEY.

THE CONQUEST OF UTAH.

IT is a spectacle most strange and humiliating, and yet one witnessed by the American people for well-nigh a half century, that of a handful of unscrupulous and determined politico-religious adventurers, with a following of a few thousands, planting and maintaining themselves in the very midst of the republic, but with no sort of love or reverence for its institutions; cherishing ideas and aims utterly alien and inimical to democracy; counting the Federal government a wicked usurpation, a heaven-defying tyranny, and mortal foe; hating and despising its representatives, and just in proportion as they regard their official oaths and seek to perform their duty; trampling under foot its laws, and setting at naught the decrees of its highest courts; and, in an insane attempt to negative and nullify at every point, stopping at nothing short of open and armed rebellion. The nation is slow to understand, and to appearance is unwilling to believe, that the Mormon church is a political concern vastly more than a religious; is first and foremost a theocracy, and so claims to exercise the only legitimate civil authority under the sun; has no

Digitized by Google

feature more characteristic, and no purpose more fundamental or fixed, than that of entire and undisputed temporal sovereignty; is held in any measure to the flimsiest form of submission and obedience only by fear of the application of overwhelming brute force; or, in short, in its very nature and genius (*semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*) is an organization transfused and overflowing with the virus of disloyalty and treason. A serious charge, truly, to make against a church and men whose notions and influence are supreme over a large fraction of our national domain. But this is no railing accusation. The terrible indictment is strictly true. The proof is patent on every page of Utah history.

As early as 1833 the "prophet" Joseph was openly accused by several orthodox Saints of "aiming at monarchical power and authority." In Missouri his followers inaugurated the practice, never since departed from, of voting solid, and this idiosyncrasy was largely the cause of their expulsion from the State. Crossing to Illinois, and wild with schemes for kingdom-building, Smith's manœuvring for votes and offices, whether for scope, daring, or utter absence of morality, was amazing. This "seer and revelator" would be the civil head of Nauvoo from the first, soon of the county also, erelong of the State, and eventually of the nation! By shameless trickery he secured a charter which made the city independent of the commonwealth. The governor possessed no jurisdiction over the mayor, or the lieutenant-general of the Nauvoo Legion. This political game was played so recklessly for years together that at length the fear and hatred of both parties were incurred, and they united to crush the carnal and office-seeking hierarch, and expel his followers.

But before his bloody death the "inspired" Joseph had suggested the wisdom of sending chosen elders "to explore California and Oregon, that the Saints might get up into the mountains where they could have a government of their own, and where the devil could not dig them out!" And now, by a strange ordering, the Latter Day leaders seemed to have found, and through the fury of mobs, the opportunity they long had sought in vain. While resident in "the States," an insignificant and despised minority, they could not at all realize the divine idea of the theocracy, but were in degrading subjection, and compelled to conform to the imperfect and unrighteous statutes of men. But making their enforced exodus westward, beyond mountains and deserts, they would forever escape all interference from the wicked rulers of this world, and could set up the "Kingdom of God" with all its external

Digitized by Google

forms. They would become a people like Israel of old, dwelling apart, with Jehovah for sole sovereign, and the holy priesthood as his vicegerents. As they moved slowly across the plains in 1846, the hopes which inspired them are well set forth in John Taylor's hymn, "To Upper California." Secure behind the mighty bulwarks of the Rocky Mountains, and tenfold more remote from Federal sway than Canaan from Egypt, the Saints could "taste the sweets of liberty."

> "We 'll go and lift up our standards,
> We 'll go there and be free.
> We 'll burst off all our fetters
> And break the Gentile yoke;
> For long it hath beset us,
> But, now it shall be broke [sic!]
> No more shall Jacob bow the neck,
> Henceforth he shall be great and free,
> We 'll rule, we 'll reign and triumph," etc., etc.

Alas, however, the Mexican war was in progress. And the year following, while the pioneers were crossing the plains, California was conquered, and only eight months after Salt Lake had been chosen as the seat of the Mormon Zion the hated stars and stripes were supreme throughout the whole region of the Great Basin. Deep was the chagrin and bitter the disappointment of Brigham and his co-conspirators. But even yet something might be done by energy and resolution. And, therefore, though numbering but seven or eight thousand, they made haste to set up a "free and independent" government, named "The State of Deseret," hoping that, if visible at all to the law-making power upon the Potomac, they would be received at once into the Union as a sovereign State. The modest limits they fixed for "the Kingdom" included an area of about seven hundred miles square, or one tenth of the national domain. Deseret would extend from Oregon to the Mexican boundary, and from the Rockies to the Pacific, or over the whole or large parts of *nine* of our roomiest territories.

As to the schemes of the hierarchy let Captain Gunnison speak, a witness intelligent and fair; and see how strikingly his statements tally with the historic recital which follows. He says: —

> "We found them in 1849 organized into a State, with all the offices regularly filled, collecting taxes, raising and equipping troops, etc. Should a governor not of their creed, or other than their chief, be assigned, he would find himself without occupation. He would be treated with courtesy, but would be 'let severely alone.' Were he to convoke

Digitized by Google

an assembly, or order an election, no attention would be paid to it. The dignity and form of courts might easily obtain, but the members of the Latter Day church would know nothing of them. *This certainly has been proclaimed as their determined policy, though they might dissemble.*"

Of this theocratic State thus set up "by revelation" Brigham was head, of course; and at the same election Kimball, his first counselor, was also and *unanimously* chosen second in station; and his other counselor, Richards, was made chief justice. But, somehow, the purblind Washington legislators of that time failed to discern the divinity or legitimacy of this preposterous organization, and leisurely proceeded to frame an act for the construction of the Territory of Utah, and with proportions less by about two thirds than those proposed. But by a compromise, probably well meant, though most foolish and unfortunate, Mr. Fillmore appointed Brigham governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, though his harem even then contained eight "wives," and also selected four out of seven officials from the Mormon church. For policy's sake office was accepted, though with deep indignation, and a territorial legislature was chosen, but with the determined purpose not to yield and be subject. For no sooner did that body end its labors and adjourn than it met again as the legislature of the State of Deseret, with Brigham as chief executive, and listened to a message, passed laws, etc. And this astounding and most treasonable proceeding was repeated annually for years.

With such wild dreams and fixed purposes, of course, the irrepressible conflict between theocracy and republicanism was not long in breaking out. The officials from "Babylon," forced upon the oppressed Saints, arrived in Salt Lake in July of 1851, and in September attended a church conference. Being invited to speak, one of them, Judge Brocchus, took occasion, in a way far from severe, to animadvert upon polygamy, then generally practiced, but not yet confessed, and upon certain utterances full of disrespect for the government. A great uproar speedily ensued. Brigham raged and stormed, threatened to kick the judge from the platform, and averred that he had but to "crook his little finger," and his Honor would be torn in pieces in a trice! Nor was it many weeks after, that, finding no room for the performance of their functions, and the temperature of Zion proving too torrid, the two non-Mormon judges took their departure, accompanied by the secretary, who actually had the effrontery to carry with him in his flight and return to the treasury some $25,000 of Fed-

Digitized by Google

eral funds, much to the disgust of the haughty hierarch, whose pockets fairly itched to possess it. Within a year or two a second and a third set of officials were commissioned, but after slight tarrying and study of the situation were content to resign and withdraw, so over-abundant were insults and threatening. And meantime the territorial statute book was filled with such laws as the church deemed desirable to have framed. Though issuing from the hands of men whose pay was furnished by the Federal treasury, the entire code was shaped with reference to keeping all political power permanently in saintly hands, and reducing the possibility of national interference with Utah affairs to a minimum, and so keeping the nation from the occupation and use of its own. Their audacity approached the sublime, nor was their success unworthy of their zeal and skill. Thus probate courts, the merest tools of the priesthood, were set up in each county, and clothed with jurisdiction in all cases, whether civil or criminal, wholly coordinate with that of the district courts, and so a Mormon bishop on the bench, with a writ of *habeas corpus*, could release a criminal committed by a Federal judge! No funds were provided for the expenses of district courts when occupied with territorial business. And, besides, almost the entire habitable portion of Utah was parceled out to a score or two of "city" corporations covering each from ten to forty square miles, and ruled by municipal courts invested with extraordinary powers. The territorial marshal was made the sole organ of the district courts for serving writs in territorial cases, and certain offices were made elective, which by the organic act were to be filled by nomination from the governor. And, as if this were not defense sufficient against "oppression" and "persecution," the entire jury system was kept wholly in Mormon hands.

To the Pierce administration it became apparent that such high-handed proceedings as were in vogue in Saintdom must be checked, and it was determined to remove the head of the church from headship in civil affairs, and to appoint new officers who would heed and execute the law of the land. But, after a vain attempt, such was found to be the influence of the Mormon autocrat that he was reappointed.

In 1856 the attempt was made to open a surveyor-general's office in Salt Lake, but the incumbent, Mr. Burr, was soon compelled to flee for his life, the section marks were destroyed, and the records carried off. The same year Judge Stiles decided to serve his writs through the Federal marshal, but that officer found

Digitized by Google

that, instigated by the church, not a man would heed his authority. A Mormon mob visited Judge Stiles's court room, ordered him to reverse his ruling, threatened to drag him from the bench, and compelled him to adjourn his court. And a few days after an armed mob entered his office, stole and secreted the court records, and burned a mass of books and papers. Brigham, *the Federal governor*, refused to interfere or to furnish protection. The news of these shocking outrages reaching Washington, it was at once determined to remove the lordly hierarch from his place, make a clean sweep of the old incumbents, and with a new body of Federal representatives send a military force sufficient to compel respect and obedience. Hearing of the approach of this force, Brigham refused to furnish supplies, proclaimed martial law, ordered out the Nauvoo Legion, forbade Colonel A. S. Johnston to enter the Territory and ordered him to retire by the way he came, stampeded stock, burnt trains, etc. But when, in the spring, the army began to file down Echo Canon discretion suddenly took the place of fiery valor, and the sacerdotal potentate of the sage-brush graciously consented that all the officers should enter the valley without resistance, and exercise unmolested all their several functions.

But the new governor, Cumming, soon discovered that he was far more ornamental than useful in Utah, for of occupation he had none. Nor were the courts held in much higher honor. Judge Sinclair in Salt Lake undertook to investigate charges of treason, intimidation of the courts, and polygamy, but the Mormon jury could discover no sort of evidence that any Mormon had ever committed any such offenses! In the spring of 1859 Judge Cradlebaugh in Provo undertook to bring to punishment the perpetrators of numerous and most shocking crimes committed during the horrible "Reformation" period, then just past, and culminating in the unspeakable atrocity of the Mountain Meadows massacre. But the grand jury would take no action. And not strangely, for it afterwards appeared that several of the guilty *were actually serving in that body!* And finally, compelled to adjourn, Judge Cradlebaugh entered upon the court docket: "The whole community presents a united and organized opposition to the proper administration of justice."

The war of the Rebellion soon ensued, the army was withdrawn, and the recalcitrant Saints were jubilant. It was the fulfillment of prophecy. The Union that had oppressed them had been smitten by divine wrath, and was no more. And though a year

Digitized by Google

later their joy was chastened not a little when Colonel Connor with his California volunteers took permanent possession of Camp Douglas, within easy cannon shot of the Temple, they found that Mr. Lincoln, having trouble enough on hand, had no intention of stirring up disturbance in the Great Basin, in spite of the fact that the Republican party had dubbed polygamy the "twin relic," and Congress had passed an anti-polygamy bill. His first governor was driven from the Territory in disgrace, and his judges presently resigned. Governor Harding ventured to call the attention of the legislature to the statute against polygamy, and warned the people not to disregard and defy it. This message, though temperate, was at once and most fiercely denounced as impertinent, a gross outrage and insult. The journals made no mention of his excellency's appearance before the two houses. They refused to print the shameful document. A few months later, not learning wisdom, he also united with Judges Waite and Drake to send to Washington the draft of a bill designed to secure several much needed changes in Federal legislation, all of which have since been made. But no sooner did this fact become known than the three were assailed most savagely and brutally, as though the vilest of mankind. An indignation meeting was held, at which the chiefs made harangues most malignant and incendiary, and the resignation and early departure of the infamous wretches were demanded. And the administration so far yielded to the Saintly clamor as soon to transfer Governor Harding to another Territory. The judges were left without such support from troops as they deemed necessary. And so, after solemnly declaring that "the laws are nugatory, and the organic act entirely inoperative," they declined to hold any more district courts; while as for the head of the church — he showed his defiance and contempt for the national will by adding Amelia Folsom to the already ample number of his "wives." Then, to save the feelings of the mighty theocrat, and also make some show of enforcing the law, the chief justice of that day put him under bonds to appear before the grand jury. But that body, of which every member was a Saint, and some were even apostles, after careful investigation, could unearth never a fact justifying any suspicion that Brigham possessed more than the lawful number of marital partners.

Then followed the days, even darker, of the Johnson régime, when dreadful deeds of violence were the occurrences of every day. The Federal courts were powerless, and the probate courts were without disposition, to inflict vengeance upon the murderers

Digitized by Google

of "gentiles" and "apostates." Among others, not a few in 1866, Brassfield and Dr. Robinson, both good citizens and worthy men, were shot down in the streets like dogs. For years a desperate attempt was made to terrorize all rebels against priestly rule and drive them from the Territory. But at length General Sherman telegraphed a hint to Brigham that such deeds of blood must be ended, and President Grant undertook to inaugurate a radical reform in Utah affairs. General Sheridan made a visit to Salt Lake, and the military force was increased. Chief Justice McKean, a man of stalwart integrity and of fearless courage, was instructed to bring order out of judicial confusion. And for the first time the Mormon church began to tremble in the presence of law. For a season it was even cowed into the semblance of decency. Though the governor had always been commander-in-chief of the territorial militia, yet the Nauvoo Legion from the first had been maintained in entire independence of Federal authority, and, numbering some thirteen thousand men, had held annual reviews under the command of a certain "Lieutenant-General" Daniel H. Wells. But in 1870 Governor Shaffer forbade the muster, and ordered the troops in Fort Douglas to prevent it, if need be, by force. Wells yielded after much bluster and show of fight; and, after a similar experience the year following, that redoubtable host, the pride and hope of the prophet in his day, has failed to assemble, and has been heard of no more. However, under the inspiration of a Supreme Court decision which reversed an important ruling of Judge McKean, and was counted by Brigham a great victory for "the Kingdom," George Q. Cannon, a four-wived Saint, was sent to Washington as delegate, — as his master bluntly phrased it, — "to cram polygamy down the throat of the United States."

But the triumph of the theocracy was brief. For in 1874, by the passage of the Poland bill, the probate courts and the territorial marshal were relegated to their proper sphere of inferiority, and by providing that half of all juries should be drawn by the Federal marshal (non-Mormon) it was made possible to call Saints to account for their crimes. True, this law was so fiercely contested that for ten years it proved of slight avail. In 1876 John D. Lee was convicted at Beaver, and shot upon the spot where he led in the massacre of one hundred and twenty innocents twenty years before. In 1879 by the sentence of Reynolds the first polygamist received his legal deserts, five years after the passage of the Poland bill, seventeen years after the first law against

Digitized by Google

polygamy was placed upon the national statute book, and though the loathsome practice had been spreading for more than forty years! In 1881 Cannon was refused admission to Congress and sent home in disgrace, and in a few weeks the Edmunds bill became law, which at one stroke disfranchised all polygamists, some fifteen thousand in number, and including wellnigh every man of note in the Mormon church. Such a sudden and complete political overturning occurred as is seldom seen. By the score and hundred, officials stepped down and out, who for a generation had held their places because of their priestly rank, as a reward for their loyalty to the ecclesiastical chiefs. The same bill also provided for the rejection, from all juries before which polygamy cases could come, of all who either practiced or believed in polygamy, included unlawful cohabitation among offenses to be punished, and in various ways made conviction more easy. Governor Eli H. Murray, an executive incorruptible, faithful, and unflinching in the performance of public duty, had already served through one term, and in 1884, although assailed for months by the Mormon church with such spite and virulence as only that body can wield, was reappointed, and confirmed without a dissenting vote. Soon after President Arthur also made most happy choice of Judge Charles S. Zane for chief justice, and of William H. Dickson as district attorney, both true men, well versed in the law, and in every way admirably qualified for their arduous tasks. Nor less was a marshal found both able and willing to take his share in the tug of war.

The story, given thus in brief and barren outline, would be altogether incredible if it were not strictly true. Nor has the half been told upon the foregoing pages. Much more of disgraceful and iniquitous doing has been omitted than has been mentioned. Only specimen cases have been touched upon. And it is hard to say where the chief ignominy should be located, — whether upon the ecclesiastical organization for committing such outrageous acts, or upon the Washington government for suffering itself to be so long circumvented and grossly insulted and contemned. But, in spite of all, it finally came to pass, after thirty and eight years of disheartening and disgraceful struggle, that all things were in readiness to move upon the enemy's works with some new hope of success from the assault. Thus, after repeated attempts from Congress, and numerous decisions from the court of highest jurisdiction, the law was in reasonable shape for efficient application. Even better: the officers of the law, for

Digitized by Google

a wonder, were fit instruments for the accomplishment of noblest ends. It is confidently affirmed by those fully competent to judge that never, until within a year, have the nation's champions in the bitter fight with theocracy been each and all wholly worthy, not one incompetent or false-hearted, presenting a united and determined front to the foe, eager all for a vigorous offensive. And, finally, the slavery question was out of the way, which, with its consequents in rebellion and reconstruction, had long engrossed the thought and energy of the nation, and so there was opportunity to grapple with the enormities long practiced with impunity in the Rocky Mountain region.

It was, then, by no accident that the judicial campaign took on new features a few months since, and, as never before, began to be attended by success to the national endeavor, and by disaster to the insidious foe so long able to hinder and baffle. Already, as we have seen, a note of solemn warning had been struck when the chiefs who since 1847 had fattened in office, holding all the honors and wielding all the political influence of the territory, had been ignominiously ousted, and with thousands of others had been driven from the polls. And now followed a tremendous thunder peal and lightning stroke. All of a sudden, — unlooked for by the people at large, and equally by the Mormon church, whose prophetic gifts possess special value by warning them of approaching danger and so enabling them to meet the machinations of their enemies, — the terrible enginery of the law began to move, and in Utah, Arizona, and Idaho, at once, indictments like hail began to fall upon the heads of elders, high priests, prophets, apostles, and cruel fate began to buffet them as though made only of common clay. Since 1843 the Saints, emulating the patriarchs, had practiced "celestial marriage" with unwearying zeal, and only one had fallen a prey to the persecutors: so was not the Lord clearly on their side? But, alas, the scene changed. Could they believe their senses? When everybody knew that fifteen thousand for years had been openly living in the practice of polygamy, grand juries began to discover probable evidence of the fact, petit juries were also able to find proof positive of wife-sealing and unlawful cohabitation, and brought in verdicts according to law and evidence; judges dared so to interpret and apply the law that sentence followed quick upon conviction, and thus divers Saints of both low and high degree soon found themselves helpless in the grip of the Federal marshal, and a little later behind prison bars, feeding, like other law-breakers, on prison fare. At the

Digitized by Google

present date (September 1st) not far from thirty elders are in durance vile, with as many more awaiting the action of the grand jury, and half as many lying under indictment and awaiting trial.

And then was opened a most fearful and wonderful armory for defense against the execution of Federal law. At once confident recourse was had by the priesthood to such time-honored tactics and well-worn weapons as had been thoroughly tested on hundreds of well-fought fields, and hitherto had seldom been found insufficient, — such, for example, as perjury. No other "religious" body known to civilization has made wholesale falsehood, under oath, not only a venial offense, but even a binding duty. But precisely this Mormonism has done from the beginning, and Smith, Brigham, Taylor, and the Twelve have repeatedly set the shining example. Their enemies, being also enemies of the Most High, have no right to the truth. Indeed, the phrase "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth" means only the thing convenient, what to "the kingdom" will be profitable, and bring confusion to the "gentile" foe. In other words, a Saint arraigned before a Federal court is to be cleared on general principles, at all hazards, and no matter whether innocent or guilty! And so, behold! of late, in Utah, nearest relations, intimate friends, life-long neighbors, being summoned and sworn, have never seen or heard aught that even squints towards polygamy. And the inspired heads of the church, who also, since Kirtland days, have had daily dealing with the details of doctrine and rite, possessed not an item of knowledge concerning the "Endowment House, the marriage ceremony, the keeping of records," etc.

Then, too, such low pettifogging and juggling, such legal cavils and quibbling have seldom elsewhere been seen. In the defense of the accused elders, of whose guilt there was not the shadow of a doubt, the fat tithing fund shed lavish streams, and the court room fairly bristled with legal talent. Captious exceptions, demurrers, and appeals were innumerable. And how the church press fairly creaked and groaned with pressure of fury from day to day, and the church platforms resounded with fiery protest and denunciation, as though Draco and Nero, Jeffrey and Torquemada had come to life again in the shape of Zane, Murray, Dickson, and Ireland to play the tyrant and torture the good. For the Mormon church is never at its best except when hurling hard words at its foes. From rare original gifts, and from long prac-

Digitized by Google

tice, skill that is matchless and at times truly sublime has been acquired in wielding the language of the defamer, the blackguard, and the ruffian. It feeds upon slander, and fairly fattens upon the foul garbage of gross suspicion of wrong-doing. Whoso takes Zion to task as being in aught less than celestial is, *ipso facto*, a bad man, and, as such, is to be maligned and overwhelmed with obloquy, — and, in particular, Federal officials, from the governor down. An uproar is raised and maintained as though all rules of legality, humanity, and decency had been sinned against by the courts, and as though the Territory had been terrorized. And this only because five or six men are honestly endeavoring to enforce obedience to law.

Then, as the prosecutions went steadily on, to astonishment and rage succeeded panic, fear, and wholesale flight, and soon the elders were scattered abroad, even to Europe and the islands of the sea, the leaders setting the example, and humbler folk by the hundred following. Taylor and Cannon are in hiding nearer home, but the second "counselor" is in exile in Honolulu, while Penrose, editor of the church paper, erst so defiant and sanguinary, seeks safety from deputies in the metropolis of Britain. But most are too poor, and others are too brave and earnest to dodge, and skulk, and hide, and travel by the underground route. And with such, when arrested, the programme is varied. Some are haughty and defiant before the jury, wear a look of Saintly scorn, speak loftily of conscience and constitutional rights, or scarcely deign to plead at all in the presence of such infamous proceedings. Some deny everything and call for proof, make sturdy fight, and accept the inevitable without flinching, likening themselves to the prophets and apostles of ancient days. Others plead guilty, but ask no favors, and make no promises; while not a few sue for mercy, acknowledging their offense, and pledging future obedience. But this latter course is counted infamous denial of the faith, and rank apostasy.

Such, then, is the brief story of the past, and such some of the phases of the present situation. And now a word as to the future of the fight, or as to what is likely to be the outcome. Soon after the onset began and the panic was at its height, there was for a season wild talk about a wholesale exodus of polygamists to Mexico. But the Saints are far too firmly fixed for that, and, as a whole, too much in love with this world to seek relief by such heroic measures. And yet, if no relief is in prospect, some hundreds of the most fanatical may eventually emigrate to Sonora,

Digitized by Google

Chihuahua, or elsewhere. The idea also prevailed extensively for a season that the Mormons *en masse* would abjure polygamy under the impulse of fear, and hereafter cleave only to one wife. But such a course is altogether out of keeping with the traditions of the church. It surrenders nothing, acting always by "revelation," and under direct divine command. And such prognostics took slight account of Mormon character, of how thoroughly drilled in faith and practice the membership is, or how polygamy with ingenuity and skill not less than satanic has been intertwined with everything dear and sacred in this life and the life to come. No doubt the bulk of the four thousand elders exposed would go to prison if bidden, and more than once, and glory in their tribulation, while their ten thousand wives weeping would bid them God speed. There was also hope, even in church circles, for a time, that the leaders by yielding would bring relief, and by certain business men great pressure was brought to bear upon the invisible chiefs; but as I write the statement comes from the highest authority that the will of "the Lord" is, that, if the worst comes, it is better far that polygamy shall go down under overwhelming Federal assault than by any voluntary act of its defenders, since then the responsibility for nullifying the ordinance of heaven will rest where it should, on the heads of the ungodly.

The future of Utah is as dark as that of the Union in 1863. The task on hand is tremendous. The fight is far from over. More likely it is only just begun. The evil has been strengthening for two generations, has become chronic, has entered into the blood. Fifteen thousand are in polygamy, and back of these is an entire population leagued together against the execution of law, and inspired by religious fanaticism. Any hour, and from various sources, serious repulse may come. Perhaps the chief peril lies in the mischief liable to result from political strife and eager aspiration for office. In Utah, the difference between Democrat and Republican has no application, and should have no place, for the theocracy is equally alien and inimical to both parties. Not one of the principal officials should be touched. Any change is almost certain to be a gain to the foe, and no risks should be taken.

Finally, it is next to certain that further and more radical legislation will soon be needed. In particular, the penalty for unlawful cohabitation should be made at least tenfold more severe. A six months' sentence is ridiculously slight, and by it the honors of martyrdom are made much too cheap. Then, if the Saints continue rebellious, their political rights must be still further circum-

Digitized by Google

scribed, or even entirely taken away. There can be no doubt that the Mormon leaders have gone into the fight determined to win. They would rather die than submit. Life without political dominion is not worth living. Hardened and incorrigible sinners the foregoing pages abundantly prove them to be. Very likely the Cassidy bill, which contemplates putting all legislative power into the hands of a commission, or some kindred severe treatment, will erelong be found needed. Such a remedy would be heroic, no doubt, but then the offense is great beyond parallel, and the exigency is most grave.

D. L. Leonard.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

Digitized by Google

EDITORIAL.

PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY.

VII. THE SCRIPTURES.

WHAT is the Bible? How did this collection of writings come into existence? What are its distinctive predicates? Our inquiry assumes, of course, to be made by Christians, and to concern itself with one fact of a religion divinely established. It professes, therefore, to depend upon Christian sources for the information of which it is in search. We must begin by considering what those sources are. Evidently they consist, in part at least, of the great Christian facts of which the Bible bears witness. We know the immediate historical antecedents of the Scriptures, both in their outward appearance and in their higher significance. By them we can and must be guided, to some extent, in forming our conceptions of how the Scriptures were produced, and what they are. Are they to be our sole guide, or does Christianity furnish us other means of information to be used in connection with them? This is equivalent to asking whether Christianity professes to give us as immediate revelation information as to the way in which the Scriptures were produced, for evidently only information of this kind could take its place beside examination of the facts out of which they grew.

Some believe, it is true, that our religion, viewed as a whole in its divine character and supreme value, gives us the knowledge we are seeking. They contend that the book which should convey to men the essential content of such a religion must have been written in a certain way. For only so, they claim, could it have had the power of impression necessary to its task. We may be sure, therefore, that God made just such and such a Bible. The hope of reaching the goal we are seeking by this short cut may be tempting. But can it be indulged when one considers the assumption it involves as to man's ability to see the various ways of procedure open to God in establishing his religion? How can any finite mind think itself so well acquainted with the sum of historical forces as to be able to declare just how a Bible must be produced which would best carry the gospel to the world? Some general predicates of the written vehicle of revelation might perhaps be assumed with measurble confidence, but not such as would satisfy the desires of the Christian mind and heart. Surely the surprises of God's providence should have by this time taught us our inability to predict just the means by which He will bring his ends to pass.

But we can know just what the Bible is from revelation, if we have a revelation about the matter. Is this in our possession? No; for the Scriptures (to Christians the depository of revelation, whatever else they

Digitized by Google

may be) do not undertake to tell how they arose, how they were collected into one sacred volume, or precisely what they are. The exact conception of their distinctive qualities which we consider as belonging to Christian knowledge they do not profess to give. We do not forget that some build on their interpretation of one familiar passage a different view from this. Paul affirms that "every Scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness; that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work." That this implies that in the apostle's view the Old Testament Scriptures, whose canon was then settled, were inspired — or "God-breathed" — writings is evident. But it is also equally clear that the ascription to them of this predicate does not explain to us how they became entitled to it, or under what precise limitations it is applied to them. Nor can a large and all-inclusive declaration of this sort be accepted as determinative in respect to a multitude of special inquiries which every book of the Old Testament suggests, and which are essential to a true judgment as to its origin, nature, and value. Every book may be profitable for the purposes named by the apostle and have been divinely adapted to such ends, and still the question may remain unanswered as to the method of its production and the special place it occupies in the revelation of God's mind and will. We are therefore driven back to a study of these Scriptures, as well as of those of the later Canon, in the historical evidences of their origin and nature.

Possibly some may claim that we have no right to assume that these fully account for the Bible, since, although it is unquestionably to some extent their product, a special operation of Almighty power, of which we are not informed, may have given to it its highest and most distinctive qualities. But granting this, it is also equally plain that in the absence of a clear revelation that such special divine power was employed, we have no right to assume its exercise. If without its use the Bible as it stands can be accounted for, it becomes unnecessary. And more than this; it is unreasonable, not to say irreverent, to add a new kind of divine activity to those of whose operation in establishing the kingdom of God sacred history assures us. The presumption is that those revealed to us are sufficient to account for the phenomena which seem to proceed from them. This assumption is implied in the Christian's recognition of a special divine meaning and purpose in the facts of Biblical history. A certain mode of God's activity is suggested to him as immediately producing the external effect visible to him, and in this way the objective revelation is made. To bring in some other assumed supernatural agency as an additional means of accounting for the phenomenon in certain cases is to refuse to admit the revelation to have been made as the case stands. If, for example, a man should say that the astonishing effect of Peter's Pentecostal sermon was due not entirely to the force of the truths he presented and the moral power of

Digitized by Google

the Spirit enforcing them, and the influence of his enkindled nature on his hearers' hearts, but also to an (assumed) miraculous strength and clearness given to his enunciation and a brightness miraculously lent to his face, the words would be no less irreverent than silly. For, if the narrative is a true one, and God did reveal himself through this wonderful event, He made the teaching out of such facts as are before us. To invent others and thrust them into the representation would be to undertake to improve his teaching. So we are bound as Christians to see a revelation of God's power and love in making this wonderful book through such agencies as He has set before us in the Christian facts.

We must seek, then, knowledge of the distinctive quality and value of the Scriptures by studying God's revelation given in history. A collection of literature is before us, — ideas and narratives conveyed by human minds to other minds in human language. As Christians we recognize qualities in these ideas and narratives which are wanting to other literature. We wish to obtain a knowledge of these qualities as exact as possible, and try to find out what distinguished their authors from other men that they could write such books. We know, too, from the historical knowledge which belongs to our faith that these writings were very intimately connected with the great Christian facts. We wish to see as clearly as we can what this connection was; in other words, the process by which fact-revelation made the Bible. We go back, therefore, to the places and times in which these Scriptures were composed, and see how they came to be written.

We must at the outset recognize the distinctness of the New Testament Scriptures from the Old. The question of the comparative religious value of their respective contents may be left entirely in abeyance while we direct our attention to their historical diversity. They are parted by many centuries, they group themselves about different centres, they are very unlike in structure and in language. Though they unite to form a higher unity, it is a unity made of the wholes constituted by the union of each group. The first owes its value for the church to an event which followed its composition, the second to its having succeeded and been created by this same event. We must therefore approach them separately to find out how they came to be. The fact that the New Testament lies the nearer to us, and that we are better informed respecting the circumstances under which it was written, would naturally lead us to turn first to it, apart from any feeling we might have as to its greater value.

We naturally approach first its oldest books, the earliest literary product of the life of the apostolic church, the apostolic Epistles. They are chiefly pastoral letters, written to various Christian communities by their respective authors, who were in most cases the founders of the churches addressed. They belong to the apostolic teaching, and had for their immediate readers, and all future ones, just the claim which their authors had. Whatever is peculiar in their composition, or extraordinary in their value, is to be found in the apostolic teaching generally. For there is not

Digitized by Google

a scintilla of evidence that God assumed to the minds of the apostles a new relation as soon as they sat down to write, and that, in consequence, what they wrote had a different quality from what they said. St. Paul sent a letter to the Galatians censuring them for falling away from the doctrine of justification by faith which he had preached among them, and vehemently reasserting it as the central doctrine of the gospel. It is absurd to suppose that he expected his readers to find in the written inculcation of the doctrine a divineness which they had not perceived in the oral presentation of it. "Why, then," they might have fairly asked, "does he blame us so severely for having lost our grasp upon it, since it was originally communicated to us in a more earthy and inadequate form?" And the tenor of the letter is entirely inconsistent with any such theory. It says that Paul's preaching is the utterance of the revelation of Christ, which he bore, and attaches to that preaching the whole weight of his apostolic authority. The presumption of the truthfulness of that teaching, and its supreme value, underlies the whole Epistle. The letter would have lost power by a suspicion on the part of its readers that it added to the essential content of the instruction. "Though an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached, let him be accursed." "Foolish Galatians, who did bewitch you, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was openly set forth crucified?" The same substantial identity between the oral and written teaching is implied in the other letters of Paul. He takes pains to assure the Corinthian church that he uses an apostle's spiritual force quite as resolutely and effectively in bodily presence as through the pen, — an assertion plainly incompatible with his believing that he gave a purer truth when he wrote. At the close of the Epistle to the Romans he expresses the desire to visit his readers in order to impart a spiritual gift, which even this crowning letter of his life had not brought to them. We should not dwell upon what seems to us so obvious but for the fact that the assumption of a special activity of the divine Spirit upon the apostles and other writers of Scripture in the act of composition, endowing what came from their pens with qualities possessed by no other Christian teaching, is a most fruitful source of confusion in the endeavor to find out what Scripture is. It is insisted that not only is there no evidence of such an act, but the supposition of its existence is contrary to the facts which lie on the very face of the Scriptures. It is claimed that we have no more right to discriminate between the written and the oral teaching of Paul as different in kind than between those of any other public teacher. It is claimed that the peculiar and supernatural qualities which belonged to any one part of his teaching belonged essentially to it all. Not that those qualities dwelt in every part of it in the same degree. No doubt the stress of special circumstances or extraordinary impulses from the Spirit, or still more likely, both, sometimes lent unusual clearness and penetration to his utterance of divine truth. Passages in some of his letters can be pointed out, to which Christian sentiment has always attached peculiar

Digitized by Google

importance. Some of his letters are more elaborate, some more eloquent, some more complete in respect to the development of certain leading truths than others. Very likely he always put truth into a more compact form when he wrote. But such incidental and formal peculiarities of his letters must be passed over in our endeavor to ascertain what they really are. We must go back to the man from whom they came and study his situation, calling, and spiritual endowments.

He and his fellow apostles had personal acquaintance of the Lord Jesus Christ. All of them except Paul had known the mighty power of his personal influence, and the perhaps mightier influence exerted by the sight of his passion. They had been taken possession of by the new efflux of divine life which poured down upon the world at Pentecost, and were "full of the Holy Ghost." Paul's case was different from theirs, yet not so different as at first appears. He knew Christ in person, for he saw Him before Damascus with his eyes. That contact with the Lord on the outward plane of life, knowing Him to be the Lord, was, in its peculiar influence upon the spirit, the essential fact qualifying for apostleship. It gave a grasp of the fact of Incarnation, it gave a tension to Christian conviction which could come from nothing else. One must have seen the old dispensation passing over into the new to have the most vivid possible conviction that it had done so. One must have laid eyes upon Christ in order to have the freshest and most stimulating possible sense of his having been here. This the apostles had, — and they had besides the qualification for Christian preaching, only second to this, of having grown up as Jews. All the results of the divine revelation and training in Judea were gathered up in their spiritual history. They could appreciate Christ in his connection with the past (without which the revelation made in Him was only a glorious fragment) as only Christian Jews could do.

These qualifications would have been of little service had they not been utilized through the supernatural gift imparted to their possessors. The apostles were the bearers of a revelation made immediately to them by the Spirit of God. Of the fact of such revelation they were conscious; by their consciousness of it the form of their teaching is moulded. We turn to their religious life and study this wonderful experience in the light of their own testimony, in the hope of gaining such a knowledge of it as shall lead to an adequate conception of the nature of the teaching which flowed from it.

The fundamental characteristic of the revelation borne by each apostle was its vitality. It was an essential part of the spiritual life. The gift received by the infant church on Pentecost was not merely the bestowal of this or that capacity; it was that of living in a new and higher way. Out of its quickened and mightily invigorated life leaped its new deeds of heroic devotion. From this fresh and ever-renewed fountain flowed its teaching. The apostles began to preach Christ because new conceptions of Him had come into their hearts, and were struggling for utterance there. A new type of teaching begins with Peter's Pentecostal sermon.

Digitized by Google

The essential elements of all distinctively Christian teaching are found in it. They are said to be the fruits of the new life. "He hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear." Paul says that the revelation of Christ, the source of his preaching, and the ground of its authority, was given in his conversion. "When it pleased God . . . to reveal his Son in me that I might preach Him among the Gentiles, I conferred not with flesh and blood," etc., etc. The light into which he was born was that from which he taught.

The revelation of which each apostle was the bearer is not, therefore, to be thought of as a set of religious ideas made over to him to be held as an external possession. He could not be himself without having it; he could not give it without giving his life with it. For it was in essence the personal experience of Jesus Christ in and through which he lived. God had made his consummated revelation of himself in the Incarnation a glorious reality in this man's spirit. He appreciated the historic personality of Jesus Christ as a part of the divine life, and as in most vital relations to his own life and that of the world. He saw in it the consummation of the theocracy to which he had belonged, and the corner-stone of the new kingdom of God whose foundations he was laying. He recognized in it the fulfillment of prophecy and the key of history. Out of such a knowledge, a knowledge having its seat not in the mind merely or chiefly, but in the whole renewed personality, the apostles preached and taught.

The vital nature of the knowledge is reproduced in the vitality of the teaching. This quality chiefly distinguishes the apostolic Epistles and the other distinctively spiritual books of sacred Scripture from all other Christian literature. Nothing else ever written shows personality so penetrated by the truth of Christ. You may try to draw out the teachings of one of John's Epistles into other forms of statement, and you will find your task as hopeless as the endeavor to extract just the perfume of the rose from its crushed petals. You may obtain another very pleasant odor, but not *that* fragrance. The truth in the Scripture statement has a delicate aroma which we find in the Scripture alone.

In saying that the apostolic teaching is the expression of the spiritual life of its authors and wears the impress of their respective personalities, we do not take one jot or tittle from its sacredness as a revelation. If God be pleased to convey truth to man in a way other than by the immediate contact of his Spirit with the individual human spirit, He must use some external medium, and if the communication is to be of a more connected and influential kind than that made by the sign language of nature, the medium employed must be in some sense human. It must, at least, be expressed in words which man has made to convey his ideas, and which partake, therefore, of the limitations and imperfections of those ideas. Now, if it had pleased God to produce a book of oracles by sheer and stark miracle, or to dictate the contents of one to a scribe or number of scribes, the teaching would not come more directly from Him than when a soul in

Digitized by Google

vital contact with Him freely gives out, under the leading of his Spirit, the truth which is the element in which it lives. In this latter case He controls and shapes the teaching. Whatever of man is in it is there as his medium of expression. If it is given forth when the man in whom it dwells pleases, it is when God pleases, too, for the will of this organ of revelation is gladly responsive to God's life.

But we need not argue the case on the ground of *a priori* possibility; we have all that we contend for in the great Christian facts. The teaching of our Lord was his, and it was the Father's. To deny it any of the essential qualities of human teaching is simply to deny the essential qualities of his humanity and to reject the Incarnation. If it was the utterance of a human mind and heart, it shows that God can reveal himself through a human life; nay, that such a life is the best medium of his revelation, for there is no divineness in Christ's words which does not find expression through their humanity. And he who doubts that redeemed men can be so brought into the life of God that they, too, shall be worthy bearers of his revelation, must deal with Christ's words: "Sanctify them in thy truth: thy word is truth. As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world." It is, therefore, with these Scriptures as with the person of our Lord, the union of the divine and human in whom, they imperfectly resemble and typify. To deny their essential humanity is to take away their divineness. For as the divine is subtracted from Christ by removing from Him the human soul which is its dwelling-place and point of contact with man, so a mechanical view of man's agency in revealing divine truth implies the denial of the living connection of God with the Christian life, — yes, — and the denial of the central fact on which that life rests.

We do not urge this as defending a theory of the nature of Scripture which is on trial before the bar of speculative reason, but to take away an unwillingness which may be felt to look at the plain facts of the case. For the humanity of the Scripture is so apparent that no one can help seeing in it the freely evolved product of its authors' religious life, except under the stress of a dogmatic theory. The apostolic letters are pre-eminent in literature for the degree in which they wear the stamp of their authors' individuality.

And this we believe to be an essential condition of their unequaled excellence. Our reverence for man is such that we can well believe that the best medium for conveying God's truth to the world is a human life filled and inspired by this truth. And when we come under the influence of the apostolic letters we feel that their vitality penetrating the truth is of the very essence of their disclosing power. It is not so much that we draw ideas about God out of them, as that we touch God himself in them, because the life with which they palpitate is fed in its central springs by his own. It is not merely in what they say that they reveal God to us, but in what they suggest. The Christian conception of things in general, of men living together in God through Christ and for Christ,

Digitized by Google

a society in the world and destined to possess the whole of it, yet not of the world, — what this means viewed from the interior and central point of vision, what this means when not only seen but felt in every fibre of the being, — all this, which we could not find in mere didactic utterance, we do find in the apostolic revelation.

Then, too, the variety furnished by the personal element in the teaching of the apostles contributes fullness and richness to the revelation. It is God that is to be revealed; a life flowing out upon a sinful race in redeeming and self-communicating love; a life rich and manifold beyond conception in its connections with the life of man.

The Incarnation is the essential revelation: but the Incarnation is more than the presence of the man Christ Jesus on earth, and the things he did and suffered. This the Jews had. It is the fact of union between the divine and the human; the awful "mystery of godliness;" it is the relation of the fact to the life of man and the life of God. It must take place before man can know God. Man cannot know it when it has taken place unless he have God's help. "In Christ are hid all the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge."

The Spirit showed the things of Christ unto his apostles. The revelation must shape itself to the personality of each recipient. That which is revealed in Christ is God in his work of redemption; and, because the knowledge gained is vital knowledge, it must vary with the temperament of each writer, for each human soul is by its constitution especially fitted to appropriate some of the moral attributes of God and to appreciate the revelation of some made in his treatment of the world. Hence Paul's apprehension of God in Christ could not be identical with John's. Again, we appeal to fact, and insist that the subtle diversity of the apostolic teaching is as undeniable as its fundamental unity. The writings of John add no new doctrine to that given in the Pauline letters; but if they were blotted out the Christian revelation would lose a very precious element — the Johannean conception of the gospel, preëminent for ethical depth and force. No other mind could so present Christianity as a fellowship of God with man in holy love. Through no other medium does the truth come with such splendor as when it streams through this transparent spirit. We hold with Neander that Paul, John, Peter, and James (whom we may be permitted to class among the apostles), each represents a distinct and permanent type of character, and that, in making each the bearer of a distinct revelation, the design of God to give men a conception of the truth in Jesus rich in its manifoldness is distinctly manifest.

It will be asked, "If the revelation partake of the characteristics of the man through whom it is given, must it not share his imperfection?" If by imperfection be meant such defect of character as is implied in the lack of ideal symmetry, we answer, Yes. The many years spent in Pharisaic bondage must have left an abiding influence upon St. Paul's character; for grace cannot miraculously obliterate slow moral growths.

Digitized by Google

We could not but expect that his bitter experience should have led him to find in the doctrine of justification by faith a relative prominence which it would not wear to any who had not borne a chain like his. But this feature of his apprehension of the gospel is not its weakness, but its strength, because it is seen to belong to the man, and to be implied in the experience which fitted him as no one else could be fitted to declare the gospel of righteousness through faith.

If the question mean, "Must not such sin as still dwelt in the apostles have tinged their religious conceptions and teaching with error?" — we reply, This could not have been unless they were more under the influence of moral evil than we have any reason to suppose them to have been. The effect of sin upon the perceptive faculties lags behind its influence upon the will. Men usually know better than they do. The best of men are the most penitent, for the elevation of their moral standard outstrips even their improvement in conduct.

We cannot, therefore, correctly measure the purity of the religious conceptions which the apostles had, by comparing their lives with the absolute standard of human goodness. That their teaching was not vitiated by such moral defects as still clung to them is plainly shown by the fact that the most conspicuous fault committed by any one of them after Pentecost, so far as our knowledge goes, and one which bore the closest relations to the transgressor's conception of a vital religious truth, was not reflected in his teaching. Nothing in Peter's Epistles would lead one to infer that he had dissembled to the Judaizers at a critical juncture in the history of the church.

We can hardly believe, indeed, that the truth as it passed through the apostles had such absolute purity as we must suppose it to have had if perfect beings had been the media of revelation. We must recognize a certain quality in the words of our Lord, — a brilliant and serene lustre, a perfectness of proportion, which we cannot find even in theirs. We sometimes discover in their successive letters signs of progress into more adequate conceptions; as, for example, in Paul's teachings concerning marriage. In some rare cases one side of a truth is so frankly presented that only by finding a correlate elsewhere are we saved from misconception; as in James's (to class him with the apostles) teaching concerning justification. But the slight blemishes in the very finest optical instruments do not prevent our obtaining from them data which to the human mind of finest training are exceedingly exact; and when we recollect that the imperfection is the accompaniment of qualities which give the organ of revelation especial fitness to reveal God's truth to man, we may dismiss the question of absolute perfection in the apostolic teaching as having no living interest. Christ knew the sort of revelation which would come through Paul and John when He chose them to reveal Him, and we must rest content with his selection.

The views of Christ and of his truth contained in the apostolic Epistles must, from the nature of the case, always shape the religious and moral

Digitized by Google

conceptions of the church. Not that they alone possessed the Spirit of wisdom and revelation. He is the Spirit of wisdom and revelation in every soul in which He dwells, and there have been some souls in ages since the apostolic into which He has so abundantly shed the radiance of God's truth that they have been the spiritual luminaries of their own and following centuries. But in this matter of revelation man is never isolated from his fellow. God has so made us that every one in the brotherhood of believers must receive spiritual light from his fellow man in the very act of receiving it from above. The prophets were dependent upon the conceptions of God given to their predecessors; the apostles were continually drawing knowledge from the Old Testament Scriptures and from the words of Christ. No teacher in the church has ever arisen or can ever arise so filled with the Spirit as not to depend upon the apostles for conceptions of God. We can see that their situation and their exceptionally exalted life make following teachers dependent upon them as they were not dependent upon any predecessor except Christ; that their conceptions of our Lord are the framework into which all the subsequent thoughts of his church about Him and his work must be set, and the norm by which the teaching of the church must shape itself.

This follows of necessity from their historical relation to the Incarnation. They were living links by which God Incarnate was joined to the life of the world. That the world might know Him in the divine humanity, there must be some men who were intimate with Him, and whose acquaintance should be expanded and purified by the inner revelation of the Spirit, so that they could tell the world who it was that they had known. "That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld and our hands handled concerning the Word of Life . . . declare we unto you." The relations in which the apostles stood to the previous history of the world and to its contemporaneous life were a part of their peculiar qualification for presenting Christ to man. He stood in such immediate connection with the past that no one could adequately know Him who did not know the facts of which He was on the human side a part. Judaism was in its flower in Him, and no one could fully know this part of Him who did not know Judaism from the inside. He was the explanation of the relation which the Hebrew nation bore to the life of the race, and no one could adequately give the explanation who did not know by personal experience the strength and the weakness of Hebraism. In a word, the Incarnation is not really apprehended until it is apprehended in its historical setting, and only those who saw that setting with their own eyes could worthily describe it. We add to these qualifications that of preëminent endowment of the Holy Spirit. We would gladly cherish the thought that other teachers might arise, from whom should flow even more copious streams of living water than those which welled from the hearts of the apostles. But we are compelled to regard the circumstances of their lives as excluding such a hope. We cannot think the

Digitized by Google

gift of the Spirit a sheer miracle of power. We must believe that as a bestowal of the divine life it has its appropriate and essential conditions in mutual relations existing between the human life and the divine. And we cannot help believing that the conditions of its bestowment existed in a degree absolutely unique in the days just following the Incarnation; that after the amazing act of divine love for man just consummated there should follow immediately a surpassing influx of divine life into the world; that the divine humanity of Jesus should, through the Spirit, have its most intense power upon the race at its point of historic contact with it. The church, we believe, has always felt and will always feel that there can never be another Pentecost, as there can never be another Calvary.

For these reasons we hold that the conceptions of Christ presented in the apostolic revelation are not only the most vivid, but the most comprehensive and the most just which any minds in this stage of being can have. We believe that these men were so placed and so gifted that they saw Christ's nature and relations to man with both more penetrating and broader vision than that of any other seers; that the main features of his life and mission, the truths of his eternal being, the outlines of his historical relations, were mirrored in their minds with such just perspective that we must seek all our knowledge of Christ within the limits and under the outlines of their teaching. The church is ever adding to its knowledge of Christ, and the exegetical process is certainly not the exclusive means of making the increment. Out of mere study of books did not come its growing knowledge of Christ's relation to God, to mankind, its conception of the breadth of his redeeming work. Such a product shows the revealing presence of the Spirit. But in making the revelation He has used, as the facts show, He could not but use, as the Christian reason shows, the apostolic teaching as the constant medium of revelation, the ever-present helper and guide of the advancing mind. The greatest thinkers of the church have found themselves in their highest moments, in all their thinking, in closest sympathy with and dependence upon the apostolic teaching. They have been able to carry out its conceptions of Christ into fuller form and more intricate connections. They have never been able to correct one of those conceptions, nor to place another beside them in the inner circle of revelation. It is the fulfillment of Christ's promise to lead his apostles into the whole truth. It is the authority of his representatives bearing its own credentials in the supreme sway which their words wield over the Christian mind.

What, now, of the historical books of the New Testament? They are true narratives in which the facts described appear in spiritual content as well as outward form. The synoptic Gospels contain the apostolic tradition about Christ, gathered from various sources and wrought into narratives, in each of which a deep religious appreciation of his Person and mission is evident. The historical proof connecting the sayings and acts of our Lord with the recollections of the apostolic circle is unimpeachable.

Digitized by Google

Christian faith confirms it, declaring that the character showing itself in these deeds and words can be no other than that of the superhuman person whom it calls Lord. The subtle blending of the materials before each evangelist into a delineation of our Lord's life in one of its leading relations to the life of man shows that each worked from a vivid conception of Christ given by the revealing Spirit.

Of purely miraculous communication, to these writers, of any of their material there is no evidence. We may well believe that the spiritual exaltation of the apostolic circle in the early days of the church would bring back to their recollection the words of their Master with preternatural vividness. We must also recollect that their spiritual sympathy with Christ's teachings would certainly prevent them from attributing to him any teaching or deed not worthy of his character. We have here ample guarantee of the essential accuracy of the apostolic tradition. If we cannot predicate its absolute perfection, if we must attribute some deviation from accuracy even to the process of translation from Aramaic into Greek, we must remember that this living way of preserving our Lord's sayings and deeds gives these memoirs the simplicity and artlessness and lifelikeness in which they far surpass all other biographies. What has been said of the synoptic Gospels may be said of the Acts. There is not the slightest internal or external reason for pronouncing it a history set down from miraculous divine dictation. It claims to be a continuation of Luke's Gospel, and probably, like that, rests in part upon earlier documents. It is to be regarded as true to the facts and the life in the facts. It could only have been written by one taught by the Spirit to know the events narrated in their true meaning and value.

Of St. John's Gospel, written to show the outlines of Christ's life as they lay transfigured in the mind of the beloved apostle, the divine glory streaming through every word and deed, we have only to say that in it lie two distinct elements of divine knowledge, the two most precious of all, the teaching of the Master and of the most spiritual of his disciples. We need not stay to discuss the remaining books of the New Testament Canon. The church has placed them beside the apostolic writings because it has believed them to possess the apostolic qualities. That no other ground can be successfully urged for the right of an anonymous scripture like the Epistle to the Hebrews to a place in the Canon is evident. That the general consensus of the church in the canonicity of this or any writing has the strongest claim to respect, all Christians will admit. That the judgment so given can add nothing to the intrinsic value of such a letter, all Protestants must hold. But they also agree in believing it the best of reasons for devoutly seeking in such a writing the mind of Christ.

We cannot extend our inquiry to the Old Testament. The quantity of material to be dealt with here is so great, and the unsolved problems so numerous and intricate, that any attempt to show the nature of its struc-

Digitized by Google

ture from the correlated facts, not covering many more pages than are left to us, would be absolutely worthless.

We feel the limitation the more keenly from our conviction that just here the claims of our method need especial vindication. A fault in discussions about the nature of Scripture, which has been, perhaps, more insnaring than almost any other, is the habit of drawing its predicates from the study of the New Testament alone. We must make our protest against this practice by heartily acknowledging that our work is defective according to the standard which we have ourselves set up. One cannot fitly answer the question "What is the Bible?" until he has examined the contents of each Canon. He has no more right to characterize an Old Testament Scripture from any New Testament Scripture than to regard the office of a Hebrew prophet as identical with that of an apostle of Jesus Christ. What though he may recognize in the genesis of either composition a supernatural element? He has no more right to say that the patent historical differences do not enter into the very nature of the writing than that Paul's work and Isaiah's were essentially the same.

The practice of interpreting the Old Testament by assumed New Testament canons has made the former seem lifeless and unintelligible, and caused many of the more inquiring minds of the church to cease trying to gain an intelligent and comprehensive knowledge of its contents. This has wrought the great mischief of impairing the church's knowledge of Holy Scripture, the New Testament as well as the Old; not only because the New cannot be understood except through the help of the Old, but because the Old Testament rightly studied gives a weapon with which to break the crust of formalism which had grown upon the New. The thorough investigation of the former now going on under the spur of rationalistic criticism will, under God, result in a new examination of the latter in its historical connections, which will give a great impulse to Christian thought and life.

While we cannot attempt to give even in outline the fresh conception of the Old Testament Scriptures in their relation to the earlier revelation, which the later scholarship is creating, we cannot leave unnoticed the especial objections to the use of the historic method upon them which just now are influential with some minds, lest we be suspected of trying to escape difficulties. One of these grows out of the belief that Christ's authority is committed to a certain view of the authorship of the Old Testament. "It is not necessary, it is not reverent, to undertake to find out by searching that which he has already taught us." We are obliged to deny the assumed fact. Christ, we believe, did not undertake to teach his disciples what the Old Testament was *as Scripture*, that is, to show how as written composition it is related to the revelation of which it gives information. He did wish himself to be understood, we cheerfully admit, as regarding the sacred writings of the Jews as the depository not only of instructive fact, but of religious teaching which had a peculiar connection with the divine mind; but he has neither taught nor intimated the exis-

Digitized by Google

tence of any special kind of connection between revelation and authorship. We shall be reminded of his saying that David spoke in the Spirit when he called him Lord. But it surely does not follow, from his teaching that a Messianic Psalm was written under immediate divine impulse, that he held all the books of the Old Testament to have been composed under similar conditions. Nor does he say what relation the Psalm bears to the special revelation given to its author, whether it was dictated to him, or he was left to work out his inspired conception into literary form by conscious elaboration; whether the contents of the Psalm came in one moment of exaltation, or had long lain in his mind.

"But certainly," it may be said, "when our Lord told the Pharisees that 'the Scripture cannot be broken,' (λύω) he lent his authority to a certain conception of its composition. For to say that its every statement carries divine authority is to say that the divine mind so immediately controlled the action of all the human minds employed in producing it that its authorship is simply God's act." The argument rightly assumes that such a divine sanction of each statement made by these Scriptures implies a definite conception of the way in which they were written; namely, by setting down words divinely dictated. But we cannot accept the construction thus put upon this saying of Christ. For it would make the saying flatly contradictory of those other teachings in which He criticises and amends certain statements of the Old Testament as to men's moral obligation. They are as plainly a part of its teaching as the profounder spiritual teaching of the Psalms. We feel confident, therefore, that our Lord meant no more by the words under discussion than an explicit recognition of the Old Testament Scriptures as the source of spiritual knowledge for the Jewish nation.

Another cause of repugnance to the historical way of finding out what the Old Testament is (one very effective, we believe, with Christians who are not professional students) is the assumed insufficiency of the data. "We are so far from the events which produced even the very latest of the Hebrew Scriptures; no treatise has come down to us which throws such light upon the circumstances and conditions of their authorship as the Acts throws upon that of the apostolic Epistles; the range which they unitedly traverse is so immense; there is so little in the books themselves that reveals their structure, — it is hopeless to try to infer from them and from what they say how they came to be written." Yes, to infer as much as we know about the historical and spiritual antecedents of the Epistle to the Romans. But with regard to most of these Scriptures the composition is obviously not of so unique a nature, and hence such information about its genesis is not required for its appreciation; and we do find in the phenomena of these writings ground for certain large and definite inferences concerning the relation of their respective authors to the facts narrated directly or indirectly, and to the great spiritual fact of which every event in the history of the Hebrew people was a part. We may safely infer from them that a book which describes the death of Moses was not, all

Digitized by Google

at least, written by Moses; that a narrative which contains two accounts of the creation was made — to some extent, at any rate — by editing ancient documents; and that an exalted prediction of the Messianic kingdom was not written in the same spiritual condition with that in which a compilation of proverbs was made. And, speaking generally, the phenomena of those Scriptures furnish sufficient data for ascertaining the external and internal relation in which their respective author or authors stood towards the divine revelation carried in the advancing life of the Hebrew nation. For those writings all breathe the religious spirit. Even those of them which deal exclusively with historical events describe those events with devout aim and pious feeling. The collection of the national proverbs reflects a mind which viewed earthly prudence chiefly from a religious standpoint. And so far as an author shows a religious apprehension of the events of which he treats, and especially of those of them with which he is in immediate contact, so far of course does it appear that the revealing Spirit dwelling in and fostering the national life has made him its especial organ. The revelation which God made in Israel consisted, as another has well said, of two distinct elements: national experiences, and the interpretation of these experiences by men gifted with supernatural insight into the meaning of Jewish history. It is the judgment of the Christian Church that the Old Testament historians show the possession of this gift of insight, so preëminently displayed by the great prophets. We infer, then, the spiritual endowment of the author from his work, as in the case of the author of the third Gospel and the Acts. Finding God's revealing purpose in the facts as he tells them to us, we find it especially manifest in the disposition of the narrating mind.

The distinctness with which the prophetical books reveal the historical function and the religious life of their respective authors hardly needs to be pointed out. That conception of the prophet which regarded him as merely a voice, uttering words which his own inner life had no share in producing, is rapidly disappearing before the intelligent study of the Old Testament. We are finding out that, as with the apostle, the seat of the divine prophetic teaching was the moral and religious nature, not the tongue alone. Studying the national exigencies which called out the teaching of the greater prophets, and entering more fully into the historical relations of their words, we have felt ourselves more and more learning what their writings were from what the writers were. Not that we do not find evidence in their teaching that they were conscious of receiving special messages from God. Nor would we claim that the conceptions of God's kingdom in its present state and coming development, given them by the Spirit, were so fully wrought into their own thinking as the apostles' conceptions of Christ and his kingdom were united with their own thought. Just here is the inferiority of the earlier stage of revelation shown, in that even in those in whom God's Spirit dwelt most fully the supernatural revelation had not fully penetrated and appropriated the natural faculties. But it is claimed that the prophetic teaching

Digitized by Google

was, like the apostolic, essentially pervaded by its author's personality, and that we find ourselves discovering God's mind in it, from finding it informing and illumining the man through whom it came. This shows us that we have only to go on learning more fully what each prophet was, in his work for his people and his devotion to his people's God, to learn more fully the distinctive quality of his teaching. All the information we need as to the relation his writings and those of his fellow prophets respectively bore to the divine revelation to Israel, and bear to the larger revelation given to the Christian church, lies before us in the Old Testament, if only we are not too indolent or too prejudiced to seek it there.

How plainly the self-revealing power of Scripture appears in the Psalms! What does the church really care for a theory as to the way in which they were produced? It hears the music of God's voice speaking in the hearts whose penitence, doubt, aspiration, gratitude, joy, they express, and knows that they came from Him. It is pure scholasticism to try to find an explanation of the fifty-first Psalm in any other thing than the heart whose penitence pulses through it. And the Messianic Psalms will tell what they mean, and how God revealed himself in them, if we will not insist upon inventing a theory as to how they were made and trying to get out of them an interpretation which justifies this theory.

A third and yet more influential source of unwillingness to rely on historical methods for knowledge of what the Old Testament writings specifically are, is the belief that the free use of this method (and it is rightly assumed that any use of it implies the right to use it freely) imperils religious interests. It is rightly felt that problems of authorship cannot be solved without attempting the solution of the historical problems underlying them, and it is said that scholars in trying to solve the latter may draw from the phenomena of the Old Testament conclusions prejudicial to the trustworthiness of some of its writings, and so give Christian faith (one of whose vital elements is confidence in all of them as essentially truthful) a deadly wound.

This objection implies one of these alternatives: either that those who raise it have no faith in the capacity which historical science supposes itself to possess of reaching sound conclusions, or that they do believe that it has this capacity, and believe that employed upon the Old Testament Scriptures it would draw from them conclusions perilous to Christian faith. The latter alternative would certainly be rejected by our imaginary opponents. We take the former, therefore, and ask why they should think that the pursuit of historical science is an insnaring process, and that historical scholars must be dupes? Why pass such a judgment upon this single one of the departments of investigation?

Do we find any reason in the nature of its subject for assuming that the mind of man which acts rationally in contact with other themes will become insane as soon as it approaches this one? Surely there seems to be no reason why men should all have a mental disease showing itself just here. Do we find, then, on examining the work of historical students, that

Digitized by Google

its manifest (though unaccountable) irrationality shows that the human mind cannot safely touch this class of subjects? No one can answer the question in the negative without folly who has not mastered the critical and constructive methods which modern history has fashioned, and gained extensive knowledge of its employment of them. Whoever has closely watched the application of those methods to Hebrew history will know that the process has not been irrational. He will have seen a progressing accumulation of significant facts and successive deductions steadily advancing in clearness and adequacy to explain the facts. As in other departments of science, he will have seen theory replacing theory as the facts have become better known and their mutual relations more clearly perceived. And we venture to affirm that if he be not prevented by prejudice from giving to the operations of the human mind in this department of knowledge such confidence as he bestows on its action when applied to other departments, or to the conduct of affairs, he will conclude that the facts noted are not will-of-the-wisps, but real facts; that the principles used in accounting for them have been rational principles, and that in applying principles to facts steady progress has been made towards sound conclusions.

We are speaking now, as throughout the discussion, from the Christian point of view, and assuming that those who are examining this class of facts have no inaptitude for perceiving those spiritual realities with which they are so closely connected. Of the scholars who have sought to give these facts scientific construction, some have made a presentation widely at variance with the conception of Hebrew history which belongs to Christian writers. But these writers show throughout a mental attitude towards all that claims to be supernatural which is not that of Christianity. We regard ourselves, therefore, as justified in holding their conclusions in abeyance, in the suspicion that this mental bias may have warped their treatment of the facts, until the case shall have been fully tried before the bar of science. This position was taken by evangelical scholarship a half century ago with regard to Strauss's plausible construction of the phenomena of the Gospels, and eventually the correctness of the Christian presumption was abundantly proved, and Strauss's treatment of the facts shown to be unscientific. Biblical science can fairly ask for a similar suspension of judgment respecting rationalistic treatment of the Old Testament Scriptures. It does not think that its methods can be more fairly distrusted because some have used them imperfectly (as it hopes to show) than those of physical science can be impugned because some great physicists have believed that they could establish materialism by scientific treatment of vital facts. The attitude taken towards Old Testament studies in some quarters is really a denial of the existence of science. Those who adhere to and preach this intellectual Sadduceeism are fighting against Christianity in doing so, since in all its appeal to the human mind it justifies man's confidence in his own faculties. They might easily have learned from the experience of the church that attempts to make man be-

Digitized by Google

lieve science an impossibility must inevitably result in discrediting any system or faith in whose behalf they are made.

We must not assume that the prejudice felt by many towards the scientific study of the Old Testament is due entirely to the distinctive positions of rationalistic scholars. It must be owned that the leading evangelical students of the Old Testament who belong to the progressive school suggest changes in the ordinary conception of Hebrew history, which, in the judgment of some, Christian faith cannot consent to make. But until it has been clearly shown that Christian faith is irrevocably committed to the entire correctness of the traditional view of the development of the Hebrew life, the prejudice has no sound foundation. The revision of the ancient interpretation of such passages of the Old Testament as lie next the domain of physical science should make us very slow to believe that advancing historical inquiry may not require a similar modification of our view of Old Testament history. "But our implicit acceptance of Christ's teachings is a permanent factor in Christian faith." Yes, and has evangelical Biblical science ever come into antagonism with the teaching of Christ in its assertions about the composition or structure of the Old Testament? "He has ascribed the Pentateuch to Moses, and the later chapters of Isaiah to the prophet called by that name." No, He has made no such ascription. He has in quotation followed the Jewish habit of naming the book from its reputed author. It is a fair question as to whether, in the act of speaking, the person of the author was before his mind. Certainly He had no thought of making the fact of authorship a part of his teaching. One might as well claim that a minister commits himself to the view, that all the book ascribed to Isaiah was written by the great prophet, in saying to a congregation that he will read a chapter from the book of Isaiah. And even if one is satisfied that our Lord accepted the traditional view of the authorship of the books in question, he can only assume that his authority is committed to that view by previously assuming that Christ claimed omniscience during the days of his humiliation, — an assumption antagonistic to his own declaration that He knew neither the day nor the hour of his second coming.

"But has not Christ wrought into his teaching the great facts of Hebrew history, and thereby committed Christianity to a certain construction of that history?" To the great constructive principles of Hebrew history as given in the Old Testament, and to certain large facts in which those principles are embodied, he has certainly committed it. Indeed, his personality implies, as its antecedent on the human side, such a national life and development as we find depicted in the Hebrew Scriptures. But it has not been shown, we believe that it cannot be shown, that the traditional conception of Hebrew history in its details finds a sanction in the teachings of Christ. Who can maintain that He directly or indirectly taught that all the Pentateuchal legislation was given in Moses's time? Who can find in his words light as to the real nature of the change in the national

Digitized by Google

life which caused the establishment of the monarchy? Clearly, Christian faith must leave the settlement of such questions to historical scholarship. It can have no reason to fear any conclusions to which science may come respecting those sacred facts, for it knows its own life to be something which human opinions did not create, and which, therefore, no change of human thinking can destroy. Any conceptions of history which are essential to its life it knows must be true, since God who has revealed himself to it through the medium of these conceptions cannot lie. Therefore it should cordially welcome all the endeavors of science to make a clearer and more complete representation of its oldest historical sources, believing that so its connection with them will be made more apparent. This is the attitude which, as we have already intimated, the enlightened part of the church has taken towards critical inquiry into the sources of our knowledge concerning the events of the life of Christ and those of his apostles. The central pillar of its confidence that the apostolic picture of our Lord was a true representation, was the assurance that God who had presented Christ to its heart as it gazed on the portrait, and had so begotten it into new life, would not have deceived it in assuring it that this and no other was its Lord. Supported by this conviction, it welcomed the most searching scrutiny into the historical sources of its faith. The examination was thorough and unsparing, and as its result the church has gained such a respect from the best human thinking, and such mastery of the precious facts which belong most intimately to its life, as make it feel itself indebted to historical science, under God, for some of its noblest possessions. A similar reward will come to it from welcoming the sifting and re-arranging the sources of Hebrew history now in progress.

We can, then, without hesitation commit ourselves to the study of the Old Testament writings for our knowledge of their authorship, of their peculiarities as literature, and the relation they respectively bear to the religious life of the Hebrew people, and to the divine revelation which that life contains. This inquiry involves, of course, the study of that historic revelation which lies back of these Scriptures, and of which they are products, just as the study of the New Testament Scriptures involves the study of the revelation borne by their respective authors and expressing itself in them. This assumption of spiritual principles running through the events of Hebrew history and joining them into one teaching implies that conception of human history, as shaped by God to ends of revelation and redemption, which the human mind has received from Christianity. Here, as throughout our discussion, we assume the truth of the Christian view of God in his relations to man. The Christian belief that Christ is the culmination of God's historic revelation implies such a conception of Hebrew history as our Lord himself had. This must underlie Christian study of the Old Covenant Scriptures. To know the ancient dispensation as the *Old* Covenant is to know it as both preparatory of and explained by the New. To study its Scriptures in their relation

Digitized by Google

to its life is to study them in their relation to the purpose which shaped this life.

To study the Old Covenant revelation apart from Christ is like examining a tree in midwinter. The various parts of the organism cannot be understood until that appears for which the organism exists. And the dignity of each element of this revelation can be rightly estimated from the Christian point of view alone. If Christ is the supreme and final revelation He is the test of all preceding revelation. If we accept Him as God's supreme and final revelation, we must bring preceding revelation to this test. We cannot escape the process of comparison if we would. He brings us his own conception of God, of life, of duty. It claims to cover the whole horizon of truth, and possess every spiritual and rational faculty. If we will have it as ours we must hold it separate from and above every other. Whatever else comes to us as from God must present its credentials to Christ's truth in our mind and hearts. This is not only the teaching of Christian faith; it is the teaching of Christ. When He told us that certain precepts of the law were to be replaced by spiritual maxims more in harmony with the nature of God, He taught us to apply Christian principles to all the law and prophets, and to regard all in them which is not consistent with those principles as superseded by the new revelation. For no one thinks, surely, that when He made exceptions to certain provisions of the Mosaic code, He merely amended a law which whenever not amended holds good. Such an interpretation would commit his authority to the eternal validity of the Mosaic code. No; we must with our Lord recognize a progress in revelation, and not attempt to find in Old Testament saints, even the loftiest spirits of them all, those fuller and purer conceptions of God and his ways which were brought into the world by the Incarnation. And if we do not expect to find them in the men, we shall not feel ourselves compelled to distort facts in the endeavor to find them in the books which the men wrote.

Such use as we have been able to make of what we contend to be the one method of finding out what the Bible is will have disappointed some of our readers by not including a precise definition of inspiration, or the activity of God put forth in connection with the communication of Christian truth or fact. But such a definition is not needed to explain sacred Scripture, and indeed cannot be adequate to the facts, both because the activity in question is not separable as to kind from God's supernatural action in creating and sustaining a regenerate life, and as a vital fact partakes of the mystery which belongs to that life; and because it is not, in point of degree, a constant quality, but varies with the individual through whom truth is communicated, and the changing conditions of his life and work. We have never seen a definition of inspiration which was rooted in the facts of sacred history, not one which did not seem to us an attempt to postulate a cause for the Bible out of such a product as the inventor thought best to see in sacred Scripture. While we no more venture to try to make one than to define the relation of God's activity to the inspired

Digitized by Google

words of Christ, and do not think that the Bible, as a most complex and varied series of facts, can be compassed in a definition, we do not hesitate to try to put as much of our conception of it as we can into a sentence. The Bible is the representation in writing of God's historical revelation of himself to man, which has come immediately from that revelation as it passed through its successive stages. We see the revealing and redeeming purpose of God most strikingly manifested in the fact that the unique events in which He disclosed himself have left as their products documents which bear their own immediate impress. In the Scriptures themselves, regarded as sacred compositions, in their unparalleled moral and religious power and beauty, we recognize the outgoing of that inspired life which is the especial medium of his revelation. In the living unity into which their contents, so rich in variety, blend, we recognize the reflection of that redeeming purpose which underlies and shapes all the events of which they bear record. That the principle of that unity is Jesus Christ, that Scripture is felt to be a whole in that its teachings blend in showing Him in his national relations and spiritual function, we regard as the reflection of God's purpose to make this theanthropic Person the centre of the divine revelation to man. That a multitude of providential and spiritual agencies, the period of whose operation extends through many centuries, should have united in the production of this unity, we regard as affording the most vivid illustration of the control of history by God for his redemptive purpose.

We do not deny that the immediate connection of sacred Scripture with the living facts of revelation has caused it to bear some of the imperfections inherent in the nature of those facts, so far as they belong to the life of man. This we see to be incident to the method of God's revelation, and the permanent fixing of that revelation in contemporaneous Scripture. We can trust Him for the excellence of the method. Nay, we can gratefully recognize his adorable wisdom in selecting it; since the Bible, which brings the living reflection of his self-revealing acts, is, in its reality and freshness, far more effective in putting men into contact with those acts than a perfect description of them miraculously dictated could have been. We not only claim that this our conception of the Scriptures is lacking in no element of reverential regard for them, since it presents them in their immediate contact with the realities which most deeply stir the Christian heart, and as the only means by which those realities are known, but we further claim that it is the only Scriptural conception. One who insists that the church view of Scripture must be derived from a source outside Scriptural facts is in this very thing unscriptural, unless he can produce some immediate declaration from the Bible as to its own nature, which declaration we affirm, as at the beginning, cannot be produced. We must, therefore, take the Biblical facts, to all Christians confessedly divine and revealing, as our guide in this matter, or be in spirit anti-Biblical.

For the fear that the aggressive power of Christianity would be lessened

Digitized by Google

by the general prevalence of this conception of Scripture, we confess ourselves to have little respect. Christianity can never lose headway by coming into truer conceptions of anything. God will not let it suffer from finding out what the Bible is, and telling men what it is. And its procedure in gaining men's hearts must be simply preaching Christ. If it be said that the preaching, in its full sense, implies satisfying the mind that He is indeed the Christ, we answer that men sadly hamper themselves in their endeavor to do this by undertaking to establish, as the necessary postulate of his divine nature and mission, the perfection of a book whose chief ground to confidence is its connection with Him and manifest possession of his truth.

Christian Apologetics has enough work to do in proving Christ to reluctant minds, by moral and spiritual data, without entangling itself in such an absurd procedure as this.

We might go further, and insist that the antagonistic view of a perfect book, produced by an assumed series of miracles, superadded to the supernatural events in which God's historical revelation was made, a book to whose every statement the divine authority is committed, weakens Christianity by bringing it into collision with historical and physical science. But this argument we will not press. For the issue is to be decided, not by exhibiting consequences, but by weighing facts.

THE GROWTH OF THE MISSIONARY IDEA.

Ideas grow by extension of their sway, and by a better understanding of their contents. More minds come under their power, and those who accept them see them more clearly and fully. There are many indications that the missionary idea is making progress in both of these ways. We shall refer here to but one of these signs, selecting it because it is now engaging the attention of many of our readers.

The first meeting of the American Board, seventy-five years ago, was held in a private house by five Commissioners, who sat round a little mahogany table, which happily has been preserved, and was placed upon the platform at the recent Anniversary. At the Jubilee Meeting in Boston provision was made "for some two thousand guests." At "the diamond wedding" — to use the phrase of our Japanese brethren — more than double this number were actually entertained. Upwards of seven thousand people were simultaneously in attendance upon the exercises, filling the two largest halls in the city and two spacious churches. From the opening session on Tuesday afternoon until the close — Friday noon — the services at Tremont Temple were constantly thronged. About eleven thousand, it is estimated, were present during at least a portion of the exercises. The appearance of the congregations showed that they were composed of persons drawn together not merely nor chiefly by the attractions of superior eloquence, but by their interest in a supreme work. Making all needful allowance for what was special in the place and the

Digitized by Google

occasion, such a gathering must rank as a waymark in history. It means a great widening of popular interest in Foreign Missions.

Those who followed the various utterances of this memorable occasion, and caught its spirit, must have been impressed with the evidence of a yet more gratifying progress. From the beginning to the end, with scarcely a discordant note, with a confluence and concord of testimony which witnessed to the greatness of the power which produced such harmony, the missionary motive was found in the one central principle and person of the Christian faith. There is nothing unusual or specially noteworthy in this, that a missionary assembly should magnify the name and power of Christ, or that men's minds should enlarge with the thought of the salvation of the world. What was significant in the late gathering was the concentration of interest upon the one sufficient and supreme motive to missions; the silence respecting inferior considerations, especially the absence of allusion to forms of theological thought which are becoming more and more clearly irreconcilable with the true grandeur of the gospel; and the occasional emergence, in unexpected quarters, of conceptions of Christ's relations to the entire human race which point to new developments in theology and Christian life.

Our limited space forbids quotation with any degree of fullness or variety, but we gladly transfer to our pages a few sentences which indicate the unity and trend of remark: —

"It is strictly within our province to say that the personal Christ in his divine sonship, his work of redemption, and his unique leadership of mankind has now and is to have unceasing and increasing prominence before the thought and belief of the world, that the gospel is more distinctly identified with Him, and seems to have in his Person its incomparable power, and that the impression is widening always of his just supremacy in the earth. The change in this direction since the century began must be regarded as permanent and prophetic. . . . I need not remind you how Christocentric the theology of Christendom has become. . . . Divine history, biography, precept, various particular themes of thought, as men ponder the Scripture, are shown suffused with the laws of Christ, and exist around his incomparable Person, exercising all his glory. I do not mean, of course, that this had not in a measure been done in other times by other teachers. Great names and memories would rebuke me if I did. It is indeed the earliest faith of the church which is appearing here. But it is a reappearance. The faithful preaching of a century since dwelt more emphatically on the sovereignty of God, on the relation of the means of grace to human conversion, on the agreement of the prophets, on the relation of election with human freedom. It is not due chiefly to choice that change has come, but to a steady impulse, deriving in Protestant Christendom an ineffable virtue from the story of the Lord. . . . The communions which testify to the Lord not only grow in numbers and strength, but become more full of victorious hope, even with every stroke of attack. That one among them all, whichever it may be, which most exultingly magnifies among lovers of the Lord his quickening power is surest of surviving time. . . . If He is still to be exalted in centuries to come as He has been in this now drawing to a close, it seems scarcely extravagant to think that, before that age closes, the

Digitized by Google

heavens may be luminous again with his presence, as they were of old with his ascension ; that not Olivet only, but all the earth, will reflect the effulgence of his Person and throne." [1]

"Here, then, is the great question that comes to me over and over again, and has come to me many times within the past twenty-four hours : Why are we so busy about this task of preaching the gospel to the heathen? . . . If you can put your finger upon a divine command to preach the gospel to every creature, not even Socrates would call you to account. And this is the refuge of very many in our day ; in fact, it seems to me it may be said that at least it is the only ground upon which Christians of every name and every church can stand together, clasping hands in the endeavor to bring the great world into subjection to Jesus Christ ; if we are to stand shoulder to shoulder we can find no broader ground than this common ground, — that the command of the Master, in spite of all diversities of judgment of the principles upon which we build our theodicies, the word of the risen Christ, binds us to this task. . . . And let me say, also, that laborious as this is, it must have far-reaching and blessed consequences, for this earth of ours is not an isolated thing in the government of God, even in its physical structure, in its animal and human tenantry. It is bound by invisible bonds to the furthest end of God's creation. The energies that pulsate in the tides that build up vegetable and animal structures — these all come pulsating from the farthest sources, and their limits no man can discover. When I read the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians there comes to me the thought that sin on the one hand and salvation on the other are not things of local significance, but the pivotal points on which hinges the moral history of the universe of God ; for, says the apostle, 'It has pleased the Father by the blood of Christ to reconcile all things unto himself, whether they be things in heaven or things in earth.' The death of Christ is to procure the forgiveness of the sinner ; but it is more. There is a subtle influence in it that binds together the separate provinces of God's empire, unites them in unbroken permanence. While it is the duty of the church to preach the gospel to man, it is the vocation of the church to make known the manifold wisdom of God." [2]

"I see in modern missions the Gulf Stream of history. These currents of Christian activity are the beatings of the Redeemer's heart ; Christ in his church, travailing over lost souls, the love of God shed abroad by the Holy Ghost. You may prove a hundred times over that every dollar given to missions brings ten dollars back to America through the channels of commerce, but in so doing you will not touch the root, principle, and motive of our work. It was not the thought of commercial advantage which sent the Morning Star on her blessed voyages among the Pacific islands. It was not for the financial gain of England that Livingstone journeyed in Africa. No earth-born motive drew the all-accomplished Van der Kemp from the colleges and palaces of Europe to spend his life with Hottentots and Kaffirs, and filled his heart with raptures when he could speak with one poor old woman of the mysteries of a Saviour's love. Back of this missionary cause is the faith that the most degraded soul for which Christ died outranks the treasures of the world, and that the deepest need of the millions who are crowding through brief, brutal lives on the shores of tropic paganism is the light of the knowledge of God as it shines in the face of Jesus." [3]

[1] Dr. Storrs's Sermon. [2] Address of Rev. Dr. Behrends.
[3] Address of Rev. John H. Barrows, D. D.

Digitized by Google

"We are constantly told that if this or that departure is made from a particular type of Christian thought or action, if this is allowed, that, among the disastrous results that would come, would be the decline and decay of missions. You know how perfectly familiar all this is. Aside from the claim that such and such an idea was true and a departure from it would be wrong, this other claim was made. Again and again, it seems to me, the church has been hindered lest that missionary spirit which has been associated with certain forms of thought should be hampered and restrained. Now, there is the testimony of this great organization through seventy-five years. It has seen the deepening and broadening of the religious thought of our people; it has seen the books of truth subjected to critical examination, so that men have come to understand what their sacred contents are; it has seen those things which had seemed essential to Christianity again and again shown to be only incidental; proving how absolutely simple essential Christianity is. And through it all the church has not only continued to send out missionaries, but the more thought widened, so much the more has the missionary spirit thriven. The more Christ becomes simply and absolutely known, the more the missionary spirit will grow, and grow and deepen and extend, until, with the perfection of a simplified Christianity, there will at last come the conversion of the world." [1]

"The impulse of every man who has received Christ thoroughly for himself is to tell the good tidings to all who are round about him; even the heathen would say, — if knowledge were to be given him with this addition, that the world should know nothing about it, — that he would reject it. . . . We are debtors, we owe the gospel to every man who has it not, and we will not be rid of that obligation so long as there is any one on the face of the earth to whom the gospel has not been proclaimed. I am a debtor. The appeal here is to a good, old-fashioned mercantile virtue, the virtue of honesty. You know how to cry out when there is defalcation among trusted men. With what a curse, almost of execration, you name those who have so swindled away the money of the public in their places of trust, by which widows and orphans have been deprived of their livelihood. That is a wholesome execration; you can't go too far in that direction. But let me ask you to beware lest, in passing such judgment on these defaulters, you are passing judgment on yourselves; for what better are we if, in the most valuable of all things, we seek to keep this gospel to ourselves!" [2]

"The first and fundamental basis of missions is that 'God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him may not perish, but have everlasting life.' The world is God's great mission field first of all, and Jesus Christ, the Father's Son, is God's great missionary. . . . Before He ascended He said of his disciples to his Father, 'And I have declared unto them thy love, and I will declare to them that the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them and I in them.' Mark that language, 'The love wherewith thou hast loved me.' Not a modification of it, but the same love; limited in degree, of course, but the same in kind, 'The love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them and I in them.' So that the whole motive principle of love that was in the heart of the Father as a source of redemption is implanted in the heart of the church. The love of God, the love which belongs to God, which is inherent in the nature of God, — this love has shone abroad in our hearts, and the Holy Ghost infuses it into us." [3]

[1] Address of Rev. Phillips Brooks.
[2] Address of Rev. Dr. Taylor.
[3] Address of Rev. Dr. Meredith.

Digitized by Google

"A great idea, — the missionary idea, — the idea of the discipling of 'all nations,' the Christianization of the world, the extension of the Kingdom of God throughout all the earth — that, nothing scantier than that, is the true missionary thought. No comparatively technical and scholastic conception of a gathering, out of heathen communities, of little companies of the elect, — correct as, in certain aspects, such a conception is, — of merely saving here and there a few souls from eternal loss, — noble as that enterprise might be, — fills out the measure of that missionary idea expressed in Christ's command to 'make disciples of all the nations,' — 'πάντα τὰ ἔθνη,' — or satisfies the gospel representation of the universality of Christ's relations to men. . . . The ideals of the Christian life ought not to be expected to be the same everywhere and among all peoples. How those ideals have varied in the line of our own Christian history, and among peoples far closer allied to us in race and in civil and social institutions than many to whom this Board carries the gospel to-day! The primitive disciple of the commune at Jerusalem, the soldier disciple of the Roman legion, the Gaulic missionary, the mediæval abbot, the belted crusader, the sandaled palmer, the studious friar, the cloistered nun, the Reformation preacher, the New England Pilgrim, the Christian man or matron of our time — all these are recognized as having been true disciples of the Master, but in how different guise, and in how many points diverse! . . . The wonder of wonders is that the Christ who is humanity's Head and the new kingdom's King is comprehensive enough to be Lord and brother of men so unlike. To the Occidental He is the Occidental, to the Oriental He is the Oriental Christ. The cultured Englishman finds nothing in Him which is strange; the Bushman African, once brought near to Him, finds Him familiar no less. In both alike and in all who come to Him He awakens the experiences and the loyalties of the heavenly citizenship. And this growing, multiplying, diversifying evidence of the susceptibility of all men to spiritual life in Christ bears 'witness' to the fathers' 'faith' that the gospel is an ultimate revelation to men, and a revelation for all mankind. They had no other view of it, nor can we have, for in the religion of Christ we have a universal and final religion for man. . . . The absoluteness of Christ's connection with individual human destiny: We are told of it in that statement of old time: 'There is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved;' it reaffirms itself in that representation of the Master where He depicts the gathering before Him of 'all nations;' it speaks out in his plain declaration that God hath 'committed all judgment to the Son;' but we get our most vivid apprehension of the fact when, amid all the diversities of human nature and human experience besides, we see that not a soul of man on earth is ever really brought in contact with Him but it recognizes Him at once as its natural Sovereign and Lord, as its proffered Saviour and Friend, and as its adequate and certain Judge."[1]

"Redemption has relation to the race, and the whole race, and the issue has relation to the multitude of the redeemed. 'I beheld, and lo! a great multitude which no man could number, from every nation and kindred and people and tongue, stood before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands.' White robes and palms, purity and victory for a multitude which no man can number. That is the consolation for which we are permitted, invited, *commanded* to labor. For that consolation, — when it shall be we need not inquire — the times and the seasons the Father has put

[1] Dr. Walker's Sermon.

Digitized by Google

in his own hands; where it shall be we need not inquire—there is room enough, infinite space is all room; but we believe and know that at some time the mystery, the amazing mystery, of this world shall be finished. We believe and know that the ways of God shall be vindicated, and that He who was crowned on this earth with thorns shall be crowned with many crowns."[1]

Luther saw that in the Reformation principle of justification by faith only lay the germ of a new doctrine of personality, — that of the free Christian man. So in the principle of the universality of the Atonement, which introduced the modern era of "world-missions," was involved the doctrine, which is now becoming prominent, of the personal relation of Jesus Christ, the incarnate Redeemer, to every member of the human race. For the new and inspiring thought which gave rise to modern missions was, not that Christ's passion is sufficient for all — this was the conservative theology of the day— but that He died in intention and purpose for all. Intention and purpose imply and establish a personal relation. And it is this conception — one that cannot be curtailed or restricted or slighted, without impairing the originating and central principle of modern missions — which it is the present duty of theology to receive from the faith and life of the church and develop according to its own methods and laws. A personal relation of Christ as Redeemer to all the generations of human history, to each and every member of the race of which He is the Head and for which He died! We ask that the tremendous sweep and significance of such a relationship be more thoughtfully and adequately considered. It may help in such an effort to drop for the moment the word "world" as descriptive of the object of his sacrifice and take up the word "race" — he died for the race; to exchange the phrase "all men" for "every man"; to consider for a while, not what will happen if some particular dogma is modified, but what must be held if Christianity is really what it claims to be, universal and absolute.

The Anniversary which has suggested these brief passing remarks will long survive in memory as a season of delightful spiritual fellowship. It cannot but bear much fruit in Christian service and sacrifice. One of its most hopeful signs was the large attendance of young men from various theological seminaries, and from the membership of the churches. We are confident that it will prove also to be of value in the sphere of Christian thought. For true theology draws from Christian life as its fountain; and the present manifest practical faith of the church in the universality of the gospel must inure to the benefit of the theology which endeavors, according to its own requirements, to appropriate and develop this inspiring principle.

[1] President Hopkins's Address.

Digitized by Google

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

THE SITE OF CALVARY.

DOUBTFUL CLAIMS OF THE PRESENT HOLY SEPULCHRE.

THE theory that the present Holy Sepulchre marks the place of the crucifixion and burial of our Lord has never fully satisfied the minds of those who have given the subject their careful attention. This site, supposing it to be the true one, must have been without the walls of Jerusalem in order to meet the requirements of the New Testament, and hence the city, at a time of great prosperity, must have been confined within such narrow limits as to have been almost insignificant in size. This is a kind of common-sense argument which has great force. Furthermore, by drawing, as some scholars have done, the line of the second wall, which ran from the Gate Gennath to the Castle of Antonia and encircled the northern quarter of the town, in such a way as to leave the Holy Sepulchre outside the city, Calvary is placed thereby in an exterior angle of the wall and less than a stone's throw distant from it. It need hardly be said that the spot would, in that case, have been obscure and inconspicuous. On the other hand, one gets the impression from the New Testament that the place of crucifixion was a sightly one, and likewise that the place of burial was at some distance from the walls. It is difficult for the mind to rid itself of either of these impressions.

CLAIMS OF THE HILL ABOVE JEREMIAH'S GROTTO.

For some years past there has been a growing conviction that the hill in which Jeremiah's Grotto is shown, situated a little to the northeast of the Damascus Gate, satisfied the conditions as to the site of Calvary better than any other spot in or around Jerusalem. Indeed, a large number of competent scholars have already accepted this hill as Golgotha. Hundreds of Christian tourists visit the place every year, and few of them go away unconvinced that both the arguments and the strong probability are in favor of this being regarded as the true site of the crucifixion.

DESCRIPTION OF THE HILL.

From the Mount of Olives and Scopus, from the road leading north past the Russian buildings west of the city, from many points north of the town, and from many of the housetops within Jerusalem itself, this hill attracts the eye by its prominence. On the north slope of the hill the slaughter-house of Jerusalem stood until two years since (1883), when it was removed to a more suitable locality northeast of the town. In its place two buildings have been erected, one of which is used as a residence. From these a high wall has been constructed, running past the large "Meis" tree still standing there, which many will remember, and on towards the foot of the hill on the west. The western slope is composed of barren earth and broken rock, but at the bottom on this side there is a large garden, where, some feet below the surface of the ground, ruins have been found which are marked in the maps as an "asnerie," a term, however, which conveys no adequate idea of the extent and character of the ruins.

The south face is vertical, and has in it the so-called "Grotto of Jeremiah." Farther along in this southern face, which does not run in a

Digitized by Google

straight line, great quantities of stone have been quarried within the past few years. Towards the east the hill does not fall in a single slope, but as it were in two terraces. The hill may be said to be prolonged in this direction, the eastern knoll or second terrace being a little lower than the other.

The entire summit of the hill is covered with Moslem graves. This fact has no doubt prevented the hill from being bought up and built upon hitherto, and this alone still prevents the ground from passing into the hands of foreigners. This graveyard is an old one; and who can say that the hand of Providence is not specially visible in the preservation of this spot, in this strange manner, from the disgusting and degrading monkish traditions which would otherwise have sprung up about it?

The level section of country north of the hill is pretty thickly covered with fine olive trees. To the east there is also flat land, or rather a broad valley, and beyond that a slight rise covered with olive trees, and one great pine tree, a landmark in that quarter familiar to every traveler. Like all the country about Jerusalem, this hill has a barren aspect, except during the spring, when it is covered with grass and flowers.

THE VIEW FROM THIS HILL.

The view from this hill is fine and extensive, embracing all the northern and western portions of the city, the Mosque of Omar, the two great synagogues, and the castle, or so-called Tower of David. The high land towards Bethlehem and in the southwest is visible far beyond the city. From this point the Church of the Holy Sepulchre appears to be situated on low ground. In the west are the Russian buildings, and farther away Schneller's school, or orphanage, while in the northwest Neby Samwil (Mizpeh) stands prominently out on the distant horizon. In the north we have Shafat, and over the ridge of Scopus the top of Tell el Ful, or Gibeah, appears. Scopus and the Olivet range bound the eye in the east, and in the southeast rises the grand wall of the mountains of Moab. Although there is such a wide view the hill does not seem high, nor is it more than forty feet above the level of the country about it.

If a person wholly ignorant of any question in connection with the site of Calvary were asked to select a spot without the walls of the city for the public execution of criminals, the only two conditions being that the place should be a sightly one and convenient to the Castle of Antonia, he would not hesitate a moment in choosing this hill for that purpose.

VISITORS TO THIS PLACE.

Among the persons with whom I have had the pleasure of visiting this place are General Lew Wallace, who, in preparation for his novel, "Ben Hur," made a careful study of the topography of Jerusalem; Sir J. W. Dawson, Principal of McGill University, Montreal; and General C. G. Gordon, whose character the world is beginning to know and appreciate, and whose fate the entire civilized world laments. General Gordon was struck with the skull shape of this hill, which, indeed, is evident from the Ordnance Survey map of Jerusalem, and made a model of it, which he placed in the hands of C. Paulus, a German sculptor in this city, from whom travelers obtain copies of the same done in the stone of the country. Gordon wrote something respecting this hill which, together with an excellent map of the place and grounds in its immediate vicinity, was published in the "Quarterly Statement of the English Palestine Exploration Fund" for April, 1885.

Digitized by Google

WHO IS THE AUTHOR OF THIS THEORY?

People are beginning to write and speak of the theory that this hill is the true site of Golgotha as General Gordon's theory or as Dr. Merrill's theory. Others ascribe it to Thomas Chaplin, M. D., or to Herr Conrad Schick, both of whom reside here, and are regarded as authorities upon the topography of Jerusalem. Others still speak of it as Captain Conder's theory, and if Principal Dawson has written upon the subject, as he said that he intended doing, many persons will no doubt call it his theory. The fact is that it belongs to none of these gentlemen, notwithstanding Captain Conder expressly states that he is the author of it.[1]

As regards the question: Who first suggested the hill above Jeremiah's Grotto as the probable site of the crucifixion?—it may be that this honor belongs to an American who was distinguished in quite another department than that of Biblical geography, namely, to the eminent Rev. Rufus Anderson, D. D., who, when walking out of the Damascus Gate in the year 1845 in company with his friend Dr. Eli Smith, pointed to this hill and spoke of it to his companion as in his judgment the site of the true Calvary.

In 1849 the German commentator, Otto Thenius, published a monograph in which he advocated in an able manner the theory that Golgotha was the hill in which Jeremiah's Grotto is found.

In the year 1871 Fisher Howe published (Randolph, New York) a small pamphlet, in which he discussed "The True Site of Calvary" in a thorough manner, and advocated strongly the claims of the hill above Jeremiah's Grotto. Some people refer to this theory as "Fisher Howe's theory."

Lieutenant Conder's "Tent Work," in which he advocates this theory, was published in 1878.

The above dates and facts are of interest, it seems to me, even if they do not decide absolutely the question which we have raised.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE CASTLE OF ANTONIA AND ITS BEARING UPON THE SITE OF CALVARY.

One of the most certain identifications of modern times is that of the Castle of Antonia as being located in the northwest corner of the present Haram area. Here soldiers were quartered to guard the temple and for other purposes, and here, also, criminals were confined, as, for example, the Apostle Paul, until final disposition could be made of them. As this was the most important castle of the city, and dominated the Temple, we can reasonably suppose that it would not be approached by narrow, winding, and intricate streets, but, on the contrary, that the road leading from it out of the town must have been direct, and one that was not ordinarily blocked by people or traffic. In a word, the Castle of Antonia must have been approached by a direct road which, in a special sense, would be regarded as a military road.

Furthermore, as criminals were confined in this castle, we may suppose that the place of the public execution of criminals would be on the line of this road, near it, or at the most convenient distance from it, and in a sightly place, so that the executions could be witnessed by people standing at a distance, or upon the city walls. Again, it is not likely that the place of execution was changeable, one month here and the next month there, but we may suppose it to have been always the same. The

[1] See *Palestine Fund Statement*, April, 1883, p. 71.

Digitized by Google

permanency of the locality is a matter that can be taken for granted. We may suppose, further, that the Romans, when they came into power, would naturally select as the place of the execution of criminals that one which had been used as such by the Jews before them.

These suppositions are all of the most natural kind, and forced upon us, if we admit that there was anything like order in the public and private affairs of Jerusalem at that time.

CERTAIN FACTS AND SUGGESTIONS WHICH SEEM TO CONFIRM THE THEORY UNDER CONSIDERATION.

It is well known that under the Convent of the Sisters of Zion, which is near the Castle of Antonia, but on the opposite side of "Via Dolorosa," there is, six or eight feet below the level of the street, some remarkably well preserved ancient pavement, which hundreds of travelers have visited and admired.

From certain indications we are led to believe that this pavement was connected with an ancient street that ran in nearly a direct line from Antonia northwards to the city wall.

The most important military route of Palestine at the time of Christ was that which connected Cæsarea-on-the-Sea with Jerusalem, which it approached from the north.

At the point where the line of the street first mentioned, supposing such a street to have existed, touched the city wall, we find an old gate closed at present, but bearing the significant name of "Herod's Gate."

If the line of this street be extended beyond this so-called "Herod's Gate" to the northwest, we shall find along it definite traces of an old Roman road. This we find to be identical with the great military road which connected Jerusalem with Cæsarea.

It is perfectly natural to suppose that the place of the public execution of criminals would be somewhere on the line of this road. Between the castle and the fatal spot soldiers who guarded the criminals could move to and fro unobstructed.

A little after this road leaves the wall at the point marked as "Herod's Gate" we find on the left hand a hill remarkable in form, noticeable from its position, and with which are connected some traditions respecting the execution and burial of criminals.

Again, we find the name of St. Stephen connected with the western slope of this hill; here is the traditional place of his martyrdom; here a church was erected to his memory, which existed for nearly eight hundred years, and of which remains have been unearthed during five years past.

It is not unnatural to suppose that St. Stephen was executed at the place of the public execution of criminals. The theory that our Lord was executed at the same place has the most valid reasons in its support.

There is current among the Jews in Jerusalem a tradition that this hill was the place of stoning, the "Beth Has-Sekilah" mentioned in the Mishna. Likewise another tradition that this hill was the place, or was connected with the place, of burial of those who had been publicly executed. The origin of these traditions I do not know, nor do I pretend to estimate the value of them. That they exist at all is a curious and — I should say — a significant fact, whether they are worth little or much.

In like manner I do not know the origin of the name "Herod's Gate,"

Digitized by Google

or why it should not have been called "Solomon's Gate" or "David's Gate." But the fact that this name is found in this particular locality is significant, when taken in connection with the other circumstances that are grouped around it.

In recent times, or since it has been safe to build outside the walls, say within the last twenty years, the principal residences have been erected on the west of the city, because the Jaffa road leads off in that direction. At present, however, they are being extended also in the northwest quarter; but in the time of our Lord private houses or villas, surrounded by gardens and hedges, were on the north of the town, because on that side there was not only the great thoroughfare leading to Damascus, but also that leading to Cæsarea, which was then the main seaport of Palestine. The numerous ancient cisterns, now mostly in ruins, that are found in all the open region northwest of Jerusalem show that that quarter has been thickly inhabited.

If Joseph of Arimathea, who was a wealthy man, had a private garden near the city, we may suppose with reason that it was located in this direction. The statement in John xix. 41, "in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new tomb, wherein was never man yet laid," seems to be very explicit. If on the one hand we press these words literally, and on the other insist that our Lord was crucified in the place of the public execution of criminals, we make this place and the garden of Joseph of Arimathea to have been identical. The question arises whether a man of position and wealth would have a private garden in such a place? But there is no real objection to supposing that the hill-top, which was easily accessible from the Roman military road, might have been devoted to the purposes of execution, and at the same time the ground about it, to the very foot of its slopes, to have been occupied by private gardens. Such gardens might have surrounded the hill on the southwestern, western, and northwestern sides, and joined the Roman road on the north.

The Roman road which we have described as leading from Antonia through or near "Herod's Gate" skirted this hill at the foot of its eastern and northeastern slopes. Some miles farther north this road divided, one branch going north to Nablous or Shechem, and the other past Beth Horon to Antipatris and Cæsarea-on-the-Sea. Along this road Paul, strongly guarded, was taken a prisoner to Cæsarea. With what emotions did the prisoner, as he left the city and passed this Golgotha hill, look up to the spot where the Master had died upon the cross!

In the absence of a suitable diagram I will place before the reader a very large capital letter Y, which shall be inverted, and the extremities of its arms shall touch the wall of the city at the points *A* and *B*.

A will represent the present Damascus Gate, and *B* the one now closed called "Herod's Gate." *A C D* will represent the present Damascus or Nablous road, while *B C D* will represent the old Roman military road that led to Cesarea. The line *D C B* extended pretty directly would touch the Castle of Antonia. *E* represents the Golgotha hill, in which the Grotto of Jeremiah is shown. The bottom of the Y, or *D*, will be understood to be towards the north.

Digitized by Google

This figure is not correct, inasmuch as the lines *B C* and *A C* meet really at a considerable distance beyond the point *E*, while *E* is but a short distance from the city wall; but it was designed to give only a general idea of the place we have been considering, and this purpose it serves sufficiently well.

There is in the western face of this hill a large tomb, before the mouth of which the earth, during past ages, has accumulated to a depth of six or eight feet. It is a peculiar tomb, and has suffered somewhat in the lapse of time, but from what remains of it one would say that it was Christian rather than Jewish in its construction. This point I do not attempt to decide absolutely; but even if it could be shown to be certainly of Christian origin it would only show that the slopes of this hill were, at a very early period, thought to be desirable as a place of burial, and hence we may suppose that, at a still earlier period, they were occupied by Jewish tombs.

Very near this point, still in the western slope of this hill, there have been opened during the present summer some very remarkable Christian tombs, supposed to be those that were built by the Empress Eudocia.

My object in what I have now written was merely to group, in a way different from what had ever been done before, and likewise in a more complete manner, certain facts and suggestions which appear to me to be very reasonable in connection with this most important question. Very few points in the topography of ancient Jerusalem can be settled beyond dispute; but with reference to the site of Calvary I will close by repeating what I have already said, namely, that the strong probabilities are in favor of regarding the hill above Jeremiah's Grotto as the place of the crucifixion of our Lord.

Selah Merrill.

JERUSALEM, *July*, 1885.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE PROPHECY OF JOEL: Its Unity, its Aim, and the Age of its Composition. By WILLIAM L. PEARSON, A. M., Ph. D. Pp. x., 154. Leipzig: Theodor Stauffer. 1885.

THIS little pamphlet is very hard reading. It seems to have been composed in German, and then translated into English. Moreover, the author has not made a good translation, not to speak of the fact that certain of his methods of presentation, which were correct enough in German, seem crude and infelicitous in English. In addition to this, almost every page contains outrageous Germanisms of spelling or punctuation, besides numerous printer's errors.

The matter, unlike the manner, is very good. The work is a criticism of the critics and commentators of Joel, and especially of Merx's similar work, "Die Prophetie des Joel und seine Ausleger." Dr. Pearson belongs to the ultra-conservative school of Bible students, as he goes out of his way to show in foot-notes and parentheses, but this does not prevent him from meeting Merx and his fellows on their own ground with their own weapons. A critic is likely to be biased by preconceived agreement with his victim, or the reverse. The present critic is in sympathy with

Digitized by Google

Dr. Pearson's general views regarding the book of Joel; hence his statement that Dr. Pearson succeeds in establishing the unity of the book, its literal, rather than allegorical or "typico-eschatological" interpretation, and its pre-exilic date, is not altogether the verdict of an unprejudiced judge.

The work is divided into three parts. The first part deals analytically with the contents of the book of Joel, with a view to establishing its unity and determining the aim of its writer. The second argues against a post-exilic date for the book, and is, on the whole, the most satisfactory part of all. Here Dr. Pearson finds plentiful occasion to pay his respects to Wellhausen. Considering the omniscient insolence of that critic, one may be permitted a slight indulgence of *Schadenfreude* whenever a point is scored against him; as, for example, on page 93, where the argument against the Mosaic origin of the "Priest-codex," that "its rich and extravagant cultus" and its "immense swarm of clergy" presuppose an expenditure utterly out of the question for Moses' time, is shown to be an argument also against the origin of that code "in the struggling little Judean colony of the fifth century." Is not the argument, in fact, valid against both extremes?

In the third part the author attempts to prove that the book was composed in the age next after Solomon. The argument is unsatisfactory, based on hypothetical or actually incorrect history. Dr. Pearson is very successful, however, in showing that no other theory of the date is established; so successful that when, on page 153, he asks, "But shall we suppose that our historical sources afford sufficient evidence for a definite conclusion?" he almost compels us to answer, No.

John P. Peters.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

AMERICAN COMMONWEALTHS. MICHIGAN: A History of Governments. By THOMAS MCINTYRE COOLEY. 16mo, pp. viii., 376. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

PERHAPS no other writer of Mr. Scudder's series of American Commonwealths encounters quite so embarrassing a problem as that which met Judge Cooley at the very threshold of his undertaking. The task set him was to write a brief and popular history of Michigan without trespassing upon the ground which had been so well traversed by his intimate friend and judicial associate, Judge Campbell. Certainly no one could have solved this problem more happily. In making his "Michigan" "A History of Governments" he has not only given the public a unique history, but has also chosen a point of view from which he can exhibit his own profound knowledge of Constitutional History to best advantage, and impart the greatest amount of helpful instruction and suggestion. No other Commonwealth, at least no other Western State, could have afforded a better opportunity for such treatment. Explored and occupied in the seventeenth century by French traders and Jesuit priests and held by the French for nearly a century, surrendered to the English after the fall of Quebec, a bone of contention between the English and Americans for a dozen years after the close of the Revolutionary War, the scene of some of the most stirring events of the War of 1812, forming a part of three distinct territories during its territorial history,

Digitized by Google

and entering the Union as a State through a series of peculiar conflicts and compromises, — its annals may very justly be said to form "A History of Governments." During its brief life as a State, covering less than fifty years, it has not only participated in the stirring political events of that remarkable period of the nation's history, but has also in its own internal history tested some important questions of State government, and contributed something towards their solution. The banking system, the principle of State aid granted to internal improvements, and the relation of the State to education have been put to practical tests by this young Commonwealth. Upon all these problems it has thrown much light; upon the first two by a somewhat bitter experience, and upon the last by a most happy and illustrious success.

By a clear and concise statement of facts, seldom if ever falling into a didactic or hortatory vein, Judge Cooley has made these facts teach their lessons in a most effective way, showing the results of different forms of government, displaying the true relation which a State holds to the nation, tracing the relations between personal liberty and governmental authority, noting the evils of unwise financial legislation, showing how a State has succeeded in developing an elaborate and complete educational system, unsectarian without being unchristian, and giving due credit to the religious and moral influences which have wrought in the history.

It is possible that this plan results in a history somewhat less interesting to the ordinary reader than one which gives greater prominence to personal and social life and describes more at length battle scenes and other thrilling events. It may be conceded that the history of but few States or countries would admit of this sort of treatment, and that few writers could make it interesting or valuable. But it is well that at least one such history should be written, well that Michigan should be the subject of that history, and that Judge Cooley should be its author. No one interested in the growth of our national ideas can afford to neglect reading this book.

W. H. Ryder.

Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The Russian Revolt, its Causes, Condition, and Prospects. By Edmund Noble. 16mo. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; New York: 11 East Seventeenth Street; The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1885. $1.00. — *Russia under the Tzars.* By Stepniak, author of "Underground Russia"; formerly Editor of "Zemlia i Volia." Rendered into English by William Westall. Authorized Edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885. — Of these two books the second is incomparably the more important, both as being the fruit of the most intimate first-hand knowledge, and as being written with so much more ability. Nevertheless, the first book gives a distincter picture of the unconquerable individualism which has survived so long among the Russians, and to which the nomadic instinct perpetuated by the opportunities of their boundless plains affords free scope. Mr. Noble must have exaggerated this, however; or it is hard to see how the Mir, the primitive Aryan village-commune, which is still the basis of Russian life, could have subsisted till now. And Mr. Noble appears to attribute to an intense feeling of individual worth what really rather implies an exceedingly undeveloped sense of national life. The Slav, indeed, seems to be of a submissive and passive personal temper, as yet all receptivity in knowledge and action, rather than productive. This has given Byzantinism, in church and state, its opportunity. Yet Stepniak remarks that the real life of the nation has always held itself aloof from Tzar-

Digitized by Google

ism, throwing an ideal halo around the Tzar, but having the least possible to do with his instruments. The modern autocracy, dating from Peter the Great, Stepniak recognizes as having been necessary to give Russia a control of Western methods and thoughts, but as having now become superfluous and intolerably odious. His detailed descriptions of the slavishness of the courts, of the unlimited license of inflicting extra-judicial "administrative" exile or imprisonment in the frozen wastes of Archangel or Siberia, or in the Bastiles of Schüsselberg or of Peter and Paul, of the relentless and degrading refinements of cruelty practiced on both classes of victims, rivaling the cruelties of Bomba, fill us not only with horror and heart-rending compassion, but with shame that our country should have any relations with this hideous power. Why should it not, as he pertinently asks, be thought as great a shame to hold diplomatic relations with the Tzar as Mr. Gladstone held it to be to maintain with the Neapolitan Phalaris? Almost the only hope of the author seems to be in such a grand conspiracy of public opinion. He treats Terrorism as a failure, and is mistrustful of the value of insurrection, but says that Autocracy is excessively sensitive to European public opinion. Probably he expects nothing from the selfish indifference of America to the condition of the rest of the world so long as she is comfortable. Both Stepniak and Noble declare that the Russian nation and the Russian empire are in inverse relation to each other, the empire being exaggerated by autocratic policy to hold the nation back from asserting herself. A peaceful Slavonic federation appears to be regarded by both as the natural form of Slavonic development, so that Europe might well abate the Autocracy as a dangerous nuisance.

Both writers take a certain malicious pleasure in representing Christianity as having been in Russia little more than the central principle of outrageous asceticism and universal despotism, though both are candid enough to attribute this to the Byzantinism in which it came clothed.

Charles C. Starbuck.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains. By Charles Egbert Craddock. 16mo, pp. 308. 1885. $1.25; — Poets of America. By Edmund Clarence Stedman, author of "Victorian Poets," etc. Crown 8vo, pp. xv., 516. 1885. $2.25; — Studies in Shakespeare. By Richard Grant White, editor of the Riverside Edition of Shakespeare's works. Crown 8vo, pp. 383. 1885. $1.75; — Louis Agassiz. His Life and Correspondence. Edited by Elizabeth Cary Agassiz. In two volumes, crown 8vo, pp. xi., 400; vii., 794. 1885. $4.00; — American Commonwealths. Kansas: The Prelude to the War for the Union. By Leverett W. Spring, Professor in English Literature in the University of Kansas. 16mo, pp. vi., 334. 1885. $1.25; — Observations on the Growth of the Mind. By Sampson Reed. New edition, with a biographical preface by James Reed. 16mo, pp. xii., 99. 1885. $1.00.

Massachusetts New Church Union, Boston. Heaven Revealed. Being a popular presentation of Swedenborg's Disclosures about Heaven. With the concurrent testimony of a few competent and reliable witnesses. By B. F. Barrett, author of "The New View of Hell," "The New Dispensation," etc., etc. Pp. 382. 1885. $1.00.

Unitarian Sunday School Society, Boston. A Common Sense View of the Books of the Old Testament. By Rufus P. Stebbins, D. D., formerly President of the Meadville Theological School, and author of "A Study of the Pentateuch." Pp. xv., 328. 1885.

Funk & Wagnalls, New York. Apostolic Life, as revealed in the Acts of the Apostles. By Joseph Parker, D. D., Minister of the City Temple, Hol-

Digitized by Google

born Viaduct, London, author of "Ecce Deus," "The Paraclete," "The Priesthood of Christ," etc. Vol. III., 8vo, pp. viii., 357. 1885. $1.50.

Thomas Whittaker, New York. The Revelation of St. John the Divine Self-Interpreted. A Commentary for English Readers. By the Rev. Samuel Fuller, D. D., Professor of the Literature and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures in the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. Pp. viii., 388. 1885. $2.50; — Immortality. A Clerical Symposium. By the Rev. Canon Knox Little, M. A., Prebendary Charles Adolphus Row, M. A., and others. 16mo, pp. vi., 259. 1885. $1.50.

The Century Company, New York. William Lloyd Garrison, 1805–1879. The Story of his Life told by his Children. Vols. I. and II., 8vo, pp. xx., 522; xi., 480. 1885.

E. & J. B. Young & Co., New York. Traces of the Plan of our Being so far as revealed in the Mental Plan and in the Preparation therein for the Precepts and Doctrines of Christ. The State Intermediate and the Agencies Mediatorial. By L. W. Mansfield, author of "Up Country Letters," "The Morning Watch," etc. Pp. xx., 187. 1884.

American Unitarian Association, Boston. A Baptist Meeting House: The Staircase to the Old Faith; The Open Door to the New. By Samuel J. Barrows. Pp. viii., 221. 1885. 75 cents.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Christ and Christianity. Studies on Christology, Creeds and Confessions, Protestantism and Romanism, Reformation Principles, Sunday Observance, Religious Freedom and Christian Union. By Philip Schaff. Pp. v., 310. 1885. $2.00; — Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century. St. Giles' Lectures. By John Tulloch, D. D., LL. D., Senior Principal in the University of St. Andrews. 12mo, pp. xi., 338. 1885. $1.50; — The Pentateuch: Its Origin and Structure. An Examination of Recent Theories. By Edwin Cone Bissell, D. D., Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature in the Hartford Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. iv., 484. 1885. $3.00; — The Blood Covenant. A Primitive Rite and its Bearings on Scripture. By H. Clay Trumbull, D. D., author of "Kadesh Barnea." 12mo, pp. viii., 342. 1885. $2.00; — Sermons on the Christian Life. By John De Witt, D. D. 8vo, pp. ix., 420. 1885. $2.50.

E. B. Treat, New York. The Sabbath: its Permanence, Promise, and Defence. By W. W. Everts, D. D., author of "Pastor's Hand-Book," "The House of God," etc. Crown 12mo, pp. 278. 1885. $1.00.

Pamphlet. Bradford Academy. Historical Sketch of Harriette Briggs Stoddard. By Mrs. J. D. Kingsbury. Pp. 25. 1885.

Digitized by Google

THE

ANDOVER REVIEW:

A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

VOL. IV. — DECEMBER, 1885. — No. XXIV.

THE "THÉODICÉE" OF LEIBNITZ.

III. CRITICISM.

THERE are three ideas which ultimately control human thought: the True, the Beautiful, the Good. But although each is an original impulse and a final authority, each is limited to a certain sphere of its own, and the sphere of each has its rank. Primacy belongs to the Good. In dignity, Truth is above Beauty, but the Good is above both. As Plato insisted, the Good is the sun in the kingdom of ideas. Accordingly, any solution of the problem of evil which does not satisfy the demands of this supreme idea is inadmissible. The theodicy which adjusts itself completely to the unconditional requirements of the moral reason is the only one which can be entertained.

At the beginning of the "Théodicée" of Leibnitz, and in the course of the argument, the author suggests that the presence of evil in the world may be explained upon æsthetic principles. The explanation does not here turn on the intrinsic nature of evil, but on its relation to the whole system of things. What is in itself bad may be tolerated if it serve to set the good in relief, and so enhance its value and impressiveness. Discordant notes or passages, if judiciously placed in a piece of music, will heighten the effect of harmony. All art requires contrasts, and beauty a foil. The grotesque, the absurd, the ugly have their place and function. Even a world-harmony may be the more impressive upon the æsthetic sense if it be disturbed at intervals by the notes of sorrow and of sin, or even if there be heard throughout the solemn undertone of pain and guilt. There is, however, one decisive objection to this way of looking at the matter, — the problem of evil is not a question of taste. The beautiful is not the principle which here finds legitimate application. Whether evil

Copyright, 1885, by HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co.

Digitized by Google

shall be allowed to exist or not cannot be determined by artistic considerations. The ethical element does not admit of subordination to the æsthetic. The good does not borrow leave to be of beauty; neither will it permit its moral opposite to exist for beauty's sake.

But, in truth, Leibnitz does not lay much stress upon this solution. His main reliance is logic and metaphysics. He makes his principal appeal to a formal law of thought, namely, non-contradiction, and to the principle of sufficient reason. The determination of the intrinsic nature of evil is the first and the essential element in the solution of the problem. This determination is reached *a priori*. Assuming the good as known, the evil is determined simply as the contradictory of the good: it is the non-good. Moreover, since the good is identified with the real, evil is the non-real. It is essentially defect, negation. The concrete opposition which exists between good and evil is here viewed as merely formal, abstract. Moral opposites are represented as essentially logical opposites. The three forms in which evil is found in experience to exist, physical evil or suffering, moral evil or sin, and metaphysical evil or imperfection, limitation, are all resolved into the latter. Each is a form of imperfection, deficiency of being. Now inasmuch as the only form of opposition which pure logic knows of is the contradictory, to that form the opposition between good and evil must be subjected if the nature of either is to be determined by the understanding alone. And provided it be assumed that the laws which regulate the exercise of this faculty are positive and not merely negative criteria of truth, there is no other possible way of conceiving the case. But the result reached proves the futility of the method and the error of the fundamental assumption. We have simply determined what evil is not, not what it is, and we have been able so to determine it only because we were in possession already of a positive knowledge of its opposite. To make any application of the law of non-contradiction one of the terms in opposition must be known, and the other is then known merely as its negation. By some method other than that of pure understanding we have come into the possession of the idea of the good, and to the practical conviction of its positive reality in experience. Now if from this positive knowledge of the good we are required by pure logic alone to determine the nature of evil, all we can say is what Leibnitz says, evil is the non-good, and, if the good alone be real, evil is the unreal. But surely something must be wrong if the necessary outcome is that evil is merely illusion.

Digitized by Google

A metaphysical or purely logical solution of this problem is no less unsatisfactory than an æsthetic one. It is, indeed, true that all our thinking on any subject must conform to the primary laws of thought, — it is a mere truism to say this; but to make of these laws which, in a negative manner, regulate the exercise of the analytical understanding, principles by means of which to determine *positively* the nature of anything is to fall into inevitable error and confusion. This may be said to be the πρῶτον ψεῦδος which vitiates the whole procedure of Leibnitz in dealing with the problem of evil.

Leibnitz is indeed right in taking for his starting-point the idea of the good. It is manifestly unsatisfactory to define the good as the not-evil. If either of the two can present a claim to be the original positive term, it is surely the good. And it is only by virtue of the illumination which this idea brings with it that we can attain to a true conception of the nature of evil. Our practical estimate of the latter is conditioned upon our experience and apprehension of the former. In Dorner's phrase, "Bonum est interpretamentum boni malique." (So Julius Müller, "Bonum est index sui malique.")

And again, Leibnitz may be said to be right, in one view, in asserting that the good alone is the real. It is for intuition the primal and fundamental reality. It is the essential element. Evil is the accidental. But for experience each is real, each is positive; each is, indeed, for pure thought, not the other; but for experience it is more, each is itself. An imperfect being is yet a being, a bad action is a real action, a painful experience is an experience of pain. The opposition of good and evil is contradictory, but it is more, it is contrary, because each is positive. The latter kind of opposition always contains the former. The contradiction is simply an abstract from the fullness of the contrary. Having had the perceptions of sweet and bitter tastes we can, indeed, affirm that the one is not the other; we can find the contradictory in the contrary, but we cannot find the sweet in the bitter, nor the bitter in the sweet. Each must be known through sensations which are peculiar to itself. Evil has thus its own nature and reality, which it asserts in consciousness as pain, and before conscience as guilt. The problem of evil cannot be solved simply by an abstraction from the fullness of this contrariety. The sharp opposition felt and known as real, and as the most complete which can be named, cannot be treated as if it existed for abstract thought alone. The problem of evil is to reconcile with infinite goodness the presence,

Digitized by Google

in a world which is its product, of forms of being not simply which do not answer to the idea of the good, but which have an alien nature of their own, and as hostile powers strive against the good. The problem is a real one, and the real elements in it must not be ignored. In dealing with it Leibnitz changed its nature. Accepting a definition of evil (as old, at least, as Augustine), a definition which denies the reality of evil by making all forms of it to consist essentially in negation or limitation, evil is made inseparable from creation. A created product must necessarily be finite. It must, therefore, partake of metaphysical imperfection, and this is essential evil. Therefore, evil cannot be excluded from the divine activity in creation. But to say this is in one breath to assert and to deny its existence. To say God may do evil is to contradict the subject by the predicate; the being who sins is no longer divine. But the truth is, evil and limitation are not identical. Finitude may be essential to the possibility of any form of evil, but it is not itself evil, nor is it a necessary cause of evil. Finite beings who sin are not sinful by virtue of their finiteness, nor is the conception of a sinless finite being at all self-contradictory. Moreover, if the essence of evil is limitation, defect of being, then it follows that the greater the degree of limitation the greater the evil. Beings below man would be increasingly evil, down to the lowest orders; and beings above man up to the highest would not be exempt from evil; and inasmuch as God himself if He create must of necessity create the finite, upon the Infinite Source of all being, or at least upon a nature of things to which the Creator himself is conceived to be subject, is laid, by this theory, the whole responsibility for the evil which exists in his universe. To attempt to escape this conclusion by affirming, as Leibnitz does, that the divine activity in creation has relation only to that which is positive in existence is vain, because it still remains true that the positive in this case is the limited. To be what it is as other than the Creator, and as other than the rest of finite existence, each created being is, as such, necessarily limited. By creating merely *one* being, God imposes limitation upon existence, and limitations increase as creation extends. The metaphysical view of evil may appear to simplify the problem, but it really complicates it, and makes a solution impossible. This doctrine of the negative nature of evil, although it has played an important part in theology since the time of Augustine, who favors this view, appears to explain evil by explaining it away. It seems to make of it an illusion. But pain is not an illusion, neither is

Digitized by Google

guilt. Each is as real as its opposite, pleasure, virtue. The philosopher may define suffering as metaphysical evil, but the victim is not eased by the definition. Moral evil, sin, cannot without contradiction be ascribed to God. It must, however, have its source in personality. It must belong to the free activity of some being. It ever lies in the nature of freedom as a possibility. To make it *privatio*, defect of being, is to attach it by necessity to creation, not to the created being, where alone we may, without contradiction, find its source. Sin is strictly a creation within a creation. God may bring into existence a being who can create that which God himself cannot create. But this paradox has its parallel in human life. A father does not, and cannot, create the moral character of a son who is yet, however he may differ from them morally, the offspring of his parents. The nature and the origin of moral evil are distinct questions, but the theory which resolves all forms of evil into metaphysical evil obliterates this distinction, or it answers the one question by answering the other and forces the dilemma upon us of denying either the being of God or the reality of evil.

We have considered evil as it appears in the "Théodicée" under two aspects: the æsthetic, in which it may be tolerated, as by its discordant nature enhancing by contrast the general harmony, — and the intellectual, or metaphysical, in which view it is resolved into unreality. There remains a third way of regarding it, that is, in its teleological aspect, as a means to an end: in this case the production of good. Viewed apart from all its relations, evil is unintelligible; indeed anything so viewed is unintelligible. Of evil as a means to good Leibnitz has much to say, and labors hard to show that the rule "non esse facienda mala, ut eveniant bona" is not violated by God's choice of a world in which evils exist. God must, by the *principium melioris*, choose the best possible world, but in that world evil exists. It would be sin in God himself did He not permit sin in his universe. Much indeed, may be said *for* as well as against this view. If it can be shown that the highest and largest good possible can be attained in no other way, that it is beyond the power and wisdom of the Almighty and Omniscient to make actual the purposes of Infinite Goodness otherwise than by the introduction into the world of a vast amount of suffering, by the permission of iniquity of every form and grade, then that which is in itself simply and wholly bad will appear, by virtue of its being an indispensable condition to the best results, to partake of another character. It will become for the

Digitized by Google

moment assimilated to its opposite, and in view of the great and far-reaching good we shall be disposed to look with different eyes upon the ugly and detested evil which furnished the occasion of its existence; then may we even tune our lips to sing, "O felix culpa!"

Surely from this possible subserviency of evil to good, even to the highest good, some relief seems likely to be afforded. Evil certainly is the inseparable incident of all the good we experience. Pain and death in nature are the necessary accompaniments of the struggle for existence, but it is only through that struggle for existence, we are told, that the present improved forms of life have come to exist upon the earth. And in the moral sphere evil not only furnishes a background against which the nature of the good may be seen in strong relief, but it affords a resisting material for its skill to subdue, a battle ground and a foe which put to the proof the inherent strength of virtue, and it gives occasion to certain forms of goodness which otherwise could not exist, such as fortitude, patience, pity, and charity.

The final, all-justifying reason to be assigned for the existence of anything whatever, even for that of the Divine Being himself, is to be found in its relation to moral good. And if to make moral good actual in a perfect manner is the end for which God himself exists, we can hardly think that a created universe, from which the possibility of moral good were necessarily absent, would be worthy of Him. If, accordingly, the presence of evil in a world, from which it conceivably might have been excluded, is to be accounted for, it must be made to appear that its exclusion would imply the removal of those conditions also upon which the existence of the highest forms of good depend. Moral evil might have been excluded from the world along with freedom, but without freedom virtue is impossible. Apparently the possibility of sin must enter into the conception of any world of finite free beings, but is there any inherent necessity of its becoming actuality? Might not the possibility remain dormant forever? Surely the true city of God is a holy, happy universe! What place and function has evil therein? It can exist only in order to be displaced. But possibly just in this displacement of the evil by the good there might be called forth and come into existence a higher form of good than could possibly arise were there nothing to disturb the moral harmony of the universe. If the final cause of all existence is the realization of all that is contained in the idea of the good, if the good cannot complete itself without coming into

Digitized by Google

conflict with its opposite and subduing it, then as subservient to the triumph of the supreme principle of existence evil might seem to have, not an original, but a sort of derivative title to a position in the whole scheme of things. When the history of the universe shall be written it will be the record of the course which Infinite Love took to reveal itself, which was to bring out, in actual exercise of it, all that lay in its depths. Whether Infinite Intelligence might not have devised some other method whereby to unfold the nature of goodness and make it extant in the universe, and that, too, under its highest forms, it is impossible to say; it would be talking at random to propose such methods. But this is certain, that the existence of suffering, frailty and sin in the world give occasion, and for aught we can see the *only* occasion, for the exercise of qualities which lie very near the heart of goodness, if they be not the very innermost of all, namely, compassionate love and mercy.

It is only, however, when thus regarded as being necessarily incidental to the best possible system, that sin and suffering find even a relative justification for their existence in a world of God's choice and creation. When looked at in their own nature these evils remain evils. We may, indeed, conceal their essential deformity under the mantle of the good, to the existence of which they may be related as means to end, but this palliation does not change their nature, which is that of essential contrariety to those principles and qualities which we must think have supreme sway in the universe. The difficulty would be somewhat lessened if in every case we could see in one form of evil the productive cause or ground of the other. Could it be made to appear that physical evil is due solely to moral evil, the existence of suffering in the world would so far accord with our moral ideas, and therefore with what we conceive must be the character of God. Our ideas of justice allow, we may even say require, that the wicked suffer. There is a sort of fitness in it, as Leibnitz observes, like just proportions in architecture and harmony in music. But it would be very hard to show that all suffering in the world is due to sin. What we see is that the innocent suffer as well as the guilty, nay, often, that the severest trials fall upon the good and gentle, while the bad, who perhaps have caused these very miseries, escape them. In view of this it may be said that suffering has a disciplinary as well as retributive function, that the most precious virtues are nurtured by it, and that the amount of moral evil in the world is much lessened by its presence.

Digitized by Google

But admitting the truth of these considerations within the human sphere, there is a large part of the creation to which they manifestly do not apply. The sufferings of animals can hardly be regarded as either punitive or disciplinary. Leibnitz, in his day, might not have thought it worth while to pay much attention to what happened to brutes, but the suggestion of our possible derivation from them has awakened in recent times a new and peculiar interest in this part of the creation. No theodicy of the present day can afford to pass lightly over, still less to ignore, this troublesome element in the problem of evil. It must show that it is consistent with the divine benevolence that carnivorous creatures should exist; it must reconcile at once with divine wisdom and goodness the enormous apparent waste of life and the inevitable miseries attendant upon the struggle for existence, — miseries which have made the history of creation one long wail of pain, and by reason of which "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." To find in moral evil the sole cause of all natural evils, which are then viewed as inflicted in the way of penalty for the former, and to explain the miseries endured by the brute creation during the long ages before man appeared upon the earth, and which it still suffers, simply as being the proleptic shadow of that curse, the full weight of which was to fall — where alone distributive justice would seem to require its infliction — upon the human race, does not seem altogether satisfactory in an ethical point of view.

It may, indeed, be said that it is a law of nature, an inevitable result from the organic unity of all existence, that the innocent should suffer for the sin of the guilty. But this only aggravates the difficulty. Did it happen only once, or at the most but now and then, that the innocent should so suffer, these infrequent exceptions, by virtue of the very anomaly they would present, would serve to enforce upon our attention the universality of the law of justice, although they would still, in themselves considered, remain an insoluble enigma. But ethical principles do not tolerate exceptions; much less then do they allow that the exception should become a law. That the innocent should suffer retributively is the greatest difficulty of all. Were this actually the case no theodicy would be possible. Difficulties enough remain even if we discard this view. Denying that the sufferings of the brutes are punitive, it is not easy to see how they can be disciplinary or in any way beneficial to the victims themselves. Vicarious suffering seems to be a law, or general fact, of nature. But why should

Digitized by Google

things be so put together that this should be a law, an inevitable consequence? If the government of the universe be moral, and beneficent also, why out of all possible systems should this one be chosen? To most persons, however, as probably to Leibnitz, the sufferings of animals are an altogether insignificant matter compared with those endured by the human race, although it should be remembered that for a theodicy the primary question is not concerning the amount nor the grade of evil, but the simple existence of any evil whatever, in a world which has its source in the mind and will of a perfect being. If, however, we are to have a theodicy for the intellect at all, it must be profound enough to illuminate the lowest depths, and broad enough to shed its light upon the farthest developments of evil. Such a theodicy must be ready to explain why, if creation by evolution be the true account of man's origin, so many ages of misery were needed, during which he, who was to be the governing animal upon earth, should slowly and against such fearful odds of nature grope his way to reason. Or why if, on the other hand, the Creator, at a stroke, formed the perfect man there should have followed so sudden and almost complete ruin of his work; why the first page of human history should be red with a brother's murder, and every page thereafter show the same ugly stain, but broader and deeper, because there were more to kill, and the arts of destruction were better understood, down even to the most enlightened periods in which it still remains true that reason-gifted men have been unable to devise, or, what is worse, unwilling to employ, any other method of coming to an understanding with each other, in matters of national disagreement, than mutual destruction. But all this, it will be said, is due to human wickedness. True, but it shows what can happen (for these, and myriads of evils besides, have all happened and daily are happening still) in a world brought into being and controlled by infinite wisdom, goodness, and power. These, and such like, are evils which God not indeed directly produces, but permits. As thus permitted, they form a part of the best possible system. This outcome of human freedom has always been present in the mind of God. The chapter of human sin, whether it be a long one or a short one, has always been under the eye of Him who reads, as in an open book, the history of the universe, and who ever reads only what He has permitted to appear therein. It is precisely here, namely, in this permissive will of God, that the real stress comes upon any theodicy, for permission always implies power to prevent. The evils in the world, all of them, are thus indirectly

Digitized by Google

due to the divine will. They are partly contingent upon freedom, but free beings are contingent on the will of God. In permitting sin, God permits the greatest evil. He permits it, although He has power to prevent it, and in allowing sin He permits what He forbids. He allows what He does not allow. We may, indeed, distinguish here as Leibnitz does, in the scholastic manner, between the *material* and the *formal* elements in sin, between the power to act and the direction given to that power. We may say that God permits those whom He has endowed with freedom to use that freedom as they will, even in violation of the law of their being, and therefore what He permits is the exercise of freedom, and what He forbids is transgression. But the use which each free being will actually make of his freedom is infallibly known to Omniscience, and — must we not add with Leibnitz — predetermined? For how can anything future be known unless it be certain to occur? And is not the ground of all actuality what Leibnitz asserts, the divine decree? If we conceive of human sin as pure contingency, as the nature of freedom and responsibility require, we seem to imperil the divine sovereignty. Every sin, even that of a Sextus Tarquinius, must be regarded as having its appointed place in the plan of divine providence. This example is mentioned because Leibnitz employs it to set forth his views concerning the relation of the will of God to the sin of man. With the statement of them in this concrete form he brings to a conclusion the third part of the "Théodicée." The case is presented in the manner of an allegory, and as an appendix to the "Dialogue" of Laurentius Valla upon "Free Will," in opposition to the views maintained by Boethius in his "Consolations of Philosophy." In the "Dialogue," Sextus Tarquinius is represented as going to Delphi to consult the oracle of Apollo, and there receiving this response:

"Exul inopsque cades irata pulsus ab urbe."

He bitterly complains of his hard fate. "I brought you a royal present, O Apollo; and in return you announce to me this dreadful destiny!" Apollo replies: "Your present is agreeable to me, and I have done all you asked me to do. I have told you what will happen to you. I simply know the future: I do not make it. Go to Jupiter and the Fates with your complaints." In what passes further, and the comments thereon, Leibnitz affirms that Valla cut the knot he could not untie, and proposes to contribute something towards loosening it by continuing the fable in the following manner: Sextus left Delphi and went to Dodona in search of

Digitized by Google

Jupiter. There he offered sacrifice and poured out his complaints. "Why, O great god! have you condemned me to be a sinner, and to be miserable? Change my lot and my disposition, or admit that you are to blame for it." Jupiter replies: "If you will give up Rome the Fates shall spin you another destiny; you shall become virtuous, you shall be happy." "But why must I give up the hope of the crown? Can I not be a good king?" "No, I know best what you will do. If you go to Rome you are lost." Now Sextus could not make up his mind to the great sacrifice; he left the temple and abandoned himself to his fate. But Theodorus, the high priest, who had been present during the colloquy, and had overheard what was said, then appealed to Jupiter in these words: "Your wisdom is adorable, great ruler of the gods. You have convinced this man of his error. From this moment he must impute his misfortunes to his own evil will; he has not a word to say. But still your faithful worshipers are perplexed. Could you not have given Sextus a different mind?" "Go to my daughter Pallas," replied Jupiter; "she shall teach you what it was for me to do." Accordingly, Theodorus made a journey to Athens. When there he was told to lie down in the temple of the goddess. He fell asleep, and dreamed that he was transported to an unknown land, where there was a palace of wonderful size and splendor. At the door appeared the goddess Pallas in dazzling majesty. She touched the brows of Theodorus with her olive wand, that he might be able to sustain the glory of the daughter of Jupiter, and of all that she was to reveal to him. "Jupiter, who loves you," she said, "has sent you to me to be enlightened. You see here the palace of the Destinies, of which I am put in charge. There are representations here not only of all that actually takes place, but also of all that is possible. Before the beginning of the present world Jupiter passed in review all possible worlds and meditated upon them, and then chose the best among them all. Sometimes he comes on a visit to the palace just to give himself the pleasure of going over these things and renewing his former choice, which he never fails to approve. I have only to speak the word and you shall see every world that my father could produce, wherein shall be found represented whatever can be asked for, and thus one may know what would happen in any case should such or such a possibility occur. I will show you possible worlds in which you shall see — not precisely the same Sextus that you have seen; that cannot be, for the real Sextus always carries with him all that he is to be, but — Sextuses that approximate to the real

Digitized by Google

one, who have all that you have seen in him, yet not all that is in him without his knowledge of it; therefore, not all that will yet happen to him. You shall see in one of these worlds a Sextus prosperous and noble, in another a Sextus content with a humble lot, and in as many different worlds Sextuses of every sort and fashion." Thereupon the goddess led Theodorus into one of the apartments of the palace, and no sooner was he there than the apartment became a world, our own world, indeed, with the familiar sun and stars, yet not our own. At a word from Pallas, Dodona appeared, with the temple of Jupiter, and Sextus just leaving it. He was heard to say that he would obey the god. He goes to a city situate between two seas, like Corinth. There he buys a little garden. While cultivating it he alights upon a treasure. He becomes rich, beloved, a man of repute. He dies at a ripe old age, honored and esteemed by all the people. His whole life passes under the eye of Theodorus like a play at a theatre. But there was, moreover, a written volume in the apartment, and Theodorus could not forbear asking what it contained. "This," said the goddess, "is the history of the world you are now contemplating; it is the book of its destinies. You saw a number inscribed on the forehead of Sextus, now look for this passage corresponding to it in this book." So Theodorus looked out the passage, and there he found the full history of that Sextus whose life he had seen in outline. "Put your finger on any line you please," said Pallas, "and you shall see represented in detail what the line stands for as a whole." He did so, and there passed before his eyes all the incidents of one period in the career of that Sextus. He then passed into another apartment, and lo! another world, another Sextus, who, leaving the temple, resolved to obey the counsel of Jupiter, went to Thrace. There he married the king's daughter. The king had no other children, and on his death Sextus succeeded to the throne, and his subjects all adored him. So Theodorus went on from chamber to chamber, and saw a different world in each. The apartments rose one above another in the form of a pyramid, and ever as they rose they became more beautiful, and represented more beautiful worlds. At last, as the visitors went upward, they came to the highest, which formed the apex of the pyramid, and was the most beautiful of all. The pyramid had an apex, but no base. It went on increasing to infinity. The reason of that, as the goddess explained, was that among an infinity of possible worlds there is one which is best of all, and makes the apex, but there is none which has not one inferior below it, so that

Digitized by Google

the pyramid increases downward to infinity. When Theodorus entered the highest apartment of all he was filled with ecstasy. He would have fainted, but a drop of a divine cordial on his tongue restored him. He felt nothing but joy. "We are in the real actual world," said the goddess, "and you are at the very source of happiness. Behold what Jupiter has prepared for you if you continue to serve him faithfully. Look upon Sextus now as he actually is and as he will be. He goes out of the temple all in a rage; he scorns the counsel of the gods. You shall see him go to Rome, throw everything into confusion, ravish the wife of his friend. You shall see him driven from the city with his father, defeated, wretched. Now had Jupiter here chosen a Sextus happy at Corinth, or king in Thrace, it would no longer be this world. And, nevertheless, he could not fail to choose this world, which surpasses in perfection all the rest, which is the apex of the whole pyramid, for otherwise Jupiter would have renounced his wisdom, he would have rejected me, me who am his child. You see that it was not my father who made Sextus a sinner; he was a sinner from all eternity, and that, too, by his own free will. All that my father did was to grant him the existence which his wisdom could not refuse to the world which contained him. He simply caused that world, and Sextus along with it, to pass from the realm of possible into that of actual being. The crime of Sextus serves a noble purpose. From it shall arise a mighty empire fruitful in heroic characters. But that is nothing at all in comparison with the great whole of this world, the divine beauty of which one day you shall admire, when, after a happy passage from this mortal state into a better life, the gods shall have made you capable of comprehending it."

There are certain features of this allegory, and they represent essential elements of the system set forth in the "Théodicée," which give some color of truth to the story told by Erdmann in the preface to his edition of the philosophical works of Leibnitz: "Cui quærenti sitne theodicæa lusus ingenii potius quam vera Leibnitii sententia, subridens noster respondisse dicitur: Tu rem acu tetigisti." It is evident from the allegory that Leibnitz intends to relieve the difficulty relating to divine predestination in the case of evil, by making the human soul predetermine itself thereto, but in a manner which is, to say the least, astonishing. That a human soul actually existing as such in some prior state of being might sin, and by that sin predetermine its character and career for the present life, is a proposition which we shall venture

Digitized by Google

neither to affirm nor to deny. But, surely, merely possible beings cannot sin! The notion contains an interior contradiction. That is supposed to act which as yet is not actual. Of all theological explanations of original sin, this self-predetermination to evil of a being yet in the realm of the merely possible is the most strange and unsatisfactory. But the real difficulty is not relieved, but rather increased, by this untenable supposition. Allowing for the moment the contradiction to pass unchallenged that a merely possible being may act and therefore sin, we have simply pushed the whole problem back into a preëxistent state of being,[1] and a state of being, moreover, which does not differ in any other respect from the present. But, all the conditions remaining the same, simply to antedate is not to solve a problem.

But the whole question of the relation of possibility to actuality needs to be considered. It is fundamental to the system of Leibnitz, and the view of that relation as presented in the "Théodicée" appears to us to be fundamentally wrong. The whole array of possible worlds from among which the actual is chosen are simply abstracts from that actual world. Each is the actual world with some things left out, or some things added, or some things modified. As in the case of the first apartment into which Theodorus enters, "Solemque suum, sua sidera nôrat," so of all, — some features of the actual world are retained, some new ones added, and some removed. But thus to depart from the actual is to dream. No doubt an artist or an inventor turns over in his mind a great many different possible forms of realizing his design before settling upon one which appears to him the best. But such a tentative method arises only from the limitations of our intelligence, limitations which do not exist for the divine mind. Surely, God neither imagines nor deliberates. To Him, we must suppose, the distinction of the real and the possible does not exist. Nor does Leibnitz himself conceive the distinction to hold, when *all* the conditions are taken account of. Moral possibility added to metaphysical obliterates the distinction. The possible and the actual, then, are identical. And in respect to nature, *complete* possibility is not distinguishable from actuality. With the removal of this distinction is also removed that which appears so prominent in the "Théodicée," between the understanding and the will of God, and which represents the Deity as subject in his action to the deliberation, suspense, and consequent choice which characterize human elections. Moreover, one cannot fail to see in these speculations of Leibnitz

[1] "And 't is a poor relief we gain,
To change the place but keep the pain."

Digitized by Google

that the same determinism which prevails in the case of human action is made to involve the Deity. There is not much to choose here between Leibnitz and Spinoza, to whom Nature and God are synonymous terms. In the "Théodicée" the divine will is represented, not as a free creative activity, the primal ground not only of the actual but of the possible in nature, but rather as in its very highest activity limited to choice, and to a choice between a number of possible systems, each of which is presented as having its advantages and defects, the problem being to select the one which has the maximum of good, and the minimum of evil. Each world, accordingly, appears before the mind of God as a rigid whole, every part and period ideally predetermined to the last particular, and awaiting only his *Fiat* to become the actual world. If, then, the divine will is limited to the determination of the actual, what power, we must ask, fixes the possible? It would seem as if the divine will in creating found itself confronted by a Nature of Things within which all possibilities are already fixed and there were nothing to do but to select from what is offered. Not only moral and metaphysical, but also natural necessity seems to be regarded as prior to and independent of divine volition. The ancient mythology made the will of the Parcæ supreme over that of Jupiter, and it is not without significance that in the allegory concerning Sextus, it is the palace of the *Destinies* which contains the possible worlds, and thither must Jupiter resort when he makes his choice. It is true that Leibnitz assigns the possible worlds to the divine understanding; but by confining the exercise of the divine will to the mere actualization, *as a whole*, of one among many possible worlds, he leaves unaccounted for the already ideally fixed relation of the parts of each whole, and the ultimate natural conditions which make the component parts possible in one system. The *com*-possibility must be explained. It seems in the theory of Leibnitz to depend on a primal nature of things, which lies back of the divine will, and which forms to the mind of God an object of reflection, and presents possibilities of adjustment and combination somewhat as the actual world of nature does to the contemplative and inventive mind of man, who yet does not originate its laws and therefore cannot change them. A difficulty still more serious is that Leibnitz is obliged by this view to find the primal ideal ground of sin in the divine understanding, and even to designate it as one of the eternal ideas.

A careful examination of the theodicy of Leibnitz will lead any

Digitized by Google

one to ask the question whether a *theoretical* solution of the problem of evil is possible, — may not the human understanding be engaged, in this case, with a problem beyond its powers? Apparently in the attempt to solve the contradiction we fall into new ones. We must essentially change the conception of the one element to make it square with the other. We may define evil as limitation, but this makes it inseparable from creation, and therefore a necessary characteristic of the divine activity. We may regard it as the *conditio sine quâ non* of the highest good. This gives evil a place in the ultimate nature of things. Then we must ask: Did God establish this relation of dependence? Might He not have made the good, even the highest, possible without the evil? But if God did not establish this connection, is there, then, a Nature of Things to which even God is subject? That looks like dualism. If, to avoid this result, we define God as the Being who includes in himself all reality, we take the evil over into the good as part of its definition.

There is a short *a priori* road by which, starting from the necessary attributes of Deity, we may arrive at an optimistic conclusion. This is the method of the "Théodicée." God is perfect in wisdom. He knows all possible worlds, therefore the best. God is absolute in power, therefore He can create the best. God is infinite in benevolence. Therefore, if He create any, He will bring into existence only the best. The actual world, therefore, is the best possible. But it is very easy to see that this argument proves nothing, unless a simple analysis may be regarded as a proof. For all that is done here is to draw out in analytical propositions what is already contained by implication in the notion of the subject, God. Theism is implicitly optimism. It may dispense with theodicy. The true vindication of God is the idea of God. But this is the theodicy of faith, not of the understanding, so soon as the case is removed from the sphere of notions to that of existence. Give to the analytical understanding the conception God, and the world as his product, and optimism follows of necessity. One may always take out of notions what he has already put into them. But that there really exists a Being of absolute perfection, and that the world, as we know it, is his product, are objective truths, which the mere understanding must receive from some source of knowledge beyond itself.

Now, quite apart from any specific exercise of the intellect in the way of formal demonstration, there exists a sort of natural optimism of the heart, an optimism which asserts itself against

Digitized by Google

all that appears to contradict it. Pessimism is artificial, non-natural. Every man is at heart an optimist. The presence of evil in the world may seem to be inconsistent with the conception of the world's origin in God. "Si Deus est, unde malum?" But in a different mood, and with a profounder view, the aspect of the case is changed. The manifold forms of good, as undeniable as the evils, attract the mind's attention, and their possible preponderance over the evil, even for this life, suggests itself to reflection. But still more, the mind is disposed to ask itself, What of this very idea itself, the good, — that idea in the light of which alone evil itself is known and judged, — that principle which asserts itself in our profoundest beliefs as the essential, therefore the eternal, element, and the final issue? If, in view of the contradictory nature of evil and its manifest reality, we are obliged to ask, "Si Deus est, unde malum?" we are also able, and indeed compelled, to retort, "Si Deus non est, unde bonum?"

But, moreover, this circumstance challenges our attention; there is a problem of evil, but there is no problem of good. That good should exist in the world excites no surprise, and demands no explanation, as evil does. It does not strike athwart our deepest and most cherished convictions. It seems to accommodate itself to our whole being, and to the end for which we think a human soul, or a universe, might be made to exist.

When hard pressed by the difficulties which arise from the presence of evil we accordingly betake ourselves to the shelter and illumination which our moral intuitions afford. We decline to pass judgment on what takes place in the sphere of perception and experience without taking into account what is necessarily and eternally true. The good is supreme in idea, and what is supreme ideally shall prove itself supreme in reality. If theism is optimism, so also optimism is theism. In the order of perception and experience, sin, suffering, and imperfection confront us, but above that order is a realm of ideas, older, eternal, supreme. In that realm the good is the sun, the source at once of illumination and control. Whatever exists finds here its explanation. All being and all becoming, from the greatest to the least, feel the attraction and reflect the light of this central sun. God is the expression of the absolute life and energy of this principle. We know it in the concrete in Him, the Absolute Personality. Whatever else is real, the divine attributes are real, more real, if possible, than any facts. That what is true for intuition shall become true for perception, that what is in its own nature real and su-

Digitized by Google

preme shall finally assert its truth and reveal its supremacy in the sphere of experience, is not merely the hope, but the indestructible belief of the human heart. This is affirmation, indeed, and not argument, but it is, nevertheless, rational, for it is affirmation of the same sort as that upon which all reasoning finally rests. That the sharp opposition which presents itself when the evil in the world is seen against the background of the divine source of all existence may be somehow removed, we profoundly believe, although we may not be able to effect the removal of it either in the way of demonstration or by an appeal to perceptions. Faith has its own theodicy, which, though it may not be able to adjust itself to the requirements of the logical understanding, satisfies the heart. It is a theodicy which leaves time altogether out of the account. To the view of faith evil exists only as vanquished. The good has already displaced it, and in displacing it has asserted its own supreme authority and power, for faith sees the eternal in the temporal. Moreover, the ideal order, although present within the actual from the beginning, has at one point in history revealed itself in full majesty and given decisive intimation of its ultimate supremacy. In Him who came out from that ideal order to bear witness to ideal truth, in Him who *is* that truth in personal manifestation, Son of God and Son of Man, faith sees a new humanity already displacing the old. It sees Jesus Christ supreme actually as well as ideally. The Alpha of faith is also its Omega. Its solution of the problem of evil is concrete, not abstract. It appeals to that living truth which alone is real to spiritual beings, to truth to which it is possible to adjust our whole being, and not merely, and perhaps not at all, the bare intellect, which, after all, is but one part of what we call ourselves. A theoretical solution of this problem, owing to our present limitations in time and space, may be unattainable, but a practical solution is possible. It is common enough to assume that one faculty of our complex nature, namely, the understanding, is competent to deal with any conflict which may arise between that which belongs to the realm of pure ideas and that which is given in experience, and meanwhile it is forgotten that experience is not the product of intellect merely, but of feeling and will as well.

In this connection it appears why it is that although there may be a problem of evil there cannot from the nature of the case be a problem of good. To say that good should exist in the universe is simply to say that there should be that which answers

Digitized by Google

to our *whole* being. There is nothing foreign to our essential needs and to our entire being in the good. It is perfectly congruent with our conception of the origin and end of existence — as evil is opposed to it. But this opposition is not formal but real. It belongs not to pure thought alone, but to existence, to life, to experience, and in that latter sphere alone it can be successfully resolved, and that, as in the case of all contraries, through the displacing in experience one term of the opposition by the other, just as light displaces darkness, heat, cold, pleasure, pain. In the intuitions of feeling and of faith, which spring from deepest feeling, the good has already subverted the evil. Desire and volition assume and tend toward the good, and never to the evil as such. If one wills the evil he wills it *sub specie boni.* To suppose evil to be the origin, element, and ultimate end of things is to present a conception which has no possible relation to feeling or to action, as it has none to the highest ideas of reason. When the idea of the good, which is the most precious possession of reason, and the aspiration towards it, which is the deepest we are capable of, find expression in honest endeavor to make actual what we in our hearts hold to be the essential reality, we put ourselves in the only position from which a solution of this dark problem can be hoped for. Light comes from living more than from thinking. Moreover, this practical way of dealing with a problem too hard for the intellect is like that which God himself has offered to our consideration and acceptance. The kingdom of redemption is the *Divine* Theodicy. Had the Infinite Intelligence been disposed to address to our understandings, or to our perceptions, in the present life, a vindication of himself in view of the evil in his universe, the necessary limitations of our faculties would have made such a revelation impossible. But to those who will submit themselves to his methods He vindicates himself as completely as if He immediately informed us what was the answer to all our difficulties. He himself *acts* in the world through his Son and Spirit, and, on condition of our acting in the same line with Him, promises and affords such intellectual illumination as we are capable of receiving.

The problem of evil presents itself as the puzzle of the earliest literature of our race, and, doubtless, it will remain to be the riddle of the latest. That a solution of it for the intellect as yet exists we may well question. Certainly, to *see* the solution we must wait until the end of history, or for the clearer light of that new world from which the present one is even now controlled, and for which it came into existence and continues in being.

Digitized by Google

From the brightness of that world we trust that the spirit of Leibnitz looks down upon the course of things below, and the shadows that lie about our life, with the serene eyes of one who reads the inner meaning and knows the final issue. We will think of him as he thought of the skeptic Bayle, of whom, with a courtesy somewhat rare among theological disputants, he said: "Il est à esperer que M. Bayle se trouve maintenant environné de ces lumières qui nous manquent ici-bas, puisqu'il y a lieu de supposer qu'il n'a point manqué de bonne volonté.

Candidus insueti miratur limen Olympi,
Sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis."

Henry A. P. Torrey.

BURLINGTON, VT.

DAVID.

A STUDY FOR ORATORIO OR CANTATA.

Analysis.	*Chief Parts.*
I. The Election of DAVID.	DAVID, *First Tenor.*
II. The Sweet Singer.	MESSENGER, *Second Tenor.*
III. DAVID and GOLIATH.	SAUL, *First Bass.*
IV. DAVID and ABIGAIL.	GOLIATH, *Second Bass.*
V. Death of SAUL and JONATHAN.	FIRST NARRATOR, *Baritone.*
VI. DAVID'S Sin and Repentance.	ABIGAIL, *Contralto.*
VII. Death of ABSALOM and DAVID.	SECOND NARRATOR, *Soprano.*
VIII. The Everlasting Kingdom.	NATHAN, NABAL, Hebrew Women, etc.

I.

THE ELECTION OF DAVID.

FIRST NARRATOR. *Recitative.*

And Samuel said unto Jesse, "Are here all thy children?" And he said, "There remaineth yet the youngest, and, behold, he keepeth the sheep." And he sent and brought him in. And the Lord said, "Arise, anoint him, for this is he!" And the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward.

Chorus.

Thus saith the Lord of hosts;
I took thee from the sheepcote,
From following the sheep,
To rule my people Israel:
And now thy kingdom and thy house
Shall be established evermore.

Digitized by Google

II.

THE SWEET SINGER.

FIRST NARRATOR. *Recitative.*

And it came to pass when the evil spirit came upon Saul, that David took a harp and played with his hand; and Saul was refreshed, and the evil spirit departed from him.

SECOND NARRATOR. *Air.*

For Nature he had loved and wooed
In her gracious solitude;
Heard the mystic hymn of praise
Which her myriad voices raise; —
Songs of birds and hum of bees,
Soft winds sighing in the trees,
Babbling brooks and rippling rills,
Waterfalls in distant hills,
Waving grass and rustling grain,
And the softly falling rain,
Roar of floods and plash of fountains,
Thunders echoing from the mountains,
Planets singing in their courses,
Airy powers and fiery forces; —
Till his heart awoke and sang,
And his harp with music rang,
Blending in its native charm
All sweet notes of Nature's psalm.

Trio of Women.

And holier inspirations came
Upon him with their tongues of flame,
Kindling his prophetic heart
To strains of more than mortal art.
Though Orpheus' lute long broken lies
And far away its echo dies,
O shepherd-king, thy harp-notes roll
From age to age, from soul to soul.
Thine are the songs that mortals raise
Of prayer and penitence and praise, —
Sweet singer of the world, as well,
O singer sweet of Israel!

Digitized by Google

FIRST NARRATOR. *Recitative.*

And David went and returned from Saul, to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem.

Chorus.

The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want:
He maketh me rest in pastures green;
Beside the still waters He leadeth me;
My soul He refresheth, and guideth me
In paths that are holy, for his Name's sake.

Though I walk in the gloom of the valley of death,
Since Thou art with me, no evil I'll fear;
Thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

A table Thou spreadest before my foes;
My head Thou anointest, my cup overflows:
Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me
All the days of my life; and I shall dwell
In the house of the Lord forevermore.

III.

DAVID AND GOLIATH.

FIRST NARRATOR. *Recitative.*

And there went a champion out of the camp of the Philistines, and he stood and cried daily:

GOLIATH. *Air.*

Why come ye forth in battle array?
Choose one to fight with me this day:
And if he prevail, your slaves are we,
But if I prevail, our slaves are ye.
Israel's armies this day I defy!
Send me a man our strength to try.

DAVID. *Recitative.*

Let no man's heart fail because of him; thy servant will go and fight with this Philistine.

SAUL. *Recitative.*

Thou art not able to go against this Philistine, for thou art but a youth, and he is a mighty man of war.

Digitized by Google

DAVID. *Air.*

Thy servant kept his father's sheep
On wild Judean hills afar,
Watching the countless flocks of stars
In the peaceful pastures of the sky;—
How sweet the music of their march
As God, their Shepherd, guides them on,
Till, from the East, the glorious sun
Rises, rejoicing, his race to run;—
By night the forest beasts creep forth,
The hungry lions seek their prey.
I have snatched a lamb from the lion's mouth,
I have slain the bear and lion too.
My hands have broken a bow of brass.
In the Lord have I put my trust;
How say ye then to my soul,
"Flee as a bird to your mountain?"
Jehovah girdeth me with strength,
His gentleness will make me great.
No longer let this lion mock
And threaten Israel's timid flock.

Choral.

O Lord, our fathers' God,
Art Thou not God in heaven?
Dost Thou not rule in all the earth
That none may Thee withstand?
Art Thou not still our God?
O hasten to defend
Thy people now; stretch forth thy rod,
And great deliverance send.

If Thou, Lord, be his help,
Now shall thy servant stand.
O let thy truth his buckler be,
Thy faithfulness his shield.
Armed with thy mighty power,
Defended, Lord, by Thee,
His be the vict'ry in this hour,
And thine the glory be.

Digitized by Google

GOLIATH. *Recitative.*

Am I a dog, that thou comest to me with staves? By all Philistia's gods, I will give thy flesh to the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field.

DAVID. *Recitative.*

Thou comest to me with a sword, and spear, and shield; but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts whom thou hast defied. This day the Lord will deliver thee into my hand, that all the earth may know there is a God in Israel.

Chorus.

Let God arise! Let God arise!
And let his enemies be scattered.
As smoke is driven, drive them away;
As wax in the fire so let them perish.
But the righteous shall rejoice,
And be glad before the Lord.
Let God arise, let God arise,
And let his enemies be scattered.

MESSENGER. *Air.*

Victory! Victory!
Marvellous things Jehovah hath done
This day by the hand of Jesse's son!
The giant of Gath is slain in his might,
His armies are shattered and scattered in flight.
Vain was their valor, and Elah's plain
To Ekron's gates is strewn with the slain.
Laden with spoil,
Weary with toil,
Hither the king and his heroes come.
Forth throng, forth throng,
With dance and song,
Women of Israel, and welcome them home!

Chorus of Women.

Victory! Victory!
Sing to Jehovah a new song,
For He hath done marvellous things.
With his own right hand and holy arm
Hath He gotten himself the victory.

Digitized by Google

1st Semi-Chorus.

Saul, the king, his thousands hath slain,
Long live the king, the valiant king!

2d Semi-Chorus.

Tens of thousands hath David slain,
The hero, the darling of Israel!

Soprano Air.

Not with the armor of man —
With helmet and sword and mail —
But with loins girt about with truth,
His helmet the hope of salvation,
With sword of the Spirit and shield of faith
And the breastplate of righteousness, —
In the armor of God alone,
With his shepherd's sling and stone,
David hath laid Goliath low
And conquered Israel's boastful foe.

1st Semi-Chorus.

Saul, the king, his thousands hath slain,
Long live the king, the valiant king!

2d Semi-Chorus.

Tens of thousands hath David slain,
The hero, the darling of Israel!

Full Chorus.

Victory! Victory!
Sing to Jehovah a new song,
For He hath done marvellous things.
With his own right hand and holy arm
Hath He gotten himself the victory.
Hosanna! Hosanna!
Hosanna in the highest!

IV.

DAVID AND ABIGAIL.

Semi-Chorus of Male Voices.

We come for favor in thine eyes,
O Nabal, in a goodly day:

Digitized by Google

Now unto thee and to thy house
And unto all thou hast be peace.
In David's name, we pray thee, give
Of thine abundance for his need.

NABAL. *Recitative.*

And who is David? Many now
There be that from their masters break.
Shall I give bread and flesh to men
Of whom I know not whence they come?

ABIGAIL. *Air.*

Let not my lord severely scan
The trespass of this foolish man:
Accept thy handmaid's gifts, I pray,
And let thine anger melt away.
And when the Lord hath proved thee well,
And thou art King in Israel,
Thou may'st, in grateful psalm, record
The loving-kindness of the Lord,
Whose grace subdued thy vengeful heart,
And made thee choose the better part.
Oh then remember, I entreat,
The suppliant kneeling at thy feet.

DAVID. *Air.*

Go up in peace unto thy home,
For I have hearkened to thy prayer:
Blessed be God that bade thee come,
And blessed thou, his handmaid fair.

DAVID AND ABIGAIL. *Duett.*

David.

Thy gentle grace subdues my heart,
Thy goodness makes my folly wise;
I choose with thee the better part,—
'T is mercy, and not sacrifice.

Abigail.

Thy manly grace subdues my heart,
Thy kindness makes my weakness strong:
I praise with thee the better part,
And crown thy mercy with a song.

Digitized by Google

Chorus.

So tender mercies melt the heart,
And heavenly graces sweetly move
To make us choose the better part,
And triumph in the power of love.

Nuptial Chorus.

Who is this? Who is this?
That cometh up from the wilderness,
Leaning upon her beloved?
She looketh forth as the dawn
In cloudless eastern skies:
Like bannered hosts she comes
With the splendor of her eyes
Fair as the argent moon,
Pure as the sun at noon;
Who is this? Who is this?
That cometh up from the wilderness,
Leaning upon her beloved?

DAVID. *Air.*

Lo! this is my beloved,
Of women fair the fairest,
No sweeter rose in Sharon grows,
Nor lily in the valleys.

ABIGAIL. *Air.*

Lo! this is my beloved,
Among ten thousand chiefest,
My beloved is mine, and I am his,
He feeds among the lilies.

DAVID and ABIGAIL. *Duet, repeating the two verses above.*

Chorus.

Rise up, my love, my fair one,
Rise up and come away.
For lo! the winter is past,
The rain is over and gone,
The singing of birds is heard again,
And the voice of the cooing dove;
Once more the flowers bloom,
And the tender vines are sweet.

Digitized by Google

Rise up, my love, my fair one,
Rise up, and do not stay;
Or ever the morning break,
And the shadows flee away,
O turn thee, my beloved,
Rise up and come away!

V.

DEATH OF SAUL AND JONATHAN.

DAVID.

Whence comest thou?

MESSENGER.

Out of the camp
Of Israel have I escaped.

DAVID.

How went the battle? I pray thee, tell me.

MESSENGER.

The people are fled from the battle,
And many are fallen and many dead;
And Saul and Jonathan are also dead.

"*Song of the Bow.*" DAVID *and Chorus.*

O Israel, the wild gazelle
Is slain on thy high places.
How are the mighty fallen!
Tell ye it not in Gath:
In Ashkelon refrain thy voice;
Lest the uncircumcised rejoice,
Philistia's daughters triumph.

Henceforth let neither dew nor rain
Be on Gilboa's mountains, —
Nor fruitful field, — for there the shield
Of Saul the mighty was cast away,
As it were a thing unholy.

The bow of Jonathan turned not back,
Unsated, from the battle;

Digitized by Google

Red with the blood of foemen slain,
The sword of Saul returned again
From the slaughter of the mighty.

Saul and Jonathan in their lives
Lovely were and pleasant:
Than eagles swifter they in flight,
Than lions stronger they in might;
In death they were not divided.

Daughters of Israel, weep for Saul,
Who gave you rich apparel;
Who decked you with a wealth untold
Of purple and scarlet, gems and gold,
Rich spoils of many a battle.

And thou, too, on the mount wast slain,
O Jonathan, my brother!
My soul is sore distressed for thee;
Very dear hast thou been to me;
Thy love to me was wonderful,
Passing the love of women.
How are the mighty fallen!
And perished the weapons of war!

VI.

DAVID'S SIN AND REPENTANCE.

NATHAN. *Recitative.*

And Nathan said unto David: *Thou art the man!* Thou hast killed Uriah with the sword, and hast taken his wife to be thy wife. Now, therefore, the sword shall never depart from thy house. Thou did'st it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun.

DAVID. *Air.*

O gracious Lord! as I confess,
Do Thou forgive my sin.
Cleanse me from all unrighteousness,
And make me pure within.

Create within me a clean heart,
A constant spirit give;

Digitized by Google

Nor let me ever from Thee part,
But in thy presence live.

Upon thine altar now I bind
Thine own sweet sacrifice:
The broken heart, the contrite mind,
Thou, Lord, wilt not despise.

NATHAN. *Recitative.*

The Lord hath put away thy sin: thou shalt not die; but the child that is born unto thee shall surely die.

Quartette.

Darling child, in slumber seeming
Far away in happy dreaming,
Still and breathless is thy sleeping,
Heedless of our watch and weeping:
Farewell, dear child, farewell!

While our hearts with grief are breaking,
Thou to heavenly joy art waking:
Clouds of sorrow o'er us glooming
Shadow not thy life's sweet blooming:
Farewell, dear child, farewell!

Israel's Shepherd safely fold thee,
In his bosom gently hold thee;
And our feet in mercy guiding,
Bring us where thou art abiding:
Dear child, till then, farewell!

VII.

DEATH OF ABSALOM AND DAVID.

DAVID. *Recitative.*

Deal gently with the young man Absalom,
Deal gently with him for my sake, I pray:
Let no one harm the young man Absalom.

MESSENGER. *Recitative.*

Tidings! tidings! my lord the king!
For God hath this day thee avenged
Of all them that against thee rose.

Digitized by Google

DAVID. *Recitative.*

Is the young man Absalom safe?

MESSENGER. *Recitative.*

The enemies of my lord the king,
And all that strive to do thee hurt,
Be as the young man Absalom.

FIRST NARRATOR. *Recitative.*

And the king was much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate, and wept; and as he went, thus he said: —

DAVID. *Air.*

O my son Absalom!
O Absalom, my son, my son!
Would God that I had died for thee,
O Absalom, my son, my son!

Chorus.

Like as a father pitieth his children,
So the Lord pitieth them that fear him:
For He knoweth whereof we are made,
He remembereth that we are dust.

FIRST NARRATOR. *Recitative.*

Now the days of David drew nigh that he should die: and he charged Solomon his son, saying:

DAVID. *Air.*

I go the way of all the earth:
Be strong and show thyself a man:
Walk thou before the Lord thy God
With perfect heart and willing mind,
And thou shalt prosper in his ways.
I go the way of all the earth:
Be strong, fear not, nor be dismayed, —
The Lord be with thee evermore.

Quintette.

The souls of the righteous
Are in the hand of God,
No torment there shall touch them.

Digitized by Google

In the sight of the unwise
They seemed to die;
But they are in peace.

Chorus.

A glorious kingdom shall they receive,
And beautiful crowns from God's own hand:
Zion with joy shall welcome them,
And all her streets shall cry aloud,
Alleluia!

VIII.

THE EVERLASTING KINGDOM.

FIRST NARRATOR.

Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch; and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment in the earth; and his name shall be, "*The Lord our Righteousness!*"

1st Choir.

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel,
For He hath visited and redeemed his people:

2d Choir.

And hath raised up a mighty salvation for us,
In the house of his servant David.

1st Choir.

As He spake by the mouth of his holy prophets,
Which have been since the world began:

2d Choir.

That we should be saved from our enemies,
And from the hand of all that hate us.

Full Chorus.

He shall be great! He shall be called
The Son, the Son of the Highest!
And the Lord God shall give to him
The throne of his father David:
And He shall reign forever;
His kingdom shall know no end!
Amen.

Digitized by Google

NATURAL LAW IN THE FORMATION OF CHARACTER.

To one engaged in the spiritual culture of his fellow-men the subject of this article ought surely to have a paramount interest. Yet it may be questioned if many of those who enter the sacred ministry have so much as considered whether there be any natural laws of character; nor would it be strange if some of our modern disasters to faith were due to this fact; for if there be one thing that God is teaching us in this nineteenth century, it is that everything has its natural laws; and that no business, whether secular or religious, can be soundly conducted without reference to them.

In fact, the hour is coming, and now is, when an honest endeavor to conform to the principles on which God has established his universe is to be recognized as a vital part of his service; and when he who would obtain any good thing of God is not only to ask of Him, but dutifully to seek for God's answer as best he can along the line of law. The pious architect who builds his house by prayer on exploded sanitary principles is not one whit more a tempter of God than he who builds up the souls of his fellow-men on religious sentiments or theological theories without studying in dead earnest the divine laws on which character proceeds. Such moral architecture must, sooner or later, result in a crash, albeit for a time it may command admiration. The Scripture is preëminently a book about character. It can only be properly understood from that practical standpoint, and if anything is the minister's business it certainly is this: whether or not he comprehends Dorner, he certainly must comprehend character. It is in his hands to make or mar. The responsibility of his needless blundering is not to be put off upon God. Whatever he may or may not have in the line of theology, new or old, he certainly must know what he is about when he deals with men morally. Nay, for his own soul's sake, he cannot afford to be weak at this point; however many things he lacks, he must not lack moral clearness or moral impetus, and these are things that are only to be gained by patient application along the path of law.

It is possible that some persons may object to the term "Natural Law," as applied to the necessities of our moral constitution; to such persons this use of the term seems not only to obliterate the distinction between natural and moral law, but also to detract

Digitized by Google

from the freedom of moral action. It is certainly of the first importance to keep in view the freedom of moral action. But no one hesitates to speak of a moral nature. This term does not imply to any one's mind that the will is necessitated, yet where there is a nature there must be natural law. The term "moral nature" is a just one. There is, environing the will, a moral constitution as fixed as that of physical nature. The moral world, as well as the physical, is traversed by organic necessities. While, therefore, moral law may be viewed on the one hand as the commandment of God, given to us as free agents, on the other hand that same law of God, with its atonement for sinners, may be viewed as God's parental guidance and interposition for us, whereby we may be guided along these organic paths of the moral universe, and saved from the peril of its organic necessities. It may help us to realize better the significance both of God's law and God's gospel if we do not always divide the nature of things by so broad a line of demarkation into physical and moral, but accustom ourselves to look upon the universe as one, and to see Christ not moving in a single department of it, but standing with us and for us under these real and indivisible organic necessities that we all feel, and calling us both as free and as necessitated to fly to the shelter of his arms; our theology may be less fictitious in its aspect, it may help to give it more breadth, and may make it more of a moral reality if we study it not only from the standpoint of free agency, but also from the standpoint of organic law.

In taking up the problem of character there is a large class of people who persist in doing despite to all sound mental philosophy by concentrating their reformatory effort on the emotions. Still another class, who consider themselves scientific, continue to put their main reliance upon education. Both these methods are ethical blunders; for while thinking and feeling are both conditions and elements of character, neither of them can be a CAUSE. The will is the sole cause of character; the cultivation of right thinking and right feeling, therefore, as a means of appealing to the will, is unquestionably useful so far as it goes; but every method that does not succeed in reaching and reforming the will itself must prove delusive. There is still another class of persons who, seeing the truth that the will is the only real formative force in character, devote themselves to conduct; their conviction is that character is to be developed by "going to work" or by "doing good," as they phrase it. This, too, is an ethical blunder; it is

Digitized by Google

one which the Apostle Paul found himself obliged to antagonize in his attempt to build character on its true basis. Good works do indeed strengthen the volition, but volition is not the fundamental element in will power; it is the power of choice between moral ends which is the true causative, organizing element in the will. This element is latent in the child, and in what St. Paul calls the animal or psychical type of man. In fact, many persons appear to pass their lives not only without the use of this power, but without the knowledge of its possession. It is not, therefore, wonderful that to most men and women, absorbed in the whirl of external life, volition should seem to constitute the only form of will power, and the cultivation of it by good works should seem to be the only practicable development of one's moral nature. In fact, few people develop the capability of choosing any great end in life, to say nothing of steadfastly adhering to one. Most of what we hear spoken of as will power is either a ruling passion or a strong volition; but deep within every human heart lies this mighty possibility of moral and spiritual choice, a slumbering manhood, and it is by rousing this inmost power of preference, by eliminating it from passion and cultivating its election of rational and moral ends, that character is to be fully and powerfully developed. It is the glory of the Bible that, though unscientific in form, it has always insisted on what proves to be the fundamental necessity in character, namely, the formation of a supreme and holy choice. Volition is not the main thing. Good works are delusive as a foundation; the heart must first be attended to; it must be fixed in that moral preference which is the only radical and abiding form of moral life.

The question, therefore, which meets us at the outset is this, "Which exercise of choice is the natural starting point in the formation of character?" It is obvious, at a glance, that a righteous choice may be exerted in different directions: for instance, one may choose virtue instead of vice; one may, like Socrates, make choice of wisdom; or one may choose the will of another person as his supreme object. It seems evident that the preference of another person's will to one's own is the more natural starting point for an undeveloped character, because there is, in this choice, an affectional element, which, as an immediate good, appeals to the will, and helps to break the bond of selfishness. But here again one may exercise this very preference of another's will in different ways. I may choose the will of another with entire disinterestedness, or I may choose it because I need help, and

Digitized by Google

because of the promise of good which it contains for me. This latter choice may be called the choice of faith. It takes but a glance to see that the choice of faith is the easier of the two; it is surely easier for an unformed or weakened will to begin by choosing the will of another, because of the promise which it holds out, than to rise at once to a disinterested preference for it; there are few, if any, who would, at the outset, prefer God's will disinterestedly to their own. There are many who, under the burden of guilt, are ready to accept it, that they may be saved by it, seeing that God's will can do better for them than their own. The choice of faith is therefore the natural starting point in the development of moral power, and if we look about us we see that our environment provides for just such a starting point in the evolution of human character. Nature starts the human being as a child, puts him, to begin with, in a filial position, and provides him with a parental will, whose choice he is to accept in filial faith. The parental will is the true end of a child's moral choice, and it is the duty of the parent to make that will fraught with promise to the child. Human character, when thus matured along nature's line of filial choice, is prepared to rise to the noblest moral attainments. Unfortunately, too often, no moral end is recognized either by parent or child, but only an adjustment of antagonistic volitions. Too often, alas, the child's will is viewed simply as a volition to be subjugated, not as containing in itself a germ of rational and affectional choice to be inspired and developed, and it is true that in the child volition is the first thing to manifest itself; also, it is true that a personality in which volition is the only developed moral force must be governed largely by authority, the *vis a tergo* acting through the pains of conscience and through penalty. The animal or volitional man cannot understand God's law of spiritual choice; neither can he be subject thereto, says St. Paul. He cannot understand the law, because he has, as yet, no experience of the faculty to which it refers. It is as yet undeveloped within him: first, that which is animal; afterward, that which is spiritual. This is the track of moral evolution. It is true, therefore, that the childish will must be governed by authority; but no true parent will forget that this same childish will contains within itself an undeveloped capability of moral choice. He will see that if the childish nature is ever to be safely organized it must be through the development of that power of choice along the lines of reason, affection, and right desire. He will remember from his own experience how the paren-

Digitized by Google

tal will looms up upon the child's horizon, and it will be his strongest desire that this overshadowing will of his shall be to the child not so much a Mount Sinai as a Mount Zion. Nay, he will see to it that even in the most Sinaitic stage of progress there shall not fail to be an evangelical foreground of promise and of grace. Faith is the starting point, then, in the organization of character, because it is the easiest effort of the will in the direction of moral choice. It is the easiest, not only because it is the choice of a person, not only because it starts with a large element of promise, appealing to the desires, but also because its whole circumference is passive. It has not to initiate, but to accept. It is surrounded by, and borne upon, the current of another will. It has a ποῦ στῶ, a ground of reliance outside of self. It is not wonderful, therefore, that Christ should say of the little child whom He held in his arms, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven." From the same generic starting point is the heavenly type developed. But there comes a time in the growth of the child's will when it is best that it should take on a larger radius of self-determination. Nature, therefore, provides that the environment of the parental will should fall away, and that the growing power of choice should be brought into direct contact with the issues of life.

Nevertheless, it is still vital to the development of character that it should move along the upward incline of faith. Doubtless, it must ever be vital to the character of a finite being, however large the radius of its will, that both the circumference and the centre should be passive, neither self-centred nor self-bounded. Therefore, as the opening manhood finds itself face to face with the world, it also finds provided for it another environing will, — the will of human society; and not only that, but a yet higher controlling force, acting through human society under the name of religion. Faith is, therefore, the line of man's development, according to nature, as well as according to the Scriptures, and it is well to notice that the Scripture is more philosophic than the theologians; for while it describes faith unmistakably as an act of the will, and holds a man responsible for its exercise, it invariably describes it as the faith of the heart, a term strikingly true to nature; for, although filial faith is a primary choice of the will, it is equally true that there may be a choice which does not involve the activity of the whole heart. A man may, like Luther in his monastery, choose God's will rationally and determinedly, yet his affection may not be at all engaged in that choice. In that case one of the most powerful elements of his nature will remain un-

Digitized by Google

organized and intractable. Such a disorganized element must be a constant source of moral discord and weakness. It is important, therefore, not only that the power of choice should be aroused and exercised in the form of faith, but that the intelligence, the affection, the conscience, and even the desires, should be intently aroused and fastened upon the object of the choice.

So God, dealing with an elementary character, makes broad the elements of promise in the announcement of his will, saying, "I will make of thee a great nation, and in thee shall all kingdoms of the earth be blessed;" and there is, perhaps, no spectacle in the realm of nature more affecting than that of this half-civilized polygamous type of manhood, gradually enlarged and transformed both in mind and heart by the organizing power contained in his persistent choice of faith, till the outlines of his moral character loom up upon us, as a son of God, human, yet heavenly and gigantic. It is this organizing power of choice, enabling it to incorporate into its own fixity all these spontaneous elements of our nature, and to fasten them in a state of active absorption upon the rational good contained in the object of the choice, that makes it such a regenerating force. A heart destitute of such rational and moral organization must lie to a great extent in a state of self-ignorance and moral paralysis. On the other hand, a heart with its activities initiated and organized by the will of God, through the choice of faith, is a new manhood, a birth from above.

And, at this point, a caution becomes necessary. The faith of the heart having in it a large affectional as well as rational element, having, moreover, a large passive side, there is danger lest it be viewed altogether from one or the other of these standpoints; lest, viewed from the standpoint of reason, it become to our minds simply a rationalizing process, caused by demonstration; or, viewed from the standpoint of love, it should become to us an affectional state, caused by the emotions; or, viewed from the passive standpoint, it appear like an entirely supernatural product, over which the man himself has no control. To take such a view is to raise a barrier at once between a man's will and his own character, which is unnatural and absurd. If there be one thing that characterizes man, it is that he is a free agent; he was put here to act; his will is the power by which he acts; and if there be anything on which he is bound to act it certainly is his own character. The choice of faith gives him his true field of activity, a field neither too small nor too great for him; it makes him a humble partner with God in the work of self-formation, —

Digitized by Google

a son of God, and a creator after the Infinite. And it cannot be too distinctly borne in mind that while faith is in the largest sense the work of God's will, initiating and fashioning our choice, it is, in an infinitely smaller but quite practical sense, the act of our own will, and that while the element of reason enters strongly into it, still it is not the reason, but the will, that causes faith. It must never be forgotten that faith is a decision; we are asked to put faith in a guide, we weigh the reasons, *pro* and *con*, we decide, and that is faith. After a little our faith wavers, and he whom we have decided to trust upbraids us; he tells us that we agreed to put faith in him, he asks us to be true to our promise, and upon a fair consideration we *decide* to "put faith." It is true that we exercise faith in view of evidence, but evidence is not the only condition, nor is it necessary that the evidence should be logical or irrefutable. A man may exercise faith upon very small evidence simply because he chooses to do it. A woman often intrusts her happiness to the keeping of a husband when the evidences of his fitness are very slight; the preponderance of logical proof may even be upon the other side. She chooses to believe from affectional rather than from rational considerations, nor is it necessarily an irrational faith. A child chooses to accept its father's will, not because it has rational evidence that that will is coming out right, but on conscientious and affectional grounds. The strength of our faith, too, lies in the decision of our character, and not in the clearness of our reason alone. A confused intellect may be true as steel to its trust, while the most acute thinker may find it impossible to stand by a faith which he has once exercised, even when the evidence for it remains the same as at first, simply because he may never have disciplined himself to a persistent or a self-surrendering moral choice. Unconsciously to himself, his views are affected by the moral disorganization of his feelings; for, say what we will, feeling is ever the atmospheric lens through which we view things.

Unbelief is not simply rational dissent; not infrequently it is a dry rot of the will, and a consequent murkiness of the heart. A man's views may shift simply because he himself has taken a moral somersault, because he has no inward power to hold to what he sees. It is not necessary that the element of reason should preponderate in order to an act of faith. Faith, as has been seen, may be powerfully exercised under the lead of affection; it may even turn out to be a more rational faith than that based on evidence. Love has a keen eye for personality. The child has no

Digitized by Google

logical demonstration for the existence of his father's soul, but love tells him he can trust, and faith proves the rationality of its own action by bringing heart to heart. After all, personality is the only thing with which to test personality. You may test matter with matter, but if your search is for a spirit, then it is spirit which you must apply. Faith brings the existence of God to an instantaneous proof by embracing Him, and thus supplies its own best evidence. If there be no God, then faith must collapse like a hand that clasps only a phantom. Volition might submit to a false authority, a darkened conscience or a stupid intellect might bow to an untruth, but the heart, with its great longings, its vast affections applied under the grasp of the will, *surely* the HEART knows whether or not it clasps a phantom love; it tastes and sees that the Lord is good. Faith is, therefore, not only the moral, but the rational, starting point; it would be strange if it were not, for it is Nature's order. In her school we all begin life by faith, by faith we obtain our first facts, and so advance from faith to reason, not from reason to faith.

Within the axis of the woody trunk there are two movements of the vegetative life: one outward, into branch and leaf; one inward, toward the unseen bosom of the earth, for nutriment and support. So within the axis of the human will are there two movements: one outward toward the world, issuing in conduct; another inward, toward the bosom of the Infinite. Love is the outgoing of the will. Faith is the movement by which it rests back on another for determination and support; for even as the mighty oak must needs rest back with all its giant roots upon the mountain side and draw from it the clear grit for its sturdy trunk, so must that mightier thing, a human heart, rest back on somewhat, and if there be for it no mountain side, then is it lost and helpless; but, resting back, it certifies itself of things not seen, and finds for itself the one element without which there can be no true character; the element which lies at the bottom of all self-projecting power, reliance, — a reliance that is strong, because God's will is strong.

The discussion of faith brings us to the second great law of character which appears in the Scripture, namely, the necessity of motive. The will is free, but it cannot exercise its power of choice without a motive; in other words, it cannot choose unless it has something presented to it to choose. The will of a Hottentot has as much constitutional freedom as the will of St. Paul, but it has very little practical freedom, because it has very little

Digitized by Google

motive for rational choice presented to it; undoubtedly there is the same spiritual object of choice confronting a Hottentot, for God is omnipresent, but the Hottentot is not able to choose God's will simply because he has no rational conception of it or the good contained in it; practically, therefore, he has no spiritual object to choose. A motive is a conception, presented to the mind, of the good contained in an object of choice; it is nothing in itself, yet it is a moral necessity; without it the will could not put forth a rational choice, because it would have nothing to choose. It is obvious, therefore, that in order to a choice of faith there must be a natural condition for faith in the form of a motive, and that this motive must consist in some rational conception of the good to be contained in the object chosen. Moreover, since the ultimate object of faith must be a supreme will, it is also obvious that the motive for faith must consist in some distinct and rational conception of that will as good. Faith, therefore, must be based conditionally upon a revelation and gospel of God. This, of course, is not the place to discuss the question of the divine existence; that is involved in the very fact of such a natural law as the one just considered. Faith, as has already been said, furnishes a direct test, and if faith be in truth the natural plane for the development of character, it points to the existence of a supreme will. It is fair to say, however, that if faith be, as it appears, the great fundamental law by which alone character can be vitally organized, then we should expect to find presented to us, somewhere in our social environment, a revelation and gospel of God. We have already seen that in the natural organization of society the faith of the child is provided for not only through the parental will, but through the necessity of parental government, which compels the parent to give the child a distinct conception of its will in the form of reward and punishment, and also of personal ideals.

As the parental government falls away, the growing character is forced to confront the government of the state, which objectifies for him the sovereign will of the state likewise in the form of rewards, punishments, and ideals of citizenship. These civil governments are rudimentary; they are also recognized as experimental. No civil government can reach the great inward facts of heart life; still they illustrate one great office of all government. Government exists not only to protest against the perils of disorganized character, but also to supply character with fixed conditions of healthful activity in the line of motive. Stat-

Digitized by Google

ute law, with its rewards and punishments and ideals, supplies, in part, in the moral world, what the fixity of nature supplies in the physical. Man's will, unlike physical organization, is a free force; but it is an essential condition of its true activity that it should have presented to it a fixed system of rational motives; this is the field of law. But the weakness of human law consists not only in the fact that it is evolved from human character, and is therefore necessarily imperfect and experimental, but also that it is impossible for it to deal with any element of the will but volition; it can only touch the deeds of men; it cannot have regard to moral preferences; it has no power to judge the heart, which is, after all, the real man, conduct being often a mere mask. Human law cannot summon the debased power of human choice to cast off the wicked servitude of passion and accept a sanctifying object; it has no perfect and infinite, and therefore no supreme, will to present. The province of human law ends, therefore, with the regulation of volition; hence it is reasonable to expect that, faith being the great law of character, society should present us with the environment of some higher form of government, more purely moral, reaching beyond volition to the choices of the heart, and judging volitions themselves not by some delusive outward standard, but by the moral quality which is in them. Such a government would move within a sphere interior to that of human law, and while it would provide for the ultimate conservation of rights and the suppression of that most terrible of all forces, disorganized character, its great aim unquestionably would be to develop moral choice. Looking from the standpoint, then, of the law of faith, we should confidently expect to find such a governmental force working through human society, and presenting a fixed system of motives to faith in the form both of law and of gospel. In such a system, also, we might confidently expect to find three things: first, a perfect and supreme ideal of fatherhood; second, a perfect ideal of sonship to the supreme will; third, some provision analogous to that in parental government by which the province of law may be maintained in its needful fixity, while at the same time the undeserving character may have offered to it the revelation of divine fatherhood and sonship as a good to be elected and embraced. Under parental government there is a provision of nature by which the parent is so bound up in an affectional and moral unity with the child that the character of the parent may be made a factor in the parental government. In the parental character, the child has a moral potentiality which

Digitized by Google

may fairly be reckoned as his own, provided he show a purpose to appropriate it. Physical organization, too, so links the parent to the child that he bears in his own person to a great degree the trouble resulting from the sin of the child, and there is often no severer punishment for the child than to look upon the parent thus pierced for his sins. The character of the parent revealed in his life and suffering through a common organization with the child may thus take the place of law and punishment as a factor in the parental government, and the child who responds to this method of government need not be put under the burden of a legal accountability. In fact, it may even be a serious detriment to a child's character to be held stringently to his accountability in the matter of outward conduct, for the very concentration of his mind on external details, and on the work of cultivating his volition, as well as the fear of punishment, may unduly distract his mind from the larger and more vital work of moral choice; details may crowd out ideals, and work may crowd out love. On the other hand, just as far as the child responds to the higher method, he may safely be set free from the law, the *vis a tergo* pressing fairly on him, up to the point where the higher moral force appeals, just as chemical force presses on an organization up to the point where vital force begins to act. So far as the child can be induced to lay hold of a personal ideal, showing himself susceptible to the parental sacrifice, it is best to give him the freedom of the method; if he can once be penetrated by the ideal of a filial heart, he will sooner or later shape for himself a dutiful life. If you can cultivate in him a heart of faith, he will take his own volitions in hand, and will, with friendly help, become a law unto himself. The truly great plane of parental government is, therefore, the plane of sacrifice, moving along which the character of the parent becomes a vicarious substitute for statute law and penalty, and it is precisely this element which we should expect to find provided for us in a gospel of the supreme will. As the child comes to maturity he finds himself face to face, not only with civil law, but with another element of society, namely, religion. Religion moves along this interior line of government, and professes to present the conception of the supreme will; but if we examine the religions of the world, most of them have little regard to faith, or in any way to the organization of the heart; they are occupied with controlling the volition, more securely than it can be controlled by civil government, through rewards and punishments reaching beyond the grave. Christianity alone con-

Digitized by Google

centrates its motive power upon faith. If we look up along the lines of its social activity we find that it is centred in a person, Jesus Christ. The spiritual government which He introduced was styled by Him the kingdom of God. The term Christ signified "the Lord's anointed." Christianity is, therefore, in its very name the personal ideal of divine sovereignty. It was at this point that Christ's conception of his office antagonized that of the Jews; they supposed that the Christ was to move along the plane of civil government, controlling the volitions of men by the motive of external force. The conception of Jesus was that this divine sovereignty should move along the plane of spiritual government, controlling the moral choice of mankind by the motive of a divine personal ideal. To the Jewish mind the throne of David and the legal institutions that centred round it were a permanent ethical force. To the mind of Jesus they were but a type. The path by which the true divine King conquered must be the path of sacrifice, and the exalted seat from which He should rule the world must needs be not the ivory throne of Solomon, but the cross, on which He must hang pierced by the rebellion of the human will. This divine sovereignty which He had in charge did not consist in fastening a legal system upon men, nor in the execution of certain divine statutes; rather did it consist in setting men free from the bondage of outward laws, as the true parent frees his children, by making them alive to the great personal ideals of God's fatherhood and of sonship to Him; teaching them not to walk by the law of an outward commandment, but by that greater law of filial life expressed in the words "follow me." It was equally his aim to free them from an external condemnation and from the necessity of a condemning conscience, training them to use for their purification, instead of these punitive forces, the moral element contained in the spectacle of his own suffering under their sin. To a soul thus trained, enabled as a disciple of Christ to utilize the great divine ideal of Christ's sacrifice for the purification of his own character, there is no need of any legal system; he has learned the truth which makes the children free; there is for him no judgment-seat like the cross of Christ; hell has no terror for him equal to the pain of displeasing God. He has a permanent grasp upon the personal ideal of Calvary; it is a fixed and efficient motive, mightily applied by that divine immanence which the Scripture calls the Holy Ghost. The innermost element of such a man's will is fairly within the grasp of the divine; he is crucified with Christ. Nevertheless he lives, yet not he, but

Digitized by Google

Christ, the personal ideal of God, liveth in him. He is free from the law, not free from moral responsibility, for the great standards of righteousness remain as they were. They are not legal enactments, but laws of the moral nature and conditions of moral health; but he is freed from a petty bondage to them, as a well man is freed from a narrow and painful observance of the laws of physical health. The fountain of life is his. He is free from dependence, too, upon outward forms, free from punishment, free from fear, free from the torture of his own conscience over mistakes and failures, free from the imperious obligations of an outward legality. And as God deals with him, so is he bound to deal with himself in the largeness and charity of this spiritual method: not that he may indulge himself in moral sloth or carelessness, still less in carnal passion, — that would be at his soul's peril; but he is made free from the preoccupation, the anxiety, and the drudgery of a legal obedience for a distinct purpose, namely, to engage with all his heart in a better business: a business which gives larger and more profitable moral returns, the business of faith; a business which now, as in the time of Paul, requires the undistracted application of the whole soul, volition included; a business of which a man has not learned the first principles, till he has learned how to apply for his own sanctification the mighty ideals and the motive to self-mortification contained in the sacrifice of Christ. There is a large class of persons who shrink from the idea of a vicarious sacrifice, who see no relation between the blood of Jesus and the character of man; but the drops of Christ's blood are not mere corporeal entities, — they are a revelation and a motive; as such they are a genuine and a stupendous moral force. Nor is there anything unreasonable in the suffering of Christ becoming a substitute for the punishment of man, provided that suffering is capable of acting as a motive, and so reorganizing a man's heart. If the cross of Christ becomes a supreme factor in God's moral government, it certainly may stand between a man and God's legal government; and if a man clinging to the cross of Christ can say, "This is all in all to me," as a motive for faith in God, then it is absurd to talk of Christ's mediatorship as coming between him and God. One might as well talk of the vine as coming between the branch and the forces of nature. Furthermore, if the drops of Christ's blood are to a man such a revelation of divine fatherhood pierced by his sin that thenceforth he dreads nothing so much as to displease God, and requires no other ethical force, then, surely, it is fair to say that the blood of Christ takes

Digitized by Google

away sin. Ideals, moral revelations, motives, — it is by these that the ever-present and holy will of God purifies the heart of man. The blood of Christ is vicarious, because, being a revelation, an ideal, and a motive, it adjusts the necessities of moral law, moves along the plane of government, and takes the place of punishment as a moral force.

This work of the divine sovereignty, then, was the conception of Jesus. He regarded it as his. He did not seek to be called the Christ; this, with the Jewish conception of it, would have been in his way. What He proposed to himself was to live the Christ, — to live rejected, discrowned, pierced. Furthermore, He would leave that Christ life, dishonored, discrowned, pierced, as his testament to the human race, a legacy which God would take care of, for God ever guards the property of the race. But something more was needed: men thus linked to God not only by this personal ideal of the Christ, but by the living and loving reality of the Christ himself, would be orphans indeed without Him. An entombed Christ would carry the heart of humanity with Him into the grave. Yes, the Christ must rise from the dead, must burst the tomb, must show the triumphant power of this spiritual kingdom where men most doubted it, must make a true home for man beyond the grave; aye, and within all that vast invisible realm which incloses the human soul.

This was Christ's conception of his office, as laid upon Him by God. It is needless to say how grand, how lofty, how founded upon the eternal principles of human nature and the laws of the moral universe; but what must He be who could thus present to us a perfect ideal of the divine fatherhood, of sonship, and of sacrifice, moving in all these characters along the simple plane of manhood? What must be the personality that could thus prove itself mightier than all other moral forces, mightier than death and hell, which are in their way, too, moral forces, and so through the laws of the moral universe conquer both for God and man? It is well for us that our view of Christ has come to us through the medium of those who first believed on Him. The person of Jesus gains through this method of objectification; we recognize the personal limitation of these men, but it helps us to see their genuineness and the great moral paths by which the Christ was leading them; the very weakness of the sacred writers leads us to feel yet more deeply the reality and glory of the Christ. One is forced to think within himself, there lived, there moved, among these fishermen a soul not then understood, — no, nor yet under-

Digitized by Google

stood, — for its magnitude, an all-inclusive Humanity, a supreme personal motive, that through the paths of eternity shall evermore lead on. Nor is our faith dependent, to start with, on any metaphysical construction of his incarnation; we have one positive starting point: There lived a man who left behind him, as a moral testament, a life so sinless, so divinely perfect in its ideals both of fatherhood and of sonship, so all-embracing in its love, so all-powerful in its moral choice, so resistless in its holy volition, so vast and tender in its humanity, so supreme in its sacrifice for the race, that the human soul (when morally awakened) can but feel that it belongs to him, must fain recognize in him its lover, its saviour from self, its heavenly refuge.

Furthermore, in that same Jesus we see such self-abnegation, such a bowing down of all his vast humanity before the holy height of God's fatherhood, such absorption in the divine will, such a sense of belonging to God and of being in God, that to come to Jesus is, indeed, to come unto the Father.

In fact, the Christ is that personal and moral force by which all lower and more external forces are set aside, and God himself is enshrined in the heart, reigning over us through his Son. Thus Christ takes the place of the legal system, and says to death, "I will be thy plague," and to hell, "Stand thou one side;" while He, in his might, subdues us by reorganizing our choice, not by crushing our volition.

Thus the atonement is not a work which Christ does so much as it is the self which He gives. The atonement — it is the man. Like the whole burnt offering on the Jewish altar, it is the integral life poured out unto God for man. Its range is universal as the laws of our moral nature, but since it acts as a motive, it is operative only as embraced. Thus the propitiation of Christ is not merely a judicial proceeding or a mere display of divine forgiveness to soften the heart of man, but a vast moral force, moving along the plane of natural law; and its vicarious element consists in its superiority to punishment as a means of condemning sin and adjusting a moral universe. Christ has taken away the handwriting of the ordinance that was against us, nailing it to his cross, by the reorganizing power of the personal ideals revealed on that cross. The old covenant of works which was the best possible for the volitional and childish stage of character gives way before the organizing power of this Christ personality, which makes regeneration a working force in human society, and lo! there is a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. So,

Digitized by Google

too, it is Christ that saves, not only because He, in his love and pity, founded for us this mighty ethical force, stronger than death, mightier than the grave, and so conquered death and hell for us, through his own anguish; not only because He himself wields the force, as a risen Saviour, but because He himself *is* the force. So Christ, taking his place among the forces of nature, lifts the believer by sheer moral gravity into an orbit where condemnation is a superseded element.

But the vital service which Christ does for our character consists not merely in lifting us out of the range of condemnation, but in lifting us to God. It is the reliance which He gives us upon God's will that is the πού στῶ for our new life. As we look at the cross of Christ in our last analysis, we see that the real atonement is in the awful divine sovereignty there revealed, the eternal sacrificial will of God. He who gave his Son must first, in eternal ages, have given himself. Thus looking at the suffering of the Only Begotten for us we catch a glimpse of the hidden but agonized face of the eternal Father. Viewing the holy ideal of Christ's life, we are overcome, faults of conduct seem insignificant, our whole life seems saturated with selfishness, the more we understand of God's holy will the more displeasing we seem to ourselves to be; yet, seeing in the cross of Christ what God's will is, we are not only able, but glad, to fly to it, as a bird to its mountain, finding there not only a power able to control us, but a power that can understand and pity, and, even at its own infinite cost, will, Christ-like, save us from ourselves, — a power which, pervading the heaven and the earth, is yet present with our poor souls, as Jesus, in his tender sovereignty, was with the fishermen of Galilee.

Thus Christ is God's revelation by which He draws us to himself and governs us sacrificially by his parental will, by the which will we are sanctified. He who walks in that pathway has the justification, which consists not in the formal correspondence to outward standards, but in possessing the vital force of righteousness itself. We can understand, therefore, why a great character-builder like St. Paul should say, "I am determined to know nothing among you but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified." We can see, too, the ground of his anxiety for his regenerated converts, that they should not be distracted either by fears of punishment or by absorption with any rudimentary ethical forces, but that they should be free from the law to concentrate all their powers upon the personal ideals and personal presence of their risen

Digitized by Google

Redeemer, and so build up in themselves a loyal, supporting, supreme, and transforming faith. It is clear that the very condition of this filial freedom depended on their entire assurance of safety. There must be no phantom of law or punishment, no anxiety even about moral success, no spiritual valetudinarianism to break in upon the assurance of faith, and so mar the vitalizing power of the Christ. To St. Paul, as to every profound student of character, organization was everything, — an ounce of organization was worth a thousand pounds of correction, — and the very rock-bottom of this organizing faith is the assurance that a man is justified in thus trusting it all to Jesus; that the Christ whom he clasps is not only sufficient for the heart, but sufficient for the life, for the conduct, aye, for death also, and the judgment. Fed on this assurance of Christ's sufficiency, the soul shall grow into the true altruistic righteousness by the one great vital organic way, clad with spiritual beauty like a lily of the field without carefulness. It is evident, therefore, that he who would build up character on a large scale, or even would be secure from moral ruin, must begin by concentrating his energies on faith. To gain an almighty reliance must become the first business of life: till one has attained that his manhood must be of a puny or a shallow sort, it cannot stand much of a moral test; it may be great in passion, in nerve, or in animal volition, but these are not character, nor will they do its work; the fire of a moral crisis will soon show what stuff is in them; faith alone can give moral stamina. A fixed choice of God is the citadel of the soul. Nor will it do to forget that faith is a decision. There is many an awful doubt that is born simply of indecision of character. Such doubts can be quelled only by rousing the powers that enter into a moral choice, and setting steadfastly before them the great motive. Motives are the armor of the soul; it is the business of every man to see that his will is environed by them; there must be no trusting to luck here, nor to God, for what is plainly our part. The giants of old, Socrates, David, Isaiah, Joseph, these men buckled God's truth to their souls; by it they lived nobly and died unfalteringly.

Christianity has not done away with the buckling, but it has given us a better armor, even an heavenly; nor is the buckling to be learned in a moment, by unskilled and relaxed fingers; the animal man makes awkward work at laying hold of a divine revelation. He has much acumen in his worldly circuit of thought, but he grasps clumsily among spiritual ideals; he is blear-eyed to

Digitized by Google

spiritual good, quick to analyze a fact, slow to discern a moral application, helpless, particularly, about binding it to himself; but it comes by sturdy persistence and by prayer, till the persevering soul is at last mighty in the Scriptures, strong in motives, not merely in theologies. He puts on the personal ideal of Christ and wears it; aye, and finds he can walk in it with a free step, like a son of God. Nor can he safely forget the passivity of faith. Faith is a state of the will in which it is by its own choice borne upon the current of the divine will; but mighty as is the will of God, it is not coercive; it is as gentle with the human will as if it were a zephyr. It is needful, therefore, that a man should watch himself; that he should wait quietly on God; that he should search the Scriptures and listen for the whisper of the Holy Ghost; that he should be careful not to initiate action, not to be self-determined, self-shaken, or self-buoyed, but always keep before his mind that one vast, all-environing fact, God's will as it is revealed in the gospel of Jesus Christ, a mighty tide, infinite yet gentle, until at last he is sustained and carried forward by one resistless flood of God-consciousness.

It is a vital thing in the formation of character to guard this passive circumference of faith, to keep well defined the vastness of God's work in us, and the relative insignificance of our own agency; only thus can we root up an agitating self-consciousness, and find the strength which is given by reposing upon the will of God. Hence the soul best retains its own part in the activity of faith when to its own eye it seems to do relatively nothing, but is wholly taken up with the wondrous work of the divine sovereignty, so that it can say, with St. Paul, "Not I, but Christ liveth in me." Nor does this larger sense of God's part in our faith exclude the consciousness of our own part or responsibility; nay, to such a trusting heart it is even more clear that it has something to do, something in which failure would be fatal. But the sense of God's almighty share in that work is so much greater than the sense of its own feeble agency that it is impossible to be otherwise than tranquil or courageous. The believing soul is in good heart for its task. In fact, all spiritual daring and fortitude depend on our steadfast growth in this altro-consciousness, this sense of Christ, the divine sovereignty within and without, of whom the soul may well say, "Lead me to the rock that is higher than I." It is by the setting of this larger fact of Christ's agency constantly before the mind that the soul escapes from the perturbations of self and walks under the shadow of God's wing, and it is the more im-

Digitized by Google

portant that the heart should thus hold fast to its shield, for it has before it a great task. It must take in hand the volition and the practical choices associated with it, and rule over them. This is the warfare of the soul. Here must it bear its cross and come after Christ.

Circumstances compel us to put forth volition, and in connection with every volition there must be a subordinate choice. This is the devil's point of attack. It is the flank of our spiritual forces. A man is in the High Priest's palace; he is challenged by a maid, "Art thou also a Galilean?" He must do something. That something involves a practical choice, for or against his fleshly instincts. Volition is weak, the power of fleshly preference is strong and quick. If the generic choice of faith be not awake, and clothed with the armor of Christ-consciousness, it will be betrayed into a course of conduct false and destructive to itself. Thanks be to Him who has said, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not."

There is no discharge in this war. The choice of faith must conquer or be conquered, and there is but one victory that overcometh. The volitions and subordinate choices must be reorganized by the same great principles that reorganized the primary choice. Our animal nature is to be ruled, not by dragging it up the precipice of self-repression, but by leading it along the incline of faith. Our fleshly preferences are best subdued by bringing them face to face with Jesus. No mandate of our own can equal the authority of his cross; no energy of our own spirit can constrain like the Holy Ghost. God's great gentle way is the best way in dealing with ourselves as with others. There is no department of our nature but can be more easily yielded into the hands of Jesus than managed by our own. Whatever part of our being enters God's kingdom must enter through faith, the grace of the Lord Jesus being held up before it as a motive. As for the pressure of circumstances, there is but one way to meet it, namely, by seeing God's hand in it. No set of circumstances, however untoward, can overwhelm a human soul, provided it can say, "He leadeth me." The flesh that cannot bring itself to bear suffering, considered by itself, may yet be trained to drink quietly the cup that the Heavenly Father giveth it. The soul that cannot be led one step by the hand of self can yet submit to be led by the hand of God, and Christ is the hand of God; by Him God leads in a way great and wonderful, yet gentle and in harmony with our nature. Christ is the cloud by day and the

Digitized by Google

pillar of fire by night. Though He remains fixed in the moral firmament, yet He comes continually into some new and illuminating relation with our advancing life. For Christ is not a motive nor an ideal standing by itself. There is no Christ apart; there is Christ and God's law; there is Christ under the order of nature; there is Christ bearing the burdens of humanity; there is Christ contending with the evils of his age; there is Christ the faithful son, Christ the brother, Christ the citizen, Christ the workingman, Christ the preacher. The divine sovereign enters into every part of life and interprets it. In the light of his life we see the divine love regnant over all circumstances, calling us to service and sacrifice for every human creature, and leading us in all manly offices by the same great ideal. The cross of Christ reveals not only the oneness of God with Christ, but the oneness of God with humanity in every detail of his struggle, and the oneness of all practical life with God's will. Thus the cross is the rationale of the universe, throwing light on all practical difficulties and giving to all events a glorious *raison d'être* and ground of faith. It enables us to accept the whole unseen contents of God's will. It leads us forward in the darkest hour, not by a divine dictation aimed at the volition alone, which would keep us in the estate of children, but by a personal ideal throwing a brighter and yet brighter light on the events of life as we learn to scan them in that light. Thus Christ crucified is the key motive, not superseding other motives, but exalting, refining, illuminating, and interpreting them; not doing away with the lesson of practical life, nor with the elective force of our own will, but shedding a heavenly radiance on both. And it is the experience of faith that when under all circumstances this guidance of the Christ is sought, by the gospel and by prayer, then there shines upon the pathway of life a clear ray from that divinely personal ideal, and there draws near to the heart that supremely loving over-soul, that living revelation of God, who walked in Galilee, that sweet and open Door of the moral world, by which the doubting is enabled freely to enter in to the whole divine sheepfold of duty, where he shall find broad pasture and everlasting rest. Nor that alone, but as he there walks and feeds he shall carry into his practical life more and more those two elements which above all others impart force to character, namely, a divine reliance and a divine personal ideal.

Thus looking out upon this universe of God, we see at the centre of religion, theology, morals, salvation, aye, all other things, one vital organizing ethical force, namely, *The Character*,

Digitized by Google

of which all so-called character is but a type, a conception more or less perfect, a radiation, a dying spark, or a living product. We see this character moving along the plane of law and triumphing for us over the moral necessity of condemnation by establishing an organic kingdom of character which is a deliverance from moral death and from legal force, and which is entered by an act of faith. So the gospel with all the theology there is in it means character.

John H. Dennison.

WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.

THE OLD RADICALISM AND THE NEW: TWO BIRMINGHAM LEADERS.

BIRMINGHAM represents, better than any other town in England, that advanced type of English life which most nearly suggests American freedom and development. It is not called a city, because, in English usage, while the smallest place is a city if it has a cathedral, the largest is only a town if it has no cathedral. A little while since Liverpool had a bishopric established within its limits, and a church designated to serve as its cathedral, and thus it became a city, though before only a town. Birmingham has no bishop of the church, and so is not a city. It has, indeed, a Roman Catholic bishop, and it has Cardinal Newman and his institution called the Oratory, with its church, its school, and its residence for the priests who are Dr. Newman's "companions of the Devout Life." But if Birmingham is not, in the English sense, a city, it is in many respects the foremost town in England, a metropolis of advancement on English soil. Its Town Hall is a political cathedral for all England. The senior of its three members of Parliament, John Bright, is in politics a Radical Archbishop. He is not, however, a citizen of Birmingham, although he has been a member for the town for more than a quarter of a century. The English constituencies may look anywhere within the kingdom for a man to represent them. Mr. Bright lives at Rochdale, near Manchester, in the county of Lancashire, where he and his brother Jacob, now one of the members for Manchester, have a large property in cotton mills. It is only on his visits to the town that Birmingham ever sees him. But when his constituents do see him, once or twice a year, it is to some purpose,

Digitized by Google

for whatever he may say to them will be universally reported, and Birmingham gets the credit of his bold voice and his strong radical counsel. In January, 1882, I saw and heard him twice before a Town Hall audience, said to number five or six thousand. He spoke in defense of that unhappy Irish policy which put coercion before reform. It was the conservative apologist, not the radical agitator, and there was no touch in the speech of the grand eloquence and the matchless moral power which have made him so illustrious as an orator and statesman. Both age and office have tamed his boldness and his vigor. He talks now in a quiet way, with an easy distinctness, which makes his voice audible to an immense audience, but with very little of the force or fire of the great orator. What he says in his recent speeches does not amount to much. But even in a poor speech the man himself is wonderfully interesting. There is nothing remarkable in his figure, nothing whatever in his general manner. But his countenance is charming, and his hands have a delicacy and refinement which suggest great fineness of character. In many moments of even his simplest talk he is the impersonation of what Matthew Arnold calls "sweetness and light." His ordinary pleasant expression is of a singular sweetness, but now and then his whole countenance kindles into a smile, the fascination of which is like that of the rarest spiritual beauty, a loveliness almost never seen in a man. If men were to be classed as simply masculine or as womanly as well as manly, John Bright would fall into the latter class. Great as he can be in masculine strength and vigor of thought and of passion when roused and drawn out, he is in his ordinary mood not less womanly than manly. It is this fact of his character which has made some of the characteristic results of his life altogether different from what might have been expected. He has many conservative feelings in contradiction of his radicalism. He hesitates often about a call to action. He can be won to self-denial in which he denies not merely his preference but his principles, as in the sad Irish business. And his long hesitation to visit America comes apparently from the same shrinking sensibilities in connection with his delicate health. A quiet domestic scene would have been far more to his taste than the public battle in which he has had so large a share, and from which he is necessarily about to withdraw in favor of such junior statesmen as Sir Charles Dilke, Joseph Chamberlain, and John Morley.

Eminent as Mr. Morley is intellectually, and great as the prom-

Digitized by Google

ise was a few years since that Sir Charles Dilke would rise to the highest place in the front of English liberalism, it is Mr. Chamberlain who has risen most and has most come forward, as the statesman to whom, if he continues both wise and fortunate, John Bright's career will serve in history as a background. It is difficult to exaggerate the greatness of the political and social crisis which is fast coming on in England; a crisis for the church, for the throne, for the aristocracy, for capital and ownership of the soil, for the forms under which the state exists, and for the existing social order. Mr. Chamberlain has risen out of the trading class, with large self-acquired culture, with ample inherited wealth, with experience and position as Birmingham's favorite son and most successful administrator, and with an eye better than that of any man in England for the necessities of the future, the great crisis in politics and society which is sweeping on to its fulfillment.

It was in 1868 that Mr. Chamberlain, then thirty-two years of age, and a junior member in a screw-manufacturing firm which employed two thousand men, first made himself known by a very able political speech. Office at once sought him. He was chairman of the Education League, and member of the Town Council, the ablest and most reputable local body in England. He became chairman of the Birmingham School Board, and then mayor of Birmingham, for the years 1873, 1874, and 1875. Under him, and through his remarkable foresight and energy, Birmingham entered upon a period of very aggressive and progressive municipal work. First the gas-works were taken by the town, and made to pay the public treasury a very handsome profit, with gas cheapened in cost at the same time. Then the town, proceeding under an act of Parliament specially authorizing it, bought up very extensively all the quarters where the buildings were old and poor and the streets insufficient, and cleared them completely, then selling the land under conditions insuring that only buildings of superior character would be erected on it. Many parts of the town are thus totally changed within ten or twelve years, and much change is still proceeding. It is a thing to be seen in many of the chief towns of England, an amount of newness which can be seen hardly anywhere in America. Mr. Chamberlain was the magician under whose bold, energetic, and sagacious administration Birmingham began to be splendidly new, and his townsmen have commemorated the fact in a superb monumental fountain.

Digitized by Google

There is nothing about Mr. Chamberlain which would suggest the traditional Englishman. He is rather slight, dark, very nice and elegant, carefully dressed, and puts his glass into one eye quite as if he had n't an idea in his head. But he is full of both good ideas and valuable knowledge, and he can with ease, clearness and force tell what he thinks. There is nothing of the orator about him. Yet there are no faults in his speaking. He goes at the business in a pleasant, practical way; and with no apparent effort, certainly with no passion, gets his case effectively stated. If he ever guides, as it more and more seems probable that he may, a revolution of the people against the lords of the upper house of Parliament and the landlords of the vastly expanded and enriched aristocratic estates, which are a curse to the nation, he will do it without passion or bluster, with knowledge and wisdom and unyielding principle, and as effectively as his sweeping out of existence of the old rookeries of ancient Birmingham. He is a downright practical statesman, a Yankee on English soil, and no John Bull at all. His fellow-citizens call him "Joe" Chamberlain, and are justly fond of him. If he likes, he can within the remaining years of the century make a great mark in the history of England. I think he will like, for he thinks a good deal about things that are bad, and he means to do what one strong man can to make them better.

The Birmingham "caucus" was devised by Mr. Chamberlain. It is a permanent committee elected by the members of the Liberal party to serve for a year. In a small town it consists of one hundred, and is called The Hundred. In larger towns it is The Two Hundred, or The Four Hundred, or The Six Hundred. In Birmingham it is The Eight Hundred. Its duties are to get together for counsel from time to time, and to blow the Liberal trumpet. It is tremendously effective as a means of governing public opinion. Word is sent from the leaders in Parliament to the presidents and secretaries of The Hundreds to get up support for this or the other measure. All over the kingdom The Hundreds meet, and roar to the tune appointed. As the creator of this machinery Mr. Chamberlain has a hold almost without a parallel upon the springs of popular action, especially as the latent energy of the nation is increasingly Radical, and needs but to be solicited wisely to answer with overwhelming effect. With an unreformed House of Lords, desperately Conservative, no Liberal government can legislate for radical reform unless the angry peers, in their gilded saloon, hear outside the dangerous roar of an anger

Digitized by Google

more powerful than their own. When Mr. Gladstone returned to power after the magnificent defeat of the Beaconsfield government, public opinion was almost revolutionary for reform, and against the lords, and had it been called on, as it expected to be, through The Hundreds, it would have thundered in just that way which can alone make a Liberal government legislatively terrible to the reluctant lords. Unfortunately, Mr. Forster, to whom the Irish question was intrusted, made the criminal blunder of trying to conciliate the lords by coercion in Ireland, and where the organized principle and passion of the Liberals stood ready to make their great guns send terror to the Conservative heart, the word came from Mr. Gladstone, and even from John Bright, to do nothing of the kind. It was a disastrous humiliation to the eager Liberalism of the kingdom, flushed with the enthusiasm of an unexampled victory. I was myself a witness behind the scenes, after some years' residence in England, to the efforts that had to be made to repress Radical discontent. Mr. Chamberlain was then at the bottom of the list of cabinet ministers, and could only bide his time. His time has come now, or is coming. He divides with Mr. Gladstone the popular leadership of the Liberals; and when he wins, as he will win, the great post of popular, and probably of official, premiership, he will take up statesmanship where it was before Mr. Forster fell into the ditch of coercion for Ireland. He will put his back against the Liberal organization, the finest political organization in the world, and setting his face towards reform, towards revolution almost, will strike some grand blows for broader and purer justice than English use and law have ever known. It is only so far back as 1874 that Mr. Chamberlain contested the great Yorkshire town of Sheffield in the Radical interest, and, after facing a campaign of riot and rum, came out at the bottom of the poll, defeated. A few months later, on the occurrence of a vacancy in the representation of Birmingham, his fellow-citizens elected their popular mayor to a seat by the side of John Bright, and from that time his rise in Parliament, and in popular leadership, has been continuous and steady. Other reputations have waned or gone out altogether, while he has made his way ever upward. Mr. Forster proved a disaster to Liberalism; Lord Hartington, who made a fight almost as splendid as Mr. Gladstone's when the nation threw off the yoke of Beaconsfield and Toryism, has gone into Whig eclipse; the great promise of Sir Charles Dilke has been doubly clouded; John Bright lags where he once led, frankly hesitating before the issues now raised

Digitized by Google

by the Radical spirit; and even Mr. Gladstone, whose plumes will rally a magnificent host as long as they wave in the front of popular contest, is almost ready to lay aside his armor. Mr. Chamberlain alone turns an unabashed, a sagacious and resolute eye to the perils of the state, the wrongs of the people, and the storm that hangs over Ireland. Whether to-day or to-morrow, he will reach a seat of almost unexampled power, and preside over changes the greatest ever seen on English soil.

Edward C. Towne.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

THE FREEDMAN'S CHILDREN AT SCHOOL.

THE freedman himself has been graduated. You will scarcely find him now in any of the schools or colleges established for his benefit. He has worthily received in some instances the degree of A. B., but far more often, to borrow the wit of a friend, his attainments would be better indicated by a degree of "A. B. C." He has been sent forth with such education as it was possible to give in a period of transition unprecedented in the world's history, when society was disorganized, when all the machinery of education had to be called into existence, when the best methods of training were largely a matter of experiment. The children of the freedman now fill the schools, and are taught under far more favorable circumstances. While much has been accomplished in spite of all difficulties in the past twenty years, the foundations already laid and the accumulated experience of the teachers render possible the achievement of far better results in the twenty years to come.

No race has suffered such cruel misrepresentation at the hands of the caricaturist as the African. The latest of the races to emerge from barbarism is as little able, during the childhood of its civilization, to endure being made sport of for the rest of mankind as any sensitive child would be to have his peculiarities of body or immaturities of behavior ridiculed in his presence before company. It is a much more serious matter than would generally be supposed that so many people imagine that the freedman's schools are filled with duplicates of the urchins in the "Blackville" pictures of the illustrated press, and the college benches occupied by such young men as appear on the posters of

Digitized by Google

minstrel shows. Persons of refinement and sensibility shrink from teaching humanized apes, and persons of wealth hesitate to build schools and colleges for such worthless specimens of humanity.

The theorist adds to the burlesque of the caricaturist the discouragement of his pessimistic imagination. The African, he says, cannot learn, and is fit only for manual labor; he may learn the three R's, but beyond them breaks down; he is proficient in memory, but deficient in reasoning power; if he succeeds in the higher studies it is owing to his having white blood in his veins; and yet those with mixed blood are generally weaker, physically and intellectually, than those with unmixed; finally, the African may learn, but he cannot use his education properly. Such opinions as these, widely held and promulgated by those who do not wish the freedman and his children to be educated, and breeding suspicion and doubt in the minds of those who are at least willing that they should be, have done unspeakable harm in hindering the good work.

The personal appearance of the pupils in the freedman's schools is a perpetual surprise to each new visitor. Of course everywhere, as a rule, the best of any race go to school, and they also become the best because they go to school. Among any people whose civilization has been retarded, the contrast is somewhat greater between those reached and those not reached by the school-teacher than it would be elsewhere. The most typical African physiognomy freed from the exaggeration of caricature, and illumined with the intelligence which education imparts, ceases to be repulsive. But even Nature herself has not denied the African every element of physical attractiveness. With the darkest skin and the crispest hair you will often find the erect, symmetrical, well-developed figure, shapely hands and feet, tapering fingers with narrow finger-nails, a kindly eye, a mouth full of white, exquisitely formed teeth, a sweet voice, a graceful bearing, and sometimes a genuine Oriental charm of manner. I do not mean that all these attractions are often combined in one individual, but that more or less of them are frequently found together. And in their existence I find one explanation of the fact that among Southern white people, who move daily in closest contact with the dark-skinned race, a purely personal antipathy is almost unknown; while among Northerners, whose minds are so often filled with the distortions of caricature, the antipathy is frequently very strong.

It must not be forgotten, too, that many of the freedman's

Digitized by Google

children, or rather the freed*woman's* children, are also the children of the former master. The amount of Aryan blood that flows in the veins of these pupils is very great. A representative of one of the most prominent Southern newspapers recently said to the writer: "As I met your scholars coming out of school, I noticed that a large proportion of them were bright.[1] Have you not selected them purposely that you might more easily reach the ignorance of the race by first educating the white blood that is in it?" My answer, of course, was that no such selection was made. But the impression made upon a number of other Southern visitors as well as upon this one confirms the conjecture that there is a larger proportion of white blood in the pupils of the freedman's schools than among the colored people taken as a whole. This, too, is easily accounted for. The races have come in closest contact, and, consequently, the blood has been most freely mixed, in the cities and large towns rather than in the back country, and in those sections of the State where the white people have outnumbered the black rather than where the reverse has been true. But it is from these centres of population and from these localities of predominantly white influence that our pupils have more largely come; partly for the reason that the superior intelligence of those places awakens their desire for education, and partly because they are sometimes sent to school, and even supported there, by their white relatives and friends.

Thus the personal appearance of very many of these pupils is greatly modified by the fact that they carry in their veins the blood of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, Spain, and possibly other countries. Gray and even light blue eyes are found, long curling eyelashes, straight flaxen and auburn hair, delicately formed European features, beautiful olive, creamy white, and even pink and white, complexions, and between these and the unmixed African type every sort of color and feature. Even the traces of something like a true patrician ancestry now and then seem to reveal themselves in the dignified figure and graceful address of some young man, or in the self-reliant air, the thin, dilating nostrils and curling lip of some young woman. So great is the variety of personal appearance, that when the children of our Northern white teachers take their places in school among these other pupils, they are no more conspicuous than a considerable number of their companions of the so-called "colored" race; and to persons familiar with this variety of personal appearance, they

[1] Meaning, in the South, *light-colored.*

Digitized by Google

are not conspicuous at all. Indeed, so common is it to expect this variety that, in two instances, younger members of our own teaching force, of pure New England ancestry, and one of them with exceptionally light blonde hair and complexion, have, when certain circumstances happened to suggest the inference, been mistaken for "colored" pupils; while the reverse mistake of the races is, as is well known, extremely common.

The ability of the freedman and his children not only to acquire an elementary education, but, in many instances, to master the usual branches of the higher education has been repeatedly attested by Southern white men who have made thorough investigation of the subject. The official reports and the private utterances emanating from the boards of visitors appointed annually by the governor of Georgia to attend the anniversary exercises of Atlanta University have, in the most unequivocal manner, given testimony to this ability. Of course, only a small minority ever seek more than the rudiments of learning. Of those who seek more, some are continually falling out. Of what race are not both of these statements also true? That they should, at present, be somewhat more true of the freedmen and their children than of other more favored pupils is nothing more than we should expect. But that there is any greater difference between the achievements of these pupils and those of other races than can fully be accounted for by the limitations originating in their previous history and their present unfavorable surroundings, I am confident cannot be shown.

In regard to the comparative ability and character of those with mixed and those with unmixed blood, no theory can be framed that will not be obliged to encounter the most conspicuous exceptions. Nearly every class will exhibit both the African and Aryan types at either end, and both are as likely to be represented in the senior class in college as in the lowest grade of the preparatory school. Even the strongest believer in the laws of heredity is obliged to take many opposing influences into the account when he attempts to formulate any theory. Here is a girl, for instance, whose superior intelligence and refinement seem easily traceable to her white father, a prominent professional and public man. But the chances were at least equal that she should have had an evil instead of a good inheritance from the white race. Here is another girl whose father was an uneducated and brutal white overseer; what shall we expect to find in her? Yet be not too swift to answer, for she is a young woman of the most worthy

Digitized by Google

character, — never otherwise, — sweet-tempered, gentle, refined, modest, sensible, a faithful wife and devoted mother. Let the principle of atavism account for the phenomenon so far as it can; but even this principle should have brought an evil inheritance from the African grandmother who once advised the girl to accept an offer of a comfortable home at the cost of her honor. Here is a boy of pure African descent who recites, with intelligent accuracy, page after page of Chadbourne's "Natural Theology," and plies his teacher with original and suggestive questions. From whom did he inherit his intellectual ability? Here are a boy and girl white enough to pass unsuspected of African lineage almost anywhere, and each of them strikingly deficient in scholarship. From whom did they inherit their dullness? And each of these illustrations could be duplicated among scholars of opposite color.

No marked difference in physical vigor is noticeable between those with mixed and those with unmixed blood. I know of cases where weakness and disease seem plainly traceable to the ill-regulated life of the white father. When we remember that in the South the intermingling of race blood has occurred nearly always in violation of both divine and human law, and that the administration of justice has dealt with it more severely when divine law was complied with than when it was violated, it seems a mystery that the sins of such double law-breakers should not have been visited in greater physical and moral weakness upon the children. One compensating circumstance is doubtless to be found in the greater knowledge of the laws of health and the greater possibilities of civilized living which have often accompanied the inheritance of white blood, while the absence of these among the purest blacks, more exposed, as they generally are, to grinding poverty and hardship in their greater seclusion from the white race, has been to them a serious cause of disease.

Moral character and the lack of it are pretty evenly shared by the two classes. Readers of Whittier will remember the little urchin described in the poem "Howard at Atlanta" as giving the general this message for the people of the North: "Tell 'em we 're rising!" This boy, as black as any ever taught, has made good his words by winning honorable graduation from Atlanta University, and by rendering, for nearly a decade of years, most useful service as teacher and editor. Here is the answer he once gave to a prominent white man who came to buy his vote and influence for a certain candidate for office: "Mr. ——, I was intending to vote for your candidate and advocate his election among my

Digitized by Google

people, but your offer to buy me makes it impossible for me to do either." Another graduate of the same year, with the blood of both races in his veins, went in one of the first years of his ministerial life to supply a seaboard pulpit during the summer vacation of the white pastor. The yellow fever broke out, and friends advised him to flee. But he stuck to his post, caring for the sick and dying and bereaved of his flock until stricken down with the fever himself, and again after his recovery, and never left his post until his time was out. I do not think there is any particular shade of color that could not furnish examples of similar sterling character.

The facts thus far presented have an important bearing upon the question as to the best method of educating these pupils. So far as native endowment, physical, mental, and moral, is concerned, no reason appears why their education should be different from that given to any other pupils. Even if there were such a reason in the case of those of purest African blood, we are confronted by the fact that a large number of those under instruction have more Saxon or Latin blood than African. It seems to be one of the merciful compensations of the great wrong which the white race has inflicted upon the dark that the two are now welded together in such a way as to show the identity of the human nature in both. The careful observer who runs his eye up and down the gamut of color among these pupils fails to discover any such difference in the original equipment of mind or body as to necessitate any special kind of education or any limitation to a particular range of studies.

It is not to be forgotten, however, that the freedman and his children have peculiar needs arising from the limitations of their previous history. Only a space of one or two hundred years, often a less period, separates the great majority of the race from barbarism, and only a little more than two decades from slavery. The best inheritances of civilization have consequently been denied them. They have no heritage of scholarly mind coming to them through generations of school-trained ancestors. There is no acquired power of self-control resulting from long and active experience with the institutions of self-government. There are no vast accumulations of property pledging to the maintenance of good order and stimulating to further accumulation. The safeguards and refinements of a pure family life have not been theirs. A disgust for labor, associated as it is with the degradation of slavery, is still widely prevalent. The inability of the masses to offer

Digitized by Google

employers anything more than the crudest form of unskilled labor subjects them, by competition, to a grade of wages that barely sustains life, offers temptation to theft, kills ambition, and stimulates animalism of every kind.

I am, of course, speaking of the race at large. You will find a few skilled mechanics and successful farmers. You will find here and there a mind with a good inheritance or a native endowment of scholarly tastes — a professor in some college, a principal of a high school, a successful lawyer at the bar, an able physician or skillful dentist with a large practice, a good editor, a cultivated and inspiring preacher. Some of these men — not, however, the preachers — are receiving an income several times as large as the Northern professors do who teach in the institutions where their children or kinsfolk are being educated.

But even the process of emergence from darkness to light, from degradation to civilization, is often attended with great peril. The enormous disparity existing between the educated and the uneducated members of the race presents temptations to pride and arrogance which require more than ordinary grace to resist. When a young man has received even a little education, he not only finds an instrument of great power placed in his hands, but he sees around him in the ignorant mass of his own race an unlimited field for manipulating it. Then, becoming "biggoty," as the saying is here, he will, perhaps, hurry away from his unfinished course of study, entertaining exaggerated notions of what he can accomplish with the smattering of an education. The rigor of the color line intensifies this evil by thrusting him away from competition with the white race, and subjecting him to the demoralizing influence of a low standard of excellence in the gratification of his ambition. All too readily he accepts the situation, and, in turn, builds up the color prejudice of his own race to his and their common injury. As usual, it is the *little* learning that proves to be the dangerous thing. So, too, the development of material prosperity brings the danger of foolish expenditure, vulgar display, "wild-cat" investments, and, ultimately, financial and moral ruin. A most serious peril comes to the daughters of well-to-do parents, especially when the family wealth is made to minister with exquisite taste to the adornment of very rare personal beauty, — both taste and beauty inherited, it may be, from some of the most aristocratic families of the South. How easy for such girls, by the great variety and richness of their dresses, to declare to their white neighbors, "You may despise us because we are not wholly

Digitized by Google

white, but you shall respect the splendor of our wardrobes and the capacity of our father's purse!" The blighting influence of such a use of money, not only upon the girls themselves, but upon those who possess the desire but lack the means for such display, can readily be imagined.

Further light is shed upon the educational needs of these pupils by the proscription under which they so generally suffer at the hands of the white race. Many avenues of intellectual and moral improvement which are open to all others in the community are closed to them. Libraries, reading-rooms, lectures, concerts, Young Men's Christian Associations, and churches, frequented by white people, are either closed to them entirely or else open with restrictions which compromise their self-respect. In their efforts to rise, promising members of the race are thus forced back into the bog of ignorance and degradation from which they are so eager to escape.

What, now, is the kind of education most needed by pupils having a natural endowment of physical and mental powers essentially like those of the rest of mankind, but suffering from many limitations placed upon them by their previous history and present condition? I should answer that they need the deepest, broadest, and highest education which the money, brains, and personal devotion of Christian people can secure for them.

No system of education can achieve the best results that does not begin with the child at the earliest possible age. The utter inadequacy of most of the home-training of the freedman's children, even if they have had any at all, greatly retards their intellectual and moral development when they begin the ordinary school course. If the kindergarten has a special mission anywhere, it is among these pupils. Colleges and universities for the freedman's children ought not to be ashamed to develop downwards as well as upwards. The deeper they send their roots into the soil, the higher will they eventually grow. Application is often made for admission into these institutions of pupils younger than can at present be provided for. It is hard to refuse them in the face of the moral certainty that a few years' delay in entering will necessitate the unlearning of much evil and greatly retard the process of moral and intellectual training. The teacher of drawing in Atlanta University has for some years assumed the motherly care of several little girls who could not otherwise enjoy its privileges. She has them in rooms contiguous to her own, at the end of a hall which she has made specially attractive with

Digitized by Google

pictures and draperies. She sees that these girls are neatly and comfortably dressed, watches over their health and manners, gives special attention to their moral and religious training, supplements the work of the school-room by reading and general instruction, superintends their recreation, and, in short, gives them just such personal care and companionship as a devoted mother or elder sister would bestow upon the little ones in any well-regulated Christian home. Who can estimate the good that might be done by a *kindergarten cottage* attached to every one of our higher institutions of learning for the freedman's children, where just such work as this, for boys as well as girls, could be carried on more systematically and efficiently?[1] Besides the good accomplished for these little ones, the observation of such a work would be of inestimable benefit to the older pupils in the collegiate and normal departments, so soon to assume for themselves the responsibilities of active life in leading and instructing the needy people of their own race, and also in training their own children. Conversely, the association of such a work with an institution for higher learning would lead more of the promising youth among these people to see and prize the opportunity of more extended and thorough training, and would thus supply the higher departments with their very best pupils.

This leads me to express my earnest conviction of the importance of the higher education for as many of the freedman's children as can possibly find or make a way to secure it. Setting aside all practical advantage resulting from the higher studies themselves, the mere fact of the long time required for their pursuit renders possible to the teacher the development of a type of manhood and womanhood otherwise unattainable. Let all knowledge acquired in such a course be forgotten on the day of graduation, and the residuum of trained intellect and heart and will would more than repay the cost. Even the elevation of the masses can be more easily accomplished by the leverage of a thoroughly trained body of leaders than by any process of dead-weight lifting. The relation of these people to their former masters, involving so much of caste proscription and almost servile dependence, necessitates the formation within their ranks of a highly educated class to command respect for their race, and to secure for them a

[1] Since writing the above, I learn that the American Missionary Association is about to establish at Quitman, Georgia, a boarding-school exclusively for girls under sixteen. This is a movement towards what I plead for. The restriction of age might well be considerably lower.

Digitized by Google

fair chance in the struggle of life. The security of the whole body politic requires the same thing. The labor line cannot continue to be so largely identical with the color line without serious danger to the State. Half-educated laborers everywhere — educated out of a tame content with poverty, but not educated into a respect for property, delivered from the weakness of self-neglect, but not endowed with the power of self-control — these constitute the most dangerous elements of society, and a standing invitation to the craft of the communist, the socialist, and the nihilist. But when a labor conflict is intensified by being at the same time a race conflict, we have reached the extreme of political peril. Even now there are indications of the development among the freedmen themselves of a half-educated and unscrupulous leadership which bodes no good to society. The best safeguard is the development among them of a strong body of thoroughly educated men and women, capable of controlling the masses of their race, and delivering them from the snares of the demagogue, both black and white.

It is much to be regretted that the considerations just given should be so frequently overlooked by some of the friends of that most excellent work, the industrial education of the freedman's children. The lingering prejudice that desires to keep the African race in a perpetually subordinate and semi-servile condition joins hands with the short-sighted utilitarian spirit that sees no good accruing to the race from anything which cannot immediately be turned into bread and butter, and both cry aloud in favor of instruction in the industries to the exclusion of instruction in the humanities. A more serious blunder could hardly be committed. Industrial education these pupils must have, and the more and the greater variety of it the better. They need it to deliver them from the curse of an overstocked crude labor market; to save them from the aggravation of that curse by the competition of white educated labor, sure to pour into the South and crowd them to the wall if they do not preoccupy the field themselves; to enable them to build up a material prosperity that shall, next to character and intelligence, be the best pledge against communism. But without the character and intelligence which can be developed only by long and thorough training, and which can be maintained after its development only by the sympathy and support of a highly educated and thoroughly christianized body of leaders among themselves, we shall see the industrial energies of these people either exhibiting a rank growth of shoddy prosperity, more repulsive

Digitized by Google

than any that has hitherto marred our American civilization, or, at best, in a more refined but none the less demoralizing way, ministering to that excessive spirit of materialism so characteristic of our age and nation, and so ruinous, in the end, to the best vigor and influence of any people. The example of our New England ancestors in the earliest days of their struggle for a material existence, not limiting the training of their sons to labor on the farm or in the workshop, nor confining their book-learning to the elementary school, but providing, often through the most rigid economy and self-sacrifice, for their higher education in college and university, is full of useful suggestion to those who would accomplish the most in the training of the freedman's children.

Kindergarten homes to house and train a select number of little ones from a very early age; then the ordinary courses of study, from the primary school through the college course; attached to these, industrial courses in wood-working, iron-working, farming, and some of the trades, for boys, and in cooking, sewing, dress-making, general household and sanitary science, including the care of children and nursing the sick, for girls; then the professional schools for the training of doctors, lawyers, and ministers; — these constitute a system of education none too deep or broad or high for the freedman's sons and daughters. There are already universities where, by the mere force of circumstances, all or nearly all of these departments of training exist in a state of reasonable development or in embryo. It would be a most instructive sight to see them all combined under one general management, with such adequate equipment and efficient administration as the consecrated wealth and talent of our land could easily render possible. We should have a university in a somewhat new sense of the word, but one loudly demanded by the exigencies of the times, and fully justified by the good sense of thinking people.

Horace Bumstead.

Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

Digitized by Google

EVOLUTION AND THEOLOGY.

Two recent events have awakened a new public interest in the discussion of the relation between evolution and Christian theology. Professor James Woodrow of Columbia (S. C.) Theological Seminary (Presbyterian) had been deposed from his chair by a summary process without trial, according to the very doubtful precedent set in Scotland in the case of Robertson Smith; this action has been condemned by the action of Synod, and certain of the trustees who voted him so summarily out of office have themselves resigned. Whether Dr. Woodrow will resume his chair is, at this writing, uncertain, as is also the interpretation to be given to the action of the Synod. This appears from the reports to be less an approval of Professor Woodrow's position than a disapproval of unpresbyterian methods of putting him out of office. Professor Woodrow is a Christian, not merely a theistic evolutionist. He holds to the doctrine that animal man is a development from a lower order of creation, but that spiritual life was imparted to him from above, not evolved from below. He also insists that he holds to the Westminster Confession of Faith, so that it must be assumed that he believes in a historical fall, and disbelieves in Mr. Henry Ward Beecher's now famous saying that the only fall was "a fall upwards." The other event is the publication of Mr. Beecher's "Sermons on Evolution." These sermons were preached to crowded congregations, and the interest in them was so great that they were sent verbatim by telegraph to a Chicago paper, and somewhat less fully for publication in a Boston paper, — a tribute not paid, so far as my recollection goes, to any previous course of Sabbath discourses. These sermons are now brought together and published in book form by Fords, Howard & Hulbert. Mr. Beecher is far more successful in applying truth than in unfolding it; in showing its practical aspects in its bearing on life than in formulating it in a system. He is, indeed, more systematic than most critics imagine him to be, but this system is rarely prominent in his own mind, and is never prominent in his discourses. These sermons are no exception to this general rule. They are sermons, not theological essays preceded by a text; and their aim is not so much to prove evolution, or to show the bearing of evolution on theology, as to use what may perhaps be termed an evolutionary theology in practical pulpit work. How far he succeeds in this attempt I do not propose here to consider. I only

Digitized by Google

note the existence of these sermons and the action of the South Carolina Synod as indications of the interest of the public in the general subject. For those who are least inclined to regard Mr. Beecher as a safe leader do not doubt that he possesses in an eminent degree the faculty of perceiving by a sort of sympathetic intuition what are the subjects about which men are thinking and on which they want light.

I do not propose in this paper to criticise the position of either Mr. Beecher or Professor Woodrow, nor to attempt to determine the true relations between scientific evolution and Christian theology, but only to indicate certain thoughts, or directions of thought, which the pulpit must emphasize, and which, if adequately emphasized by the pulpit, will guard perplexed minds from the dangers to their faith threatened by evolutionary theories.

The difference between natural science and theology is a difference in field and in instruments of acquisition. The scientist has external nature for his field and observation for his instrument of acquisition; the theologian has the human mind for his field and consciousness for the instrument of his observation. If it be said that revelation constitutes either his field or his instrument, the reply will be: This is true; but revelation is made to human minds by experiences wrought in human minds. Thus revelation simply enlarges the field and the instrument; it does not add a different field or a different instrument. Now the scientist tells us, and tells us truly, that the theologian is bound to accept the facts ascertained by scientific investigation. "You may preach," he says in effect, "what theological theories you please, and we shall not quarrel with you so long as you do not deny or ignore the facts of the universe; but if you preach an interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis which makes the world to have been created in a week, your preaching will come to naught, because we have ascertained as a matter of fact that the processes of creation occupied millions of years. So, if you preach a chronology that allows man to have lived on the earth only six, or eight, or ten thousand years your preaching will be in vain, because indisputable evidence makes it clear that the antiquity of man is much greater." It is certainly true that no theology can survive which denies or ignores well-established facts; but it is equally true that no scientific theories can survive which deny or ignore well-ascertained facts. And there are certain facts, interpreted, indeed, by the Bible, but wrought into human consciousness, which the scientist must recognize, or his scientific theories will come to naught.

Digitized by Google

Three of these facts seem to be inconsistent with certain forms of the evolutionary hypothesis; if they are so, it is certain that the evolutionary hypothesis will have to conform to human consciousness, not human consciousness to the evolutionary hypothesis.

1. That we are the children of God is a fact declared indeed by revelation, but one for the knowledge of which we are by no means dependent upon revelation. When Paul declared to the Athenians, "We are the offspring of God," he made his declaration not to Jews, nor to Greeks, but to pagans; and he cited in support of it neither Old Testament writings nor New Testament writings, but a pagan poet. In a word, he appealed to the universal consciousness. And it is to be observed that this declaration is more than a declaration of the fatherhood of God. That might mean simply that God has adopted us, that He vouchsafes to us a protection and a guardianship like that vouchsafed by a father to his child. But this declaration is explicit, that we are descended from God, he is our progenitor, we are partakers of the divine nature, we belong to God and He belongs to us. The fatherhood of God is not a figure; it is the fatherhood of man that is a figure, and the fatherhood of God the eternal reality. We are his, not by adoption, but by procreation. Moreover, this is a race idea. It is not individuals here and there, it is not the Jewish nation or the Christian peoples who are the offspring of God; of him the whole family in heaven and earth is named. This is the root idea in the Mosaic account of the creation of man. God formed man, Moses tell us, out of the dust of the earth, and breathed into him his own life. By what process he made the physical tabernacle, that it might contain the divine image, Moses does not tell us, and probably did not know. It is not necessary for us to accept the theology of the negro preacher and suppose that God shaped a man of clay and leaned him up against the fence to dry. The material man, the man whom we observe, the man about whom science knows, was evolved from some lower elements. How long the evolution took, and what was the method of it, is a question for science, not for theology. It is one on which revelation is silent. But however this evolution was wrought, and however long time it took, when it was completed the divine spirit was imparted. The physical and animal in man comes up from below; but there is also a divine in man which descends from above, which was not and could not be evolved.

Now the evidence of this is not in the first chapters of Genesis nor in the seventh chapter of Romans. It is in man himself.

Digitized by Google

The first chapter of Genesis and the seventh chapter of Romans simply interpret the dormant consciousness of divinity. The human soul answers to the appeal of its father. As one string vibrates to the sound of another, so the spirit of man to the spirit of God. We are in accord; or, if not, if there is a dissonance, the pain of the discord no less than the beauty of the harmony illustrates the true nature of the spirit in man. Evolution may explain as it will the process by which the observed man, the material and animal man, were developed from lower forms, — and there is much in comparative anatomy and physiology and in the science of embryology to support its explanation, — but if it denies or ignores the divinity that is within us, which reaches out toward and answers to the divine without us, it will come to naught, because it will contradict the invincible testimony of human consciousness. And I venture to suggest that the minister who does the most to awaken this divine consciousness in the souls of men, and who leaves severely alone doubtful interpretations of the first chapters of Genesis and doubtful discussions of scientific theories about which he cannot know very much, will do the most to strengthen the faith of his people against whatever irreligious tendency there may be in the evolutionary hypothesis in its extremest forms.

2. No less certain is it that mankind has sinned and come short of the glory of God. It is difficult to write on this subject without a certain appearance of cant, because cant has vitiated even the language, as it vitiates everything it touches with its polluting breath. But it is certain that guilt and imperfection are not synonymous. We often, it is true, punish as guilt what is only imperfection, and overlook as imperfection what is guilt. This is due to a defect in perception, not to an inherent and generic resemblance between the two. The babe is imperfect and must grow to manhood; but the babe who has scarlet fever must be cured of a positive disease. The child who stammers and stutters over his alphabet must grow wiser; but the child who willfully declares, "I will not say my alphabet," requires something else than growth to set it right. Immaturity is not sin; animalism is not sin; the predominance of an animal nature is not sin. Gluttony is not guilt in a hog; the more he eats the better hog he is. Fierceness of passion is not crime in a bull-dog; the better the breed the fiercer the brute. Sin is always a fall; when we sin we go down from a higher to a lower life. The first chapter of Genesis is undoubtedly a poem, and there is much to indicate that the

Digitized by Google

second and third are also poems. The talking serpent, and the tree, and the garden, and the exclusion of the man and the woman from it, in any other book would impress the average reader as belonging to the literature of allegory. But whether it be a poem or not, it is certain that every man has written for himself a third chapter of Genesis which is a most prosaic and a most mournful fact. Every broken resolve, every high purpose lowered, every sacrifice of reverence to sensual desire, of conscience to passion, of love to greed or ambition or wealth, is a fall. The story of every individual, the story of the race, is a story of successive falls and restorations. For sin and fall are race facts; the men who have gone down from their higher to their lower nature, who have violated their better and nobler impulses, who have disobeyed the law written within them, are not the exceptions. I once conducted prayers in an inebriate asylum and read without comment the seventh chapter of Romans. Three or four of the men came to me after service to ask for the place of my reading; they wished to re-read it. "It describes," said they, "exactly our condition." This is the true story of the fall, and it is a transcript of every human experience. Nor is it confined to individuals. Modern Greece has fallen far below the Greece of Phidias, of Solon, and of Plato; the Italy of to-day is many degrees below the Italy of the Roman republic. He who will compare the moral utterances of a Jefferson and a Madison with those of the pro-slavery political leaders who carried the Southern States into the war for secession will hardly doubt that the South fell a long way in half a century. This experience of sin and fall is a fact, not a theory. Science may, indeed, say it is not a physical fact and we have nothing to do with it; but any hypothesis which it proposes for the explanation of the mystery of life must take account of this fact. If it denies or ignores sin and fall, it denies or ignores the most patent fact in history, national and individual; and any philosophy of life which leaves this out of account will, and ought to, come to naught. I beg leave to still farther suggest that that preacher who emphasizes the fact of sin and fall, who succeeds in awakening in the consciences of his hearers a personal sense of their own sin and fall, and who leaves severely alone doubtful interpretations of the third chapter of Genesis and doubtful discussions respecting the origin of the race, will be most successful in counteracting whatever danger there may be of intellectual pride and self-satisfaction in the evolutionary hypothesis in its extremest forms.

Digitized by Google

3. The third fact made clear by revelation, but tested and confirmed by science, is that of redemption. As sin and crudeness are different, so are redemption and growth. Development will cure crudeness; but only redemption will cure sin. Sunshine and time will make the twig and tree; but sunshine and time will not take the worm from its root nor the borer from its heart. Development will make of an imperfect animal a splendid animal; but development will never change the animal into the spiritual, the dead into the living. This must be done by the play of a higher nature on the lower, by a coming down in order to lift up. The child may outgrow many of its immaturities and crudities; but it can be redeemed from its deliberate wrong-doings only by the power and the personality of a higher and better nature, — the father's, the mother's, the teacher's. The nation may grow from a colony to a commonwealth; but if slavery has fastened upon it, slavery will grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength, and nothing will suffice to redeem the nation from its guilt and curse except a strong and noble nature, full of divine truth and love, appealing to the sense of justice and humanity in its citizens, — in other words, to the divine sleeping in the heart of the nation. Material forces may give it growth; only immaterial forces can bring it redemption. A Vanderbilt with his railroad, and a McCormick with his reaper, may enlarge its resources and its boundaries; but only a Garrison or a Phillips can emancipate it from its bondage. As with the child and the nation, so with the race. The question at issue to-day between the two schools of philosophy is not primarily whether the development of the race from low-down beginnings has been carried on under the supervision of God or without his supervision, — it is far more fundamental: it is the question whether there is any divine power bending down from the heavens to lift up into heaven a race into which the breath of a divine life has been breathed, but which has poisoned itself by a vitiated atmosphere, and is well-nigh dead from spiritual asphyxia. No soul, and so no aggregation of souls, can climb up to God; He stoops down and lifts us up to himself. And so I venture finally to suggest that that preacher who lives nearest to God, whose fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ, and who thus brings to his people not a theory about God, but the living God in his own Person, and who leaves severely alone doubtful disputations about theories of atonement and expiation, will do most to guard the faith of his people from the dangers which are threatened by an evolutionary hypothesis

Digitized by Google

which in its extremest forms denies the guilt of man and both the need and the possibility of the redemption to man. For if there has been wrought into the soul a personal sense of divine sonship, a consciousness of sin in falling away from it, and a hope of restoration to it through God's love coming down from above and bringing new life, no scientific theories of either man's origin or man's development will impair this spiritual life or prevail against it.

Lyman Abbott.

CORNWALL-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK.

Digitized by Google

EDITORIAL.

PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY.

VIII. CONCLUSION. CHRISTIANITY ABSOLUTE AND UNIVERSAL.

THE series of theological articles which is now completed has been a discussion of the principal doctrines of the gospel, in order to recognize some of the lines along which advancing Christian thought has more recently been moving. We have considered the Incarnation, the Atonement, Eschatology, the Work of the Holy Spirit, the Christian, and the Bible, to discover in what respects clear and positive improvement has been made on statements of belief which once had general currency. We have not pretended to create a theology, but only to modify or to enlarge established doctrines. When we have used the term New Theology it has been only as a convenient designation of a fresh movement in theological thought, only as the symbol of a quickening which we share in common with many others. In the exact use of terms there can, of course, at this late day, be no such thing as a new theology. We are not so silly as to suppose that modern religious thought is independent of an ancestry. Sturdy growth has old roots. The truth we study has engaged earnest thought throughout the Christian centuries. We have only attempted to show the directions in which generally accepted principles are pushing on to new and larger applications, and to learn also, by means of applications which can scarcely be ignored, the real significance of those principles which are, and always have been, potential of such results. Now that we can look back over the course which has been traveled, it is easier to perceive the kind and degree of progress achieved than when we were engaged on the separate topics.

A single principle has for the most part guided the development of thought in the series, and this because it is the principle which is dominating more and more regally the intelligent Christian thought of our time; a principle which will no longer be confined within limits too narrow to contain it, nor tolerate the company of theories inconsistent with the truth it expresses. Readers cannot fail to have observed the emphasis we have laid on the universality of the gospel. We have assumed Christianity to be the final and supreme revelation of God to man, a revelation intended for the whole human race and destined to supersede all other religions; and all the way along our inquiry has been concerning the reality of this principle. What is involved in it? How far does it carry us? What value and power reside in the religious knowledge men gain apart from the gospel? How is this universal gospel related to those large numbers of the human family who are entirely ignorant of it, and to the generations that have passed away without knowledge of it? We have been very far from affirming that the universality of the

Digitized by Google

gospel has been only recently recognized, or that only the few accept it. On the contrary, we have taken for granted that no one among so-called evangelical believers for an instant denies it. It is one of those postulates which can be assumed without debate in every discussion concerning the truths of the gospel. We have been asking ourselves, and have been asking our readers, not, Do you believe that Christianity is the supreme and universal revelation of God to men? but, How much do you mean by its universality and absolute supremacy, and can you believe as you do in this respect, and at the same time entertain certain opinions which seem to be excluded by the claims and the scope of Christianity? To believe that besides the name of Jesus there is none other name given under heaven amongst men whereby there can be salvation, to believe that our Lord spoke truly when He said, "No man cometh to the Father but by me," is of necessity to have corresponding opinions concerning man's power to know God without Christ, and concerning God's purpose to give men that knowledge and motive in the absence of which they cannot be saved. It is this enlarging thought of the gospel in its universality which is bringing embarrassment on the defenders of all theological systems which would confine the gospel within limited and arbitrary boundaries. It is this more generous recognition of the scope of the gospel which, while it inspires a larger hope for the unchristian nations, at the same time animates a great courage in proclaiming among them the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Let it not be forgotten, however, that only with a great price has this freedom been obtained. Not to mention earlier conflicts, we are scarcely yet out of the sound of warfare concerning the *extent* of the Atonement. It is not necessary to go out of the present century, nor indeed back of the older generation still represented among us, to find ourselves by the side of those who contended earnestly for a universal as against a limited atonement. The greatest service of the New England Theology was in gaining general assent to the universality of atonement. In the ethical field its service was less permanent, though at the time more highly extolled. While it was, perhaps, enough to expect of one generation that it should restore to use an essential principle, yet it must be admitted that the New England Theology failed to apply consistently the truth it had rescued. To this generation the task remained of bringing other facts and opinions into harmony with the principle of universality. Our fathers were concerned to show that universal atonement does not of necessity procure universal salvation. The difference was marked between sufficiency and efficiency, between atonement and redemption. The great outside world of heathendom being impenetrable and practically unknown, the question had not become pressing, how an atonement could be universal while nine tenths of the human race, through many centuries, had been left in total ignorance concerning it.

Yet, although this universal character of the gospel is now generally recognized, it may be claimed that at the present time conviction of it is

Digitized by Google

deeper because its grounds are better understood. In the former time, besides the quotation of specific texts, it was customary to argue universal atonement from the divinity of Christ. A divine Saviour must be a Saviour sufficient for the redemption of all men. But we also find in the humanity of Christ, with equal reason, the universality of the gospel. As shown in the article on Incarnation, the characteristic of his humanity is that He stands in universal relation to his brethren. He is the universal man, the head of humanity, the Son of man. Also, and this is perhaps the most considerable of recent enlargements in Christian thought, we are finding in the scriptural teaching of judgment by Christ confirmation of his universal relation to men. We are learning that this means more than that the judgment is divine and therefore cannot mistake, more than that it is sympathetic and therefore will not be severe. Since Christ is to judge the world, we know that the decisive fact for every man is his relation to Christ. In the supreme day the secrets of men are to be judged by Jesus Christ according to the gospel. Every man's judgment, his κρισις, is in relation to Him who has authority to execute judgment *because He is the Son of man.* The Redeemer is the judge. Redemption and judgment are correlative. As redemption is the final and supreme revelation to man, no more sacrifice remaining, so the irreversible word of destiny is pronounced only in view of each individual's acceptance or rejection of Christ. Thus, on every side, as the gospel is better understood, fresh confirmation is found of its universality, and all theories of the condition, salvability, and destiny of men must be shaped in conformity with the unbounded power, claim, and promise of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

We have, therefore, reaffirmed three important postulates of Christian thought and effort: universal sinfulness, universal atonement, and the indispensableness of faith in Christ.

By the first we mean that man's sinful state is such that he has no power of deliverance from it. This consideration is more important than a determination of the degree of his guilt. How guilty any man is can be known only to God. What judgment will be or should be passed on this or that individual our knowledge is not sufficient to show, although we, of course, believe that it will be a righteous and merciful judgment. The important fact is that all men are so under the control of sinful habit and sinful character that they have not in themselves the power of renewal. Although some are less guilty than others, although some will receive a more lenient judgment than others, the facts remain that all have sinned and come short of the glory of God, and that left to themselves there is no hope of salvation.

The universality of atonement has been insisted on both in the article on that subject and again in the present paper.

The indispensableness of faith in Christ in order that sinful man may be restored to sonship with God has been repeatedly affirmed and continually assumed.

Digitized by Google

We have accepted these postulates in their length and breadth. We have not reduced but rather have magnified their meaning. We are perfectly aware that a tremendous claim is thus made for Christianity, in respect both to the sufficiency of atonement and to the exclusion of any other way of salvation, but we believe the claim is explicitly supported by Scripture, and inseparable from any just thought of Christianity as a divine revelation.

A natural inference from these premises is that every one will know God as He is revealed in the love and sacrifice of Jesus Christ. If Christ was given for the whole world, and if no one can be saved except by faith in Christ, we are almost driven to the conclusion that Christ will be made known to every individual of the human race in all the generations past, present, and future, and that everlasting destiny is determined for every person by his acceptance or rejection of Christ. This conclusion we have therefore gladly and unhesitatingly adopted. We have not, however, expressed as positive an opinion concerning the circumstances and seasons within which Christ will be revealed to those who do not know Him in the earthly life. But we frankly admit that it seems to us probable that those who in this life have no knowledge of Christ will not be denied that knowledge, with its corresponding opportunity, after death. Still, so much that is perplexing remains in respect to God's dealing with the nations of heathendom that we will not be so presumptuous as to press our opinion on any who are not ready to receive it, nor so vain as to suppose that we have found a complete solution of one of the deepest mysteries of God's government of the world. We are content to maintain these three postulates, and to let them establish such conclusions as appear most reasonable in the light of candid and reverent reflection.

Sometimes acceptance of a truth becomes more confident when the alternatives to it are clearly recognized. If this or that alternative must be rejected, the opinion which remains will have more probability. The alternative is to surrender one or more of the three postulates we have mentioned. It may be denied that man has in himself no power to escape from sin, or that atonement is universal, or that faith in Christ is indispensable to salvation.

One alternative, then, is the theory that atonement was made only for the elect. God chose some from all eternity unto salvation. Then He sent his Son to redeem them, but not to redeem any others. Atonement was made for only part of the human family. It was sufficient for the purpose. So, besides the elect who have actually known Christ, there are elect infants and elect heathen who in some mysterious way are saved by means of the Atonement. This theory surrenders the second postulate. The Atonement is not universal. It holds that sin is universal, and that faith in Christ is indispensable, but denies that the Atonement is universal. It has the merit of consistency. There is no need to argue the question how Christ could have suffered for the whole world, while yet the vast majority of men die without knowledge of Christ, for it is not admitted

Digitized by Google

that Christ did suffer for the whole world. But its consistency is bought at a terrible price. The conception of God is unscriptural, the doctrine of Christ is unchristian, and that sentiment or consciousness which is the product of the gospel is outraged. That alternative we have not even argued. Such a gospel cannot be preached. Such a God cannot be loved.

Another, and really the only other, alternative is the surrender of both the first and third postulates. By implication it is denied that faith in Christ is indispensable to salvation when it is argued that those who have not the gospel can be saved from their sins notwithstanding. If the light of reason and conscience is sufficient, then man can release himself from sin without the truth and love of Christ. This theory was argued at length in the article on Eschatology. It is enough now to emphasize certain considerations which were urged before, but which seem to have been overlooked by some who have discussed that article.

If this theory means that man of himself can come to his normal state of holiness and likeness to God, we have replied that the evidence from facts is meagre and extremely uncertain, and that Scripture repeatedly affirms the contrary. The instances of exceptional virtue usually cited are not sufficiently conclusive to warrant us in abandoning belief in the necessity of faith in Christ. We are not yet ready to admit that there is another name given under the Asiatic heaven whereby the Chinese can be saved, and another way open in Africa whereby a man can come to the Father. God may and does prepare *conditions* in the development of nations, and even of individuals, into which the truth of Christ can come and work with mighty power. The soil is made ready providentially, but the seed is always the word of the kingdom. The truth by which man is justified and sanctified is the truth as it is in Jesus, who is the wisdom of God and the power of God to every one that believeth.

But were there not pious Jews before the time of Christ who were saved, and who at death entered immediately into blessedness? Whatever may become of our theory, we can answer this question only in the affirmative. How, then, does it appear that knowledge of Christ is indispensable to salvation? And if they were saved by living up to the light they had, why may not conscientious even if more ignorant heathen also be saved? To these questions we must reply, as we replied before, that the knowledge of God granted to the Jews was different in kind from the knowledge attainable by others, and that we therefore are not justified in arguing from the Jews to the Gentiles. The Jews occupied an exceptional position. They were the recipients of a special revelation from God. They were vouchsafed a knowledge of God along lines which led on to the complete revelation in Christ. They knew the righteousness and compassion of God. Above all, they had learned that God seeks man in pity and forgiveness for his redemption. With Abraham in some dim but real vision they saw the day of Christ. This would prove that it is not indispensable to salvation that one should know Christ in

Digitized by Google

the actual circumstances of his earthly work. But there was a real foreshadowing of Christ such as was not opened to the Gentile nations. That revelation, even now, is found to have been so intimately related to the complete revelation in Christ that we bind up the record of it with the gospel to make our Bible in its indissoluble organic unity. It may also be repeated that the belief has always been cherished that devout Jews were brought after death to their full salvation through the knowledge of Christ. But the Jews present no real exception to our principle, for salvation was made known to them through the atoning and redeeming love of God, and Judaism is inseparable from Christianity. But when we are asked to go farther, to argue from the Jews to the heathen, from the Psalms to the Vedas, from the Prophets to the books of Confucius, to believe that the light of reason and conscience without any revelation whatever differs not in kind but in degree only from Christianity, we confess ourselves unable to follow. When, in order to save the postulate of faith in Christ (for there evidently is no other reason, since observed facts would never suggest it), when it is soberly argued that the comparatively good heathen are saved by their faith in Christ, although they never heard of Him, that Christ is essentially known when He is not known at all, we really must be excused from making so fanciful discriminations. It is intelligible that those who do not know Christ during the earthly life will be lost, for want of that knowledge; although we cannot bring ourselves so to believe. It is intelligible that those who do not know Christ during the earthly life may yet live so righteously that they will have a place in the kingdom of the redeemed at last; although such persons are confessedly seldom found, and when they are supposed to be found it is believed that they ultimately know God in Christ, and thus only are redeemed from their sin. It is intelligible, and we think probable, that those who do not know Christ during the earthly life will know Him in the life beyond. The extension of time seems necessary to the absolute and universal religion. But it is in our opinion neither intelligible nor probable that men are saved by a Christ of whom they know nothing whatever. This theory we can best characterize still as salvation by magic. We have pondered it well, and think it leaves Paul's question still unanswered: "How shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard?" We are slow to conclude that men are saved from their sins and restored to sonship with God without knowing Christ and believing in Him. We are not convinced that character becomes fixed in righteousness and likeness to God apart from the gospel. Some conscientiousness there may be, some moral amendment, some conformity to the light given. In such cases men are not hopelessly condemned, for they are *capable* of salvation. But are they redeemed from sin? Are they walking in newness of life? Have they the purity and liberty of the children of God? Would there not be radical changes if Christ were known and received? Let us remember that the question is not

Digitized by Google

concerning the blameworthiness of those who have been obedient to the light they have. The question is whether any besides those who receive Christ have power to become the sons of God, whether they can be saved in any sufficient meaning of salvation unless either before death, or at death, or after death, the light of the knowledge of the glory of God shines upon them in the face of Jesus Christ.

Not only do we believe that character does not become permanently crystallized into holiness by the aid of reason and conscience alone, even if such light (in some sense unintelligible to us) is equivalent to Christianity, but we also believe that, in the vast majority of cases, character does not become permanently crystallized into wickedness, so that salvation through Christ becomes impossible. If the heathen are still capable of salvation through Christ, can we believe that because an inert church fails to preach Christ to them during their earthly life they will therefore never have the opportunity of knowing Him? It is sometimes said that if Socrates had known of Christ he would have believed in Him, and it is therefore supposed that after death he did know Christ. That is, Socrates at death was still *capable* of salvation through Christ. Neither more nor less than this is meant. But who shall draw the line between those heathen who are and those who are not capable of salvation? Can one walk up and down in heathendom, and, as he proceeds, point to this one, and that one, and another, who have become incapable of repentance and renewal? Will one stand on the threshold of his little church and turn away certain persons because he clearly perceives that even the gospel of Jesus Christ is powerless to save them? Certainly an African, a Japanese, an Australasian, sinks into deep debasement. The corruption seems incurable. But would any missionary board send out a preacher who intends to labor only for those who show some remaining signs of moral health? Whatever may be the fact, we certainly have not a knowledge of men sufficient to warrant us in affirming that any one to whom Christ has not been made known is already incapable of salvation. We do not dare to affirm as much of any individual who has apparently become fixed in wickedness and unbelief under the full blaze of the light of the gospel. The mighty working of the Holy Spirit in corrupt hearts has so often reversed our judgment that we have learned to despair of none. Much less, then, is it permissible to conclude that any heathen, however wicked he may be, but who has not heard of Christ, is hopelessly lost. And if such a one goes out of the world, as millions do, without knowledge of Christ, who shall dare to say, in the absence of any word of Scripture to that effect, that the clear light and the mighty motive of the gospel will be withheld forever?

It seems to be thought by some that our principal contention has been to show that no one can be *saved* without knowledge of Christ, and that if a few exceptions could be discovered our principle would be overthrown. But we have been endeavoring to show that no one can be *lost* without knowledge of Christ. The Jews and the pious heathen have

Digitized by Google

been cited to prove that salvation is possible without knowledge of the historic Christ, and consequently it has been concluded that our principle breaks down. But even if we should have to admit that some abatement must be made from a strict interpretation of our principle so as to make room for these exceptions, we should still press the main question. The real difficulty is that millions of men die, not only without knowledge of the gospel, but also without showing signs of moral renewal, and we ask, Are all these multitudes, through so many generations, hopelessly lost? Opinions may differ about the salvation of the few exceptionally virtuous heathen. But opinions cannot differ about the masses of heathendom who die in their sins. Must we, can we, believe that they are eternally damned? Is it possible that God will never bring to them the light and motive of the gospel of Jesus Christ? We think, indeed, as we have repeatedly argued, that salvation in any proper sense of the term is realized only by faith in Christ, that conscientious heathen have only a capacity more or less for redemption. Neither have we at any point so narrowly interpreted Christianity as to limit knowledge of Christ to acquaintance with the facts of the earthly life of Jesus of Nazareth. We have meant knowledge of God's atoning and redeeming love, which the Jews received dimly without knowing the historic Christ; which, we believe, is given after death to those who, seeing Him for the first time, see Him as He is perhaps without the intervention of biography and history; but which, we think, is not in any intelligible sense given to the heathen nations before death. Therefore, when it is asked, Are not some persons saved without knowledge of Christ? we answer, Possibly; although, except the Jews, to whom a revelation was made, redeemed persons outside Christendom are admitted to be exceedingly few. But when all has been conceded on that side that can possibly be claimed, the real difficulty remains as grave and persistent as before. Are multitudes of men lost without knowledge of God's atoning and redeeming love in Jesus Christ? Can they be finally and absolutely condemned if they have known nothing of God's final and absolute revelation of himself to mankind? Can any one be hopelessly lost who has not so much as heard of Him who tasted death for every man? We, therefore, contend that universal judgment by Christ means that every man is to be judged by his relation to Christ; that no one will be forever condemned unless he has rejected the salvation which is in Jesus Christ.

It should, perhaps, be explicitly stated, in order to prevent misapprehension, that our opinion that the heathen after death will obtain knowledge of Christ does not mean that their probation continues on and on till the day of judgment, while the probation of others is limited to this life. That knowledge of Christ which is decisive may come immediately after death, so that probation speedily comes to an end. Our contention is that destiny is determined by one's relation to Christ, and that therefore to every one Christ, sooner or later, will be made known. The

Digitized by Google

judgment day is the end of probation for the race as a whole. Then every land, every nation, every generation, will have known Christ as Redeemer. But the limit of probation for countless individuals will long since have been passed, for many who did not have the gospel in the earthly life, as well as for the many who did have it in the earthly life. The revelation given in the disembodied state may be so luminous that the actual time will scarcely be appreciable between the moment of death and the moment when Christ is decisively accepted or rejected. And yet, with some, we can easily imagine that protracted processes of education and discipline may be necessary to make them ripe for decision. We do not argue, then, for a second probation, nor for a probation indefinitely prolonged, but for a Christian probation, sometime and somewhere, and for a Christian judgment under which all the individuals of all the nations, and all the generations, will receive the allotments of eternal destiny.

It is instructive to observe that nearly all who for various reasons cannot believe that the heathen may have knowledge of Christ after death are confessing their inability to reach any definite conclusion whatever. A common answer to questions concerning the destiny of the heathen is, We do not know. This view is sometimes called Christian agnosticism. Besides our own, we believe this to be the only tenable position. The manifest inconsistency of the theories we have criticised is driving them from the field. Christians are at least becoming certain that there are some opinions they cannot hold. One candid editor says that no Scripture denounces endless woe on heathen who have never heard of Christ, and that, therefore, we cannot be required to believe that their doom is hopeless; that when the few sporadic instances of "pious heathen" are pointed to for relief they are found to be inadequate to solve the tremendous problem. He therefore relegates the whole matter to infinite wisdom and justice and love. He does not believe that the heathen are lost, nor that the few moral, even if essentially Christian, heathen relieve the immense difficulty, and therefore he is a Christian agnostic, committing the world in triumphant faith and hope to the Infinite Father. He explicitly declares that we can neither see nor affirm what becomes of the heathen hereafter. To this conclusion a majority of Christians have probably come. It certainly shows great progress that this position is quite generally held. Much is gained when untenable theories are intelligently abandoned. It is an important discovery as well as admission that the Bible nowhere teaches that heathen who have never heard the gospel are hopelessly lost. Therefore, when it is said that the Scripture does not teach that the heathen have opportunity of salvation after death, we can at least reply that it does not preclude that hope, for it nowhere teaches that the heathen are lost, and that their opportunity is limited to this life. But we have no contention with the agnostic, and we think he has no reason to have contention with us. We are agreed in rejecting certain outworn and unchristian theories. He does not deny

Digitized by Google

that God's way *may* be to give knowledge of Christ after death, only he is not at present convinced. He will admit that such a method is not unworthy of God nor unreasonable in itself. When ignorance is confessed under the saying that God will do what is right, we, of course, agree. No one believes that God will do what is wrong. Our conviction, however, is that the revelation of God in Christ enables us to understand in certain respects what is right for God to do or not to do. We believe it is right for God to judge the world by Jesus Christ, for we therefore believe that the judgment of men is determined by their relation to Him who has already been made known to them as Saviour. Agnosticism on this subject is likely to be temporary. It is a resting-place where one stands who has cut loose from unchristian theories. Search of the Scriptures and profounder study of Christianity will be likely to carry him on to the principle we have so often enunciated and emphasized. We think agnosticism can properly remain only concerning the mode in which that principle will be applied to men in the great variety of their moral conditions.

We have dwelt on the relation of the heathen world to the gospel longer than might seem necessary. The reason is that the gravest objection to the universality and absoluteness of Christianity is at this very point. The Scriptural representations of the gospel, and its intrinsic character, show it to be universal; yet, as matter of fact, only a small fraction of the human race in the long succession of the ages has even heard of Jesus Christ. How, then, it may fairly be asked, can it be considered the universal religion? The acute Strauss urges the force of this objection. He declares that, since so large a portion of mankind know nothing of Christianity, it cannot be necessary to salvation, because not the universal religion; and that, if certain virtuous heathen are saved, then the gospel is proved not to be the universal religion, because not necessary to salvation.[1] The only reply is that until the gospel does fill the whole earth knowledge of it must be given after death to those who are deprived of its blessings before death.

We need not linger to review the several articles of our series in the light of the absoluteness of Christianity. The Incarnation shows Christ the universal man vitally related to the whole human race. The Atonement shows Christ suffering with the race and for the race, and thereby giving mankind a power it could not otherwise have. The Holy Spirit uses as highest and final motive for every man the truth as it is in Jesus. Man can be brought to God only through Christ the Saviour of the world. The Bible is the supreme authority for man, because it embodies the gospel of the only begotten Son of God.

We have also endeavored to show that there can be no stronger motive to missions than a clear recognition that the gospel is absolute and universal. If one believes that the heathen are doomed, and that all of them who die without hearing of Christ are forever lost, he has, indeed, an

[1] *Christliche Glaubenslehre*, I. pp. 268–274.

Digitized by Google

urgent motive to send or carry the gospel to them. But a more inspiring motive is found in loyalty to Christ, in obedience to his last command, in laboring with Him for the extension of his kingdom, in gaining for Him those who are his own and for whom He died. At the recent great missionary meeting in Boston it was noticeable that the motive urged was the universality of Christianity, the relation of Christ to the race; and that scarcely a word was uttered concerning the doom of the heathen. Whatever may have been believed by the majority of the assembly as to the fate of the heathen, it was evidently felt that the influential motive is the universality of Christ's redemption and kingdom, and the need all men have of entering into that kingdom. But we may not make inquisition into motives, nor insist that others shall be impelled by the identical motive which urges us on. Neither of these great motives is a selfish motive. Love for men is in them both. Paul was not half as careful as those would be now who can discover but one motive for preaching the gospel. He knew that some preached from very low motives, but he would not hinder them. "Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife, and some also of good will. . . . What then? only that in every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is proclaimed, and therein I rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." We may not discourage those who preach Christ because they believe that the heathen not having the gospel in this life are hopelessly lost. Neither may they discourage those who go forth with enthusiasm to proclaim Christ who is the only Redeemer and rightful King of men, and whose kingdom is a universal and an everlasting kingdom.

Both in respect to our thinking and our toil we may share the expectation of the great apostle who was both theologian and missionary, when he said, "Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

The series of articles has elicited considerable discussion from the religious press. Some comments have been favorable, others decidedly unfavorable. Issue has been taken chiefly with the article on Eschatology. The criticisms have followed several lines.

One method has been to quote a single sentence out of its connection, and then to satirize it. Apparently only one sentence available for such a purpose has been discovered. It reads as follows: "There is much reason to believe that this present life is the most favorable opportunity for moral renewal in Christ."

The editor of a Presbyterian journal is entitled to the credit of detecting this sentence. He ridiculed it in his paper, and other papers quoted the same sentence for the same purpose. In most cases it was evident that our article had not been referred to at all, but that the offending sentence had been quoted at second hand. As the sentence stood in its connection its meaning seems to us unmistakable. It could have been

Digitized by Google

made clearer only by an interjected phrase, as "There is much reason to believe, *independent of the foregoing considerations*, that," etc. The meaning was at once made clear by the observation that as Jesus wrought out the gospel on earth we might conclude from that alone that the earthly life is the most favorable time to receive Christ. But in the very same paragraph we had emphasized the urgency of the gospel for immediate repentance, with the fact that to those who have it now there is not the slightest encouragement that any other time than the present will be available for repentance. And yet several religious (?) papers were willing to push the article aside without further notice. The Chicago "Advance" only, so far as we know, had the fairness to correct the imperfect quotation by subsequently printing the entire paragraph. The impression has been made upon us that our opponents were *looking* for a sentence that could be detached for purposes of ridicule, and that they deliberately ignored not only the main positions of the discussion, but even the immediate connection in which the sentence stood. The only other explanation that occurs to us is density of mental apprehension on the part of such critics, but we will not offer it, because we have often observed that a charge of stupidity is more obnoxious than a charge of perversity.

Another line of attack has been the repeated assertion that the editors of the "Review" have expressed opinions in the article on Eschatology inconsistent with the creed which, as professors in Andover Theological Seminary, they have subscribed. This, as we have often insisted, is a point to be decided by our own consciences and the properly constituted authorities. It has no bearing on the merits of the discussion. Neither do we think that it occasions profound anxiety to the religious public generally or to the body of our readers. It may be said, however, in justice to ourselves, that we are unable to discover any statement of the creed which either contradicts or excludes the opinions we have advocated. Some of the questions we have discussed had not arisen when the seminary was founded, and therefore, as might be supposed, the creed is silent concerning them. In such cases, because indeed in all cases, we are required by the creed itself to go back to the Bible and to the best light we can gain respecting the gospel. Should it appear to us that our honest opinions are opposed or excluded by the creed of our seminary only one course would be open to us. We should not cease to hold, and if need be to advocate, our conscientious opinions, but we should cease to be instructors in Andover Theological Seminary. But we have considered the reasons urged, and have not found them conclusive. And we take the liberty of adding that we have become so familiar with the opinion of certain persons concerning our alleged inconsistency that it is quite superfluous on their part to iterate and reiterate that opinion. Under the circumstances we feel warranted in referring our censors to Romans xiv. 4.

Another argument urged against our conclusions, as we predicted, is from the prudential side. It is thought to be unsafe to entertain the

Digitized by Google

hope that the heathen may have clearer light and corresponding opportunity after death. Others, it is said, will conclude that they may have such opportunity, and the urgency of the gospel will be reduced. We respect this apprehension. It is an objection entitled to consideration. It seems to us, however, to be not the first nor the only, but rather the last, question that should be asked. The first inquiry is concerning the teaching, direct or indirect, of the Bible, and concerning the fundamental principles of Christianity. Wherever we are carried by those reasons we shall be safe. To doubt it is to dishonor the gospel. To put safety before truth is of the spirit of unbelief. If any conclusion seems legitimate and necessary, we should not be afraid of it. It could be shown that every considerable advance in religious opinion has awakened grave apprehensions lest the motives to faith should be weakened. Besides, as we stated in the discussion of Eschatology, many have been repelled from the gospel because it has been too narrowly interpreted. There is danger on that side also. The ultimate and decisive motive to repentance is the conception of God, and it is more important to have true and worthy thoughts of God than to be governed by such force as there may be in prudential reasons. We have noticed on the part of every opponent that he has had no fear that the new view, if he should adopt it, would do him harm, but only that it would be dangerous for some other persons. Our judgment is that the question cannot be argued on prudential grounds, but only on grounds of Scripture and our best understanding of Christianity.

A very few criticisms have been serious attempts to discuss Biblical teaching and the conditions of salvation. Concerning the necessity of faith in Christ we have commented at some length in the present article, and need not reply further to the objection that some are saved without knowledge of Christ.

The criticism that our view is extra-scriptural is not well taken. In admitting that there are few specific passages which relate to the subject, we did not intend to imply that Scripture does not strongly support our position, but only that few passages are found which make explicit statements. But is any teaching of the Bible more unmistakable than that all the world to its every individual is to be judged by Christ, and that Christ was offered for the sins of the whole world? The Scriptures plainly teach the universality of Christ's work in its intent, its application, and its consummation. The burden of proof, even on the Scriptural side, rests upon those who aver that any portion of the race is excluded from the privileges of the gospel. It is not incumbent on us to quote Scripture which shall show that the heathen *do* have the gospel before they are judged. It is incumbent on those who oppose our view to quote Scripture which shall show that the heathen do *not* have the gospel before they are judged.

But we did not admit that the Bible is silent on this subject. There are passages which easily, if not necessarily, teach that the heathen have

Digitized by Google

the gospel after death. The weight of scholarship decidedly preponderates to the interpretation of 1 Peter iii. 19, as meaning that Christ preached to the dead in Hades. Even more significant is 1 Peter iv. 5, 6, "Who shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead. For unto this end was the gospel preached even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit." Here it is taught that in order to make the judgment universal, the gospel was preached to the dead as well as to the living. There is the identical connection of thought which we have indicated. Judgment by Christ is preceded by the preaching of the gospel to the living and the dead. The passage is unequivocal. It can no longer be maintained that the dead referred to are the spiritually dead, or that any others are meant than all the dead of former generations. And the very object of preaching the gospel to them is that they might be judged in the way according to which all men are judged in respect to the life in the flesh, but might yet in the way characteristic of God have opportunity to live in the spirit. We preferred, however, in our discussion to stand upon a well-known principle of Scriptural teaching than to rest the weight of our conclusion on two or three texts. The passages which do refer to the subject are decidedly more favorable to the view we have advocated than to the view that the heathen die without hope.

For the most part, then, our critics have been content to debate incidental considerations, and have failed to grapple with the real issue. We have not called for the discussion of our articles. It is not obligatory on any one to give them any attention. But when attack is made or criticism offered we have a right to expect that the discussion shall be held on the open field of the truth and principles of Christianity; that the reasoning we have presented shall be candidly considered and met by appropriate arguments. Many others, besides ourselves, are waiting to know if any sufficient refutation can be offered as against the opinion we have explained and defended.

A PREACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Archdeacon — or, as we prefer, to designate him by the title of the pulpit, Canon — Farrar has appeared before American audiences in three quite distinct but not dissimilar characters: as an interpreter of the more serious poets, as an advocate of temperance, and as a preacher. In whatever capacity he has addressed the public he has made the profound impression of intellectual seriousness. No other man has of late come amongst us who has so refreshed and strengthened the moral sense, or spoken so naturally and effectively in the interest of righteousness.

The moral impression which Canon Farrar has produced is due, we think, to the character and quality of his mind. The earnestness of the man is in his thinking, not simply in his action, or in his imagination, or in his emotions. Many men have accustomed themselves to speak to the

Digitized by Google

conscience. He evidently *thinks* to the conscience. The listener is at once impressed with the naturalness of the moral element in his speech. There is no assumption of authority, no use of the mere solemnities of religion, no merely vivid and intense presentation of truth. Canon Farrar is not, in the conventional sense, the orator, but he is in a most true and real sense the preacher. Reading or speaking, he communicates his thought under the full power of the motive which prompted to its utterance. His style may seem at times redundant; it is always cumulative; but the motive pursues the thought into the last expression of it, and never allows the language to degenerate into rhetoric. The personality of the speaker informs even the frequent illustrative quotation and historical allusion.

We have referred to the fact that the different characters in which Canon Farrar has appeared are not at all dissimilar. As the interpreter of Dante he is by his treatment of the subject, no less than by his choice of it, essentially the preacher. Probably the majority in his audiences have not for a score of years listened to a more searching sermon than that which they heard in his lecture on Dante. The moral lesson was present at every salient point in the description and argument, and came out into full prominence at the close.

"Dante's vision has in it a moral lesson worthy to be pondered long, for it is a faithful allegory of a spiritual torment certain to be visited on all who forsake God's law. The moral hell and moral heaven consist not only in places of torment and beatitude, but in tempers; not only in flames or golden cities, but in phases of the soul. The object is to hold up before men the purity of God's moral government, to arouse them to a sense of the mystery of their state, to point them to the beauty of the Christian temper, to teach them the fullness of the grace of God, to bring the human soul to the conception of the possibility of rising step by step into a joy not unimaginable by man and yet of a higher order than the ideal of earth. His subject is not so much the state of souls after death, about which Dante knew just as much and just as little as you or I, because he knew just as much and just as little as has been revealed to us by God. He does not mean to describe a hell in which all mankind has ceased to believe as a reality, but behind this he means to give the full verity of a moral hell. . . . Is vice in this nineteenth century dead, that you can afford to despise the lessons which would set it before you in its true nature? Is any of that pitch on our hands? Are any of our tongues tipped with that envenomed flame? Are none of us tempted, like those wretches in the vestibule of hell, to stand leisurely neutral in the great conflict between good and evil? If any of us have followed the example of those whom Dante saw in that place, then Dante has the same strong and significant lessons for this century that he had for the days in which he lived."

These are strong and true words. They have reality, but they lack the vehemence, the heat, the passion of speech to be found in the actual

Digitized by Google

sermon. Perhaps the most characteristic sermon preached in this country was that preached at Trinity Church, New York, Sunday, October 25th. The text was the closing exhortation of the 1st Epistle of John, "Little children, keep yourselves from idols." There are three forms of idolatry: the worship of other gods, the worship of the true God under false and idolatrous symbols, and the worship of the true God under the guise of false notions and false conditions. We have, that is, the idol of the market-place, the idol of the cave, the idol of the school. As John gives us the exhortation that we keep ourselves from idols, he helps us to obey the exhortation by telling us what God is, — "God is righteous," "God is light," "God is love," — and by pointing us to his likeness in Christ. The language of the sermon is throughout that of direct address, and glows in the heat of moral power.

"And when you talk of nothing, think of nothing, scheme after nothing, care for nothing — I had almost said prayed for nothing — but money, money, money, all the day long; hasting to be rich, and so not being innocent; ready if not downright to forge or to steal in order to get it, yet ready to adulterate goods, to scant work, to have false balances and unjust weights, to defraud others of their rights and claims, to put your whole trade, or commerce, or profession on a footing which, perhaps conventionally honest, yet goes to the very verge of dishonesty; toiling for money, valuing it first among earthly goods, looking up to those who have won it as though they were little human gods, hoarding it, dwelling on it, measuring the whole success in life by it, marrying your sons and daughters with main reference to it, — is God the God of your worship? Of your lips, yes; of your life, no. What are you, then, but an idolater, a worshiper of Mammon? . . . If you do not worship this public idol of the market-place, have you no personal idol of the cave? You fully admit, you definitely believe, that in general God punishes sin; that He does not clear the guilty in their guilt; that He did give the moral law; but turning God into your private idol, do not some of you imagine that nevertheless you will get off? that there is something special in your case? that God will make an exception for you? that your temptations have been so strong, your chances so small, your passions so irresistible, your circumstances altogether so peculiar, that somehow you may sin and escape? Aye, and continue in sin; aye, and live in sin; aye, and die in sin, and yet somehow escape the consequences of sin? If so, my brethren, that is not God whom you are worshipping; it is an idol of the cavern. God is a God of laws, not of exceptions; God is a God of justice, not of favoritism. Whatever charge of folly may justly attach to the saying, 'There is no God,' that folly is prouder, deeper, and less pardonable which says that God will deal differently with me than with others. Because you are you, because you fancy your temptations have been exceptions, which is not true; because you think that your passions have been strong, which means only that your reason has been weak; because you think you have so many virtues and amiable qualities; because you love and value yourself and your sins so much that you think God must look partially upon them, too; shall God, because of this self-love, because of these filthy rags of your own righteousness, break in your case, and yours alone, the adamantine rock that links punishment to unrepented crime? So might your idol of the cavern do; so will not God. . . . And yet, my brethren, if we fling to

Digitized by Google

the moles and bats these idols of the market-place and of the cavern, let not our God, our Father in heaven, the God, the Lord God, merciful, gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, let Him not become to us as He has become to many, as He has become to the Pharisees of this as of all ages, a mere idol of the school. . . . Idols which represent Him as a God of arbitrary caprice, treating men as though they were mere dead clay, to be dashed about and shattered at his will; idols which would represent his justice as alien from ours, and those things as good in Him which would be evil in us, — are shattered on the rock of truth that God is righteous. Idols which represent Him as delighting in narrow formalism, self-satisfied security, and bitter exclusiveness, making of dull and acrid dogmatists the sole elect, and rejecting the brighter, bolder, larger natures, as though He loved the jagged thistles and the dwarfed bush better than the rose of Sharon and the cedars of Lebanon, idols of the sectarian, idols of the fanatic, idols of the Pharisee, idols of those whose ignorance would label themselves as the only Christians and the only gospelers, are shattered by the ringing hammer-stroke of the truth that God is light. Idols which represent Him as only living a life turned toward self, or folded within self, caring only for his own glory; caring nothing for the endless agonies of the creatures He has made; burning with implacable wrath against little deviations of opinions; regarding even the sins of children as deserving of infinite punishment, because though they are finite He is infinite; idols of the zealot, idols of the ecclesiastic, idols of those who think that their puny wrath can work the righteousness of God, are dashed to pieces by the sweeping and illimitable force of the truth that God is love. . . . My brethren, if you would know God, the only begotten, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him. If you rely on religious teachers, they may offer you a dead Christ for a living Christ; an agonized Christ for the ascended Christ; an ecclesiastical Christ for the spiritual Christ; a Christ for the elect few for a Christ for the sinful many; a petty, formalizing, sectarian Christ for the royal Lord of the great free heart of manhood; a Christ of the fold for a Christ of the one great flock; a Christ of Gerizim or of Jerusalem, of Rome or of Geneva, of Oxford or of Clapham, for the Christ of the universal world. No! turn from these shadows; face the sun. Look at Christ himself."

It is not necessary to multiply extracts from the sermons of Canon Farrar, or to follow him in his more general utterances, to show that he is preëminently a "preacher of righteousness." And the impression made from the pulpit is sustained and confirmed by his attitude toward moral reforms. His position in respect to temperance is unequivocal, consistent, and therefore influential.

What, now, is the essential characteristic of the moral power which impresses us so strongly in the person and words of Canon Farrar? We have already declared it to be, in our opinion, his intellectual seriousness. And we have called attention to it because we believe it to be a rare quality of moral power. Moral power expresses itself in most men in a certain intensity of faith, or in a certain earnestness in activity. Here is a man who has trained himself to think seriously upon the problems of life. He has not evaded his mental responsibilities in the presence of the perplexities of the moral world. He has not allowed his sympathies to be detached from

Digitized by Google

his mind and to act independently. He has not allowed his mind to detach itself from his sympathies and to act independently. He has not separated himself in his thinking from the life of men. He has listened to the questions of living men, to the cry of troubled hearts, and has tried to give, in his measure and according to his light, the answer of faith. An incident which happened at the reception given him by the clergy of New York illustrates so well the temper of his mind that we give the account of one who was present and took note of the incident: "In the address of welcome a delicate but plain intimation was given that the reception was not to be taken as an indorsement of opinions, and in the careful and skillful enumeration of Canon Farrar's writings there was the marked omission of the 'Eternal Hope.' In his reply Canon Farrar noted the omission, and, calling attention to it, said: 'I failed to hear mention of one slight production of mine which I had supposed had attracted large notice. I refer to my volume of sermons, entitled "Eternal Hope." But as I feel sure that this book must be present to your minds as well as mine, I beg leave to explain its origin. I specially wish that you should know how it came to be written. It was forced from me by the needs of my hearers, who were many of them in a distressed and anxious state of mind on this subject in view of current and what were supposed to be orthodox views.' Then, referring to the fact that these were popular sermons, he asked to be judged according to the more careful statement of his views in 'Mercy and Judgment.'"

We have noticed that several writers in the religious papers, while speaking with great enthusiasm of Canon Farrar, have thought it necessary to apologize for him in the opinions and hopes expressed in these books. Without entering upon the questions which were discussed in them, it seems to us that these writers, in taking this apologetic tone, show that they have missed altogether the secret of this man's power. He has not accustomed himself to skip the hard places in the problems of life and destiny. His thinking is too serious, too real, shall we say too human, for that. Whoever trains himself to really *think* at all upon religious subjects must think all round. Otherwise his thinking will lose its reality. He cannot do violence to his mental disposition and purpose when "occasion serves." In other words, if Canon Farrar is to think straight out toward judgment, and become a "preacher of righteousness," he must be allowed to think with equal sincerity and fearlessness toward mercy. When a man appears amongst us of greater moral power, without his habit of mind, it will be time to apologize for Canon Farrar. Meanwhile we will take to ourselves, and commend to others, as the lesson taught us by this "preacher of righteousness," the necessity to the pulpit of greater intellectual seriousness. It is not difficult to be earnest, it is not altogether difficult to believe: it is difficult to accept one's mental responsibilities, to train the *mind* to face the great realities, to learn to think of one's self and of man in the full light of sin and of redemption.

Digitized by Google

THE ANDOVER REVIEW FOR 1886.

We are happy to call the attention of our readers to the announcement upon our business pages, from which it will be seen that the "Review" has been placed upon an assured financial basis, that with the next issue it will be permanently enlarged to 112 pages in each number, making an aggregate of 1344 pages for the year, and that the price of subscription will be advanced to $4.00. Such an advance in price has been made as is thought to fairly represent the difference between the amount of matter furnished by a monthly of the size of the "Andover Review" under its proposed enlargement and that furnished by the ordinary bi-monthly or quarterly Reviews. That the advance may not be made without notice to our subscribers, *subscriptions will be received from old subscribers and new, until January* 1, 1886, *at the present rate*, $3.00.

When the "Andover Review" was put forth two years since to advocate the theological principles and methods with which it has become identified, it was impossible to forecast its reception by the religious public, much less to calculate upon its probable constituency. Very little attempt was made to determine the probabilities of its success. The "Review" had its origin in what seemed, to those who inaugurated it, to be a religious and theological necessity; it sprang out of the convictions, not only of those who were immediately concerned in its editorial management, but also of those who gave to the enterprise the support of their names, and of those who generously contributed to its establishment. It was assumed that these convictions must be to a certain degree representative, that they could not be local, or confined within the limits of a given denomination. The assumption has been more than justified by results. From the outset more than one half of the circulation of the "Review" has been outside New England, and no inconsiderable part of it outside the Congregational denomination.

The "Review" does not claim to have created its present constituency. Whatever may have been its influence in developing and crystallizing theological thought, it has sought to recognize the fact of a deep and wide-spread movement in theology toward the end which it has had in view. During the past year the attempt has been made to illustrate and apply a great principle of Christian theology, namely, the absoluteness and universality of Christianity; but the endeavor has not been made, and will not be made, to set up an arbitrary theological standard. The "Review" is committed to the advocacy of principles and of methods rather than of dogmas, and in the future, as in the past, it will insist upon the absolute and unimpeachable right of those who advocate the principles and methods of a progressive orthodoxy to their place within the acknowledged limits of orthodoxy.

As may be seen, however, by reference to the table of contents of past numbers, published in connection with the announcement, the "Review"

Digitized by Google

is by no means confined to the field of theological discussion. Special attention has been given to the treatment of questions in sociology. During the coming year the relation of Christianity to the various social problems will be discussed editorially and through contributed articles, and a department of Sociological Notes will be added under the charge of the Rev. S. W. Dike.

A Geographical and Missionary department will also be added, under the care of the Rev. C. C. Starbuck.

The series of articles upon Church Architecture, from Professor Churchill, unavoidably postponed from the present year, will be begun in an early number of the coming year.

Subjects in Education are so closely related to those of a religious and theological nature that these will be given a fit place upon the pages of the "Review." Notably the discussion of "The New Education," introduced by Professor Palmer in the November number, will be continued by eminent educators.

Topics in General Literature will be considered in their moral aspects, and under the enlargement of our pages increased attention will be given to the notice of books which fall within the scope of the "Review."

The Editorial and other departments will remain as heretofore.

We have not considered it necessary to publish in advance a list of contributors for the year 1886. We trust that the quality of the articles already contributed may be accepted as a sufficient guarantee for the quality of those which are to appear.

It would be altogether invidious if, in this editorial reference to the past and future of the "Review," no acknowledgment should be made of the most generous and hearty support given from the first by the publishers, Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. It is to them that we, in common with our readers, are indebted for the general appearance of the "Review," for the clearness and correctness of its typographical work, and for the promptness of its issue on the date of monthly publication.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH KNOWN AS THE UNITAS FRATRUM, or The Unity of the Brethren, founded by the followers of John Hus, the Bohemian Reformer and Martyr. By EDMUND DE SCHWEINITZ, S. T. D., Bishop of the Unitas Fratrum. 8vo, pp. xxv., 693. Bethlehem, Pa: Moravian Publication Office. 1885. $2.50.

THIS is more than a denominational history. It is a contribution, not less valuable because indirect, to the discussion of some of the most vital and fundamental questions in the theology of the day. And it is this that makes the work of fully as much interest and importance to the general student as to the members of the church whose origin, character, and early development it elucidates in so thorough, conscientious, and schol-

Digitized by Google

arly a manner. We can here do no more than point out some of the highly significant facts and features which seem to promise richest results to the student of Christian thought and life who shall follow them up by further study and research.

In the very first chapters (i.–iii.) it is not only made clear that the Bohemian Reformation of Hus and his followers was a spontaneous and necessary outgrowth of the Czech character under the peculiar religious, social, and political influences at work within the nation, — with which such external events as, among the rest, the writings of Wyclif had only an incidental and in no sense a causal relation, — but the account of the origin of some of these influences themselves suggests further inquiries of an exceedingly interesting nature at the present time. Theology is turning its attention to the teachings and spirit of the early Greek Church, and finds there much of pristine truth, for the lack of which it long has been hungering and thirsting, and of which it has so long been deprived simply because unconsciously it has been accustomed to look to the Latin Church and her descendants as the sole conservers of all truth. The theology of the Greek Fathers is beginning to be deemed worthy of at least the same earnest study as has been given to that of the Latins. And the question is being asked, If the spirit and teachings of the former had not been crowded out as they were by the latter, what would have been the consequences? Would the church have become as corrupt as it did under the Roman domination? Or, if the German Reformers had not been so easily content with Augustine, but had consulted and heeded also Clement and Athanasius, would the Reformation itself so soon have needed reforming, and its theology renewing? It has already been pretty clearly ascertained that nearly all the imperfections of Protestant theology are relics of the Latin teaching, while the improvements needed are in great part capable of being supplied from the Greek.

Viewed with reference to such considerations the history of the Unitas Fratrum at once assumes an aspect of fresh interest and far-reaching importance. For here we have a body of Christians, unique in the simplicity of their faith and purity of their life, who are the direct descendants of a people that was converted to Christ, about the middle of the ninth century, through the preaching of two Greek priests, Cyrill and his brother Methodius, both of whom had been brought up in the seclusion of a monastery free from the corruption into which their church was then already falling. "They trained young Czechs as native priests," says Bishop Schweinitz. "They finished that Slavonian version of the Bible which Cyrill had previously begun, and for which he had invented an alphabet known as the *Cyrilitza*. They rendered the liturgy into the same tongue, and introduced it into every parish. They caused the reading of the Scriptures, public worship, and preaching to be conducted in the vernacular. They built up a national church, in which the Czechs felt at home. . . . Both in its character and results their work resembled the missionary activity of the primitive Christians, and stood out in bright contrast to the system which Rome introduced wherever she gained a foothold" (pp. 9, 10). They fashioned a religious character from the raw material, moulded it while soft and pliable with the ardor of its first love, until it became unalterably fixed, an integral part of the stubborn Czech national character, which not even Rome could change. The principles and spirit of the early Greek theology were never after eradicated from the religious consciousness of the Bohemians and Mora-

Digitized by Google

vians. Centuries of persecution could do no more than temporarily smother them. With every opportunity they sprang forth again into life and activity. Conrad of Waldhausen, Milic of Kremsier, Matthias of Janow, and finally John Hus of Husinec himself, were only the vents through whom this uncontrollable spirit burst into expression. As formulated in the writings of Hus, of Peter Chelcicky, and the Unitas Fratrum after its organization in 1457, it shows, indeed, many marks of the Latin influence, but also not a few of the unconscious influence of the spirit and principles of the Greek Fathers which had become so deeply inwrought in the religious thought and life of the nation.

Now it is remarkable that just in these inherited Greek characteristics, if we may so call them, are to be found those elements of doctrinal strength and purity, and of vigorous life and activity, which at frequent periods in history distinguished the Unitas Fratrum from all the rest of evangelical Christendom, and to-day are still among its most distinctive features. We can here only barely indicate a few of these, referring the reader to the "History" itself for a fuller exposition of them, though the author nowhere explicitly refers them to the same cause as we do.

1. *Their position with regard to the Holy Scriptures.* The two Greek "Apostles of the Slavonians" came to Bohemia and Moravia with the open Bible, in the vernacular, in their hands. They preached from it, appealed to it, and made it the sole source and authority of all their teaching. Thus was generated in the popular mind a deep reverence for the pure Word, and that intense national love of liberty encouraged as an inalienable right in spiritual matters as in temporal. It was Hus's claim and exercise of this right, over against the assumed authority of the Church, its councils, popes, and priests, and the whole perverted system of Augustinian ecclesiasticism, that brought him to the martyr's stake. It is true, Luther afterwards exercised this same liberty. It is the foundation of his Protestantism. But how imperfectly he had freed himself from the intricate meshes of the mighty system, or perhaps rather from the insidious influence of its spirit, and how different was the foundation of the Bohemian Reformers, is shown by the intolerance early manifested by the German and his followers, often breaking out into violence and persecution. Besides the examples well known to all, a single instance out of our history will suffice. True to its principles the Unitas Fratrum held from the beginning, and still holds, with regard to the Lord's Supper, that no human explanation or interpretation of it dare be made binding on any one; but that the simple words of Scripture on the subject are to be accepted in childlike faith.[1] Luther, on the contrary, accepting substantially the Roman doctrine on the subject, insisted on it as the only correct one which every one must accept as he did. Hence his cruel rupture with Zwingli. So because the Brethren would not accept his view, nor any other, as binding on them, he made it one of the grounds of breaking off, for a time (1524–1532), all fraternal relations with them. Repeatedly since then the same intolerant spirit has been shown to be still powerful in Protestantism. Not

[1] This was first formulated at a synod held in 1459, thus: "All who receive the sacrament in truth, through faith, believe and confess that it is the true body and blood of Christ, according to his word and mind, without adding anything, or taking away anything, and rejecting all human explanations." (Quoted pp. 111, 112. Cf. also p. 112, note 19.)

Digitized by Google

on one subject only, but on nearly all subjects, its theology has dogmatized, it has drawn up creeds, and standards, and symbols, and made them the rule of faith. Long ago, as Dr. Gerhart so clearly showed in a recent article,[1] "The doctrinal standards ascended the ecclesiastical throne, and became the guides and criteria for the legitimate study and sound interpretation of Scripture. The superior authority of the Confessions appears in the German motto: 'Nach dieser Regel suchet in der Schrift.'" In the Unitas Fratrum this never was done. The Bible still is, in deed and in truth, its only rule of faith; and has been since those early days in 1468 when the Brethren wrote: "For more than eight years we have set aside all (theological) writings and tracts, and avoid them," and declared that they "should be satisfied with God's Word, and simply believe what it taught."

2. *Their views on the divine nature.* In how far these were influenced by a possible inheritance of the early Greek spirit is not so clear, perhaps, as is the fact that they certainly did not receive them from the Latin church. Unlike Greek or Latin, they never allowed themselves to be tempted to formulate any authoritative explanations of the mystery of the Trinity, the being, nature, and relation of the divine Persons. As with the Lord's Supper, they held to the simple words of Scripture as alone authoritative and binding. But from the beginning, in all their conceptions of God the emphasis is uniformly laid on the divine love; while the Reformed theology held to the Latin notion of sovereignty as the chief characteristic of God. This difference between the Brethren and the Reformers was always marked and decided. And it early led the former to a view of Christ and his salvation, some of the essential and most precious elements of which were certainly more easily deducible from the early Greek than from the Latin theology, and of which the Reformers, clinging to the latter, had scarcely any intimation. For, "Whilst the Reformers," again to quote from Dr. Gerhart's article, "directed faith to the promise of salvation, or the free grace of God, and Rome turned the eye of faith upon herself or her divine authority, neither definitely and consistently affirmed the divine-human Christ to be the true, only, final object."[2] The Unitas Fratrum, on the contrary, always did make the Person of Christ "the true, only, final object" of saving faith. He has to it always been the centre and circumference of all truth. As it was their clear sense of love as the essence of God that even in comparatively recent times caused ridicule and opprobrium to be heaped upon the "Herrnhüter" by the Protestants on the Continent, where these had sunken into the coldest, most mechanical deism, so it was their consistent magnifying of Christ and Him crucified as the object of their faith and ground of their hope that caused them to be derided and maligned as mystics, fanatics, and pietists by the dead orthodoxy of Europe that no longer even named the name of Christ. It was from them, finally, that he, the great Schleiermacher, received that impulse, which through him was communicated to the earnest minds of his time, and to-day more strongly than ever is urging all living Christian thought in that direction whose goal and end are Jesus Christ, the living, loving, personal Saviour of all who will believe.[3]

3. *Their doctrine of the church.* Space does not permit us to trace the development of their teaching on this subject from the times of Hus

[1] *The Andover Review*, March, 1885. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Cf. *The Continuity of Christian Thought*, pp. 381 and 399.

Digitized by Google

to 1503, when they formally declared that "The Holy Catholic Church is the entire body of the elect (numerus omnium electorum), from the beginning to the end of the world, whom God in Christ, through the Holy Spirit, elects, justifies, and calls to the glory of salvation, out of which body there is no salvation. In its visible form, however, the Church is a mixed body, and comprises wicked men also. The Brethren do not claim to be the only true Church, but strive to be members of the only true Church."[1] This is substantially what they still hold, and the same as that theoretically maintained by the Reformation churches. That it was held differently among the former, however, than among the latter, the history of the two seems to make clear. Among the Brethren it was a deep-seated conviction involved in their spiritual constitution, as it were, to which they never could or would be untrue. Had they held it only as a kind of polemical theory, they would probably also have been tempted, in the course of time, to unchurch some of their sister denominations, deny the validity of their orders, and refuse to fraternize with them. Instead of this, the author of our "History," himself a member of the unbroken succession of their bishops, after having demonstrated (chap. xvi.) the apostolic origin and validity of the Moravian episcopacy to be as indisputable as that of any other claimant, simply declares: "The claim of the Unitas Fratrum to a valid episcopacy is important as a historic and not as an essential question. It is not based upon the idea that episcopal ordination is alone legitimate. The Church still occupies the catholic standpoint of the fathers, upholding fellowship with evangelical Christians of every name; the prayer which was fervently uttered four and a quarter centuries ago, amidst the mountains of Reichenau and in the hamlet of Lhota, is still repeated: 'Unite all the children of God in one spirit'" (p. 152).

It was, moreover, this same spirit that induced the Brethren, as early as 1522, to make the most strenuous efforts to effect an organic union with the church of Luther; in which, however, they were not successful. With the same deep conviction of the unity of all believers, and sorrow at the ever-increasing divisions among them, they afterwards devised a plan, and labored for its fulfillment, by which a confederate alliance of all evangelical churches in Poland should be consummated. The *Consensus* which they succeeded in having adopted by the Lutherans, Reformed, and Brethren, at a joint synod at Sendomir in 1570, was a prophecy and anticipation of the essential principles of the Evangelical Alliance of our own times. This Sendomirian Alliance, as our author says, "showed, especially by its *Consignatio* adopted at Posen, in what way Protestants may retain their several creeds and peculiarities, and yet be practically united. It was far more than the Evangelical Alliance of our day. It constituted, we venture to hope, a presage of what is yet to come" (p. 358). That after a few years it came to nothing was not the Brethren's fault. Neither, it may yet be added, was it their fault that a similar attempt made by them in this country, nearly two centuries after, likewise met with failure. Both attempts showed, however, in what a real sense the Unitas held its doctrine of the church.

4. In conclusion we will but call attention to one more characteristic which has always distinguished this church: *the eminently practical tendency of all its faith and teaching.* Its great forerunner Hus already clearly and forcibly struck the key-note of it, and its difference

[1] Quoted p. 203.

Digitized by Google

from some later phases of the Reformation theology. He said that faith "is a state of mind in which eternal life begins in us. . . . It is the foundation of the other virtues with which the Church of Christ is in fellowship. Such faith alone justifies."[1] The historian Krummel declares: "The mode in which Hus represents the theory of justification is, however, very different from that of the later Reformers. He does not conceive justification to be a merely objective occurrence, a judicial act of God, but, being connected with faith, he looks upon it also as a subjective occurrence in man."[2] So afterwards Chelcicky, who more than any one else shaped the early doctrine of the Unitas, "looked upon Christianity rather as a life than a creed, and his entire system shows that the dogmatic was made subordinate to the practical. To imitate the example of Christ — so he teaches — is the most exalted rule of life; to love God above all and one's neighbor as one's self the supreme law" (p. 97).

This practical tendency in their doctrine had a paramount influence on the cultus of the Brethren. They instituted a rigorous system of discipline, wherewith to order their congregational and individual conduct and life. They were from the beginning and long remained preëminent among Christians for the purity, integrity, and simplicity of their walk and conversation, and the unbending firmness with which they ever insisted thereon. Their example in these respects drew forth the wonder and admiration of all. Thus Bucer wrote to them: "You alone in all the world combine a wholesome discipline with a pure faith. . . . When we compare our church with yours, we must be ashamed."[3] So Calvin, about the same time, said: "It is a thing not lightly to be esteemed that they have shepherds who know how to guide and direct them, and that they maintain such good morals, order, and discipline. . . . We have long since recognized the value of such a system, but cannot in any way attain to it."[4] Luther himself bore similar testimony on more than one occasion. At another time, however, this very excellence of theirs seemed an offense to him, and caused him to speak of them as "sour-faced hypocrites;" while it was made the chief cause of the final failure of their overtures with him for a union of the Bohemian and the German evangelical churches. Yet the records show that he deeply regretted not having introduced a similar discipline into the German churches, recognizing that the want of it was working deplorable havoc with the morals of the people, and bringing Protestantism into reproach before all the world. This became even worse after his death.[5] Among the Brethren this practical tendency remained a chief source of strength, an honorable distinction, long after they had come to adopt the whole letter

[1] Quoted p. 49.
[2] *Geschichte*, pp. 389, 390, quoted p. 49.
[3] Quoted p. 258.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Bishop Schweinitz cites an interesting witness in Salig, the Lutheran historian of the Augsburg Confession, who says: "Neither a Scriptural discipline, than which nothing can be more important, nor the real object of the whole Reformation was attained. Both died with Luther's death. For the Smalcald War began, and the theologians cared little for a godly discipline and life, but fell into the most violent quarrels. In the universities were taught words, distinctions, and formulas, and such things were made to constitute the kernel of pure Lutheranism. . . . In order that the discipline of the Bohemian Brethren — which, as could not be denied, Luther had praised — might not be accepted, and other Christians thus by them be put to shame, suspicion was cast upon their doctrine, and some of them were accused of fanaticism" (p. 260).

Digitized by Google

of Protestant theology with all its excellences and its faults; and it became the mighty spring of their whole marvelous missionary activity upon which they entered immediately after the Renewal of the Unitas in 1727, and which to-day yet constitutes their greatest field of usefulness and brightest crown of glory.

J. Max Hark.

LANCASTER, PA.

THREE PAGES OF THE BRYENNIOS MANUSCRIPT, etc., reproduced by photography for the Johns Hopkins University. Edited, with notes, by J. RENDEL HARRIS, Associate Professor of New Testament Greek and Palæography. Small 4to; three photographic plates and nine pages of letter-press. Baltimore: Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University. 1885.

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων. A translation with notes; and excursus (i. to ix.) illustrative of the "Teaching;" and the Greek text. By CANON SPENCE, M. A., Vicar of St. Pancras. Small octavo, pp. vi., 183. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1885.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES, etc. Edited, with a translation, introduction, and notes, by ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK and FRANCIS BROWN, Professors in Union Theological Seminary, New York. A new edition, revised and greatly enlarged. 8vo, pp. cxv., 85. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

THE OLDEST CHURCH MANUAL, called THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων. The Didache and kindred Documents, in the original, with translations and discussions of post-apostolic teaching, baptism, worship, and discipline, and with illustrations and facsimiles of the Jerusalem MS. By PHILIP SCHAFF. 8vo, pp. viii., 301. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1885.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΙΒ' ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. LA DIDACHE, OU L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES DOUZE APÔTRES, texte Grec — publié pour la première fois en France, avec un commentaire et des notes. Par PAUL SABATIER, ancien élève de la Faculté de théologie protestante de Paris. 8vo, pp. 167. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. 1885.

THE five titles given above represent (with the exception, if we mistake not, of Volkmar's characteristic treatise alone) the latest work on the "Teaching of the Apostles," and prove that valuable work may still be expected even on so much studied a treatise. The literature of the book is, indeed, already immense. Dr. Schaff devotes in Drs. Hitchcock and Brown's book twelve pages of fine type to what he calls a "digest of the Didache literature," which are increased in his own book to fourteen pages. Nor are these mere repetitions of each other. The former gives a fuller list of the minor publications, and the latter a fuller account of the contents of the more important ones. The two thus happily supplement each other, and thereby symbolize the general relations of the two books; and the two together, it may be added, practically cover the whole ground, although a few titles have been missed. Neither book has been published therefore in ignorance of the extent of what had already been given to the public, and neither has been published without adding something of value. To the critical scholar who has kept himself informed of what was doing with reference to the Didache, equally welcome with these two publications are Dr. Harris's photographs, which, taken with Bryennios's notes, supply the palæographer with all that he needs to know of the MS. in which the Teaching was found; and M. Sabatier's book, which, without exception, is the most readable treatise that the Didache

Digitized by Google

has called out, — entirely French as it is in its purity of style, brilliancy of presentation, and unity of aim.

The treatises before us, taken together, illustrate very clearly the position that discussion has brought us to with reference to the origin, date, and character of the Didache. It is worth noting that all of these latest laborers agree in their solution of the central problem, — the relation of the treatise to Barnabas. Without exception, they look upon Barnabas as the borrower, and some of them even express surprise that any one could have ever imagined the contrary. In this the present writer cannot help believing that they have rightly judged; and with all respect for those scholars who prefer to consider Barnabas the originator of the matter which the Didachographer subsequently reduced to order, it seems to him, too, that the argument has gone not only decidedly but decisively the other way, and it may now be accepted as a critical result that the Didache is older than Barnabas. If so, it belongs in date to the verge of the first century at the latest, and this our present treatises unanimously recognize. Stragglers have to be beaten in indeed, not from the side that would set the composition of the work too late, but rather from the side that would set it too early. Dr. Schaff and Drs. Hitchcock and Brown with just sobriety assign it to the years about 100 A. D. Canon Spence thinks the last quarter of the first century more likely, and looks upon the book as one which John may have read. M. Sabatier is not satisfied with even this: about A. D. 50 is the date he prefers (p. 159), — before any of Paul's letters were written, and even before the beginning of his missionary journeys! The antiquity of the treatise is so hoary, indeed, according to him, that it comes to us from a time before there were any church offices (p. 126), — before the Lord's Supper had come to be thought a commemoration of the Lord's death (pp. 104, 108, 113), — before there was any church worship distinct from that of the synagogue (p. 94 *sq.*), — before, in fact, we may add in our own words, distinctive Christianity had been born! The untenableness of this extreme view is already evident in that it necessarily places the origin of the treatise within twenty years of the death of our Lord, and yet presupposes a flourishing church among the Gentiles, needing precise instruction in church order and practices. The theory is, moreover, self-contradictory. Wandering apostles and missionaries are assumed going everywhere among a large and widely scattered body of Gentile believers, — so numerous and so long settled as to require protection against the impostors which their already famous hospitality and generosity called out — before Paul began his missionary journeys. Numerous settled and strong churches among the Gentiles are assumed with all the Christian rites — baptism, the Lord's Supper, Sabbath services, tithing, etc. — before the deacons of Acts vii. have been appointed or the elders of Acts xi. invented, or that theory of the Eucharist been dreamed of, which was well settled in 57. This is no caricature of the situation. M. Sabatier distinctly recognized that our Didache is not the effort of an individual to reduce disorder into order; it is the church speaking. "We have here," he says (p. 154), "not the work of a Christian, writing for a restricted number of persons, making a letter or an edifying treatise. We have, in the strictest sense of the word, a work of the church; it is a sort of official manual of liturgy and catechism." But if so, the treatise was not written before the church had the usages here described; and in reading it we are certainly not "assisting" at the birth of ecclesiastical organization. In the face of so radical a difficulty

Digitized by Google

we need not seriously discuss the arguments that are advanced for so early a date. Canon Spence's view is more plausible, just because less extreme; but even it must, in our present light, give way to the soberer judgment that finds the time when the treatise originated at about the year 100.

The place whence it was sent forth is divergently determined by our authors. Dr. Brown assigns it to Egypt; Dr. Schaff and M. Sabatier to Syria; and Canon Spence to Palestine. The evidence scarcely permits us to choose confidently between Egypt and Syria, and it is not impossible that the final decision will divide the honor between the two, — assigning the original composition of the work to Egypt, and an early though probably gradually formed recension of its text, by which it reached the form in which it lies in the Constantinople MS., to Syria. There are many converging considerations that point to this conclusion: among others, the early use of it in Egypt by Barnabas, and its later crystallization, in practically the same form which he used, into the book of order of the Egyptian churches on the one hand, and, on the other, the Syrian flavor of certain passages which seem to be interpolations into the original text. The discussion of this question in this form involves, however, a thorough-going discussion of the text of the document, and this has not been seriously attempted heretofore by any one except, perhaps, Hilgenfeld. Our present treatises have passed over this important matter almost wholly. Dr. Brown alone devotes a — no doubt unsufficing — chapter to it (§ 2, pp. xiv.–xxiii.). There are really two textual points quite distinct from one another which require settlement before the indications of the treatise as to the place whence it was sent forth can be classified with any confidence. We must know whether the text has suffered interpolation since it was published as a complete whole. And we must know whether the author of this treatise used any previous matter in his work. The first subject belongs under the head of textual transmission, while a discussion of the second should find place in the section devoted to the sources of the treatise. Under the head of "Sources of the Teaching" Dr. Brown does not discuss, however, this subject, although he elsewhere betrays his suspicion that the author may have adopted certain prayers, for instance, which were already in use when he wrote: "The prayers were no doubt found by the author in actual use" (p. lxxvii.). On the other hand, he appears to mention Hilgenfeld's belief, that the author found also chapters i.–vi. ready to his hand, only to reject it (p. xv. *sq.*). It is obvious, however, that it must be definitely settled whether the author wrote or incorporated these prayers and this catechism before we can use hints in them to determine the place of composition of the treatise. For instance, Mr. Rendel Harris ("American Journal of Philology," vol. i. 104) and others object to Egypt that such a phrase as "as this broken bread was scattered over the mountains" could not naturally have found place in a treatise composed in the lowlands of Egypt. But this occurs (chap. ix.) in one of the prayers; and if the prayers were already in general use, and only adopted by the author of the treatise, whatever strength may be thought to reside in this argument completely fails us in determining the place of writing of the treatise as distinguished from the prayers. A thorough-going discussion of the textual transmission is equally important, and this none of the works now before us pretend to give. Dr. Brown, who alone touches on the matter, justly concludes that the "Jerusalem Codex gives us, on the whole, a true copy of the Teaching,"

Digitized by Google

and then finds evidence of "the existence of various later recensions of the text" (p. xviii.), some of them partial editions, some variant texts. The evidence on which all of these (how many of them has Dr. Brown found?) are declared to be "later" is not stated, but we are told the most interesting of them is found in the Latin version discovered by Dr. V. Gebhardt, of which it is declared, "a different recension of the text, and one which already showed some of the striking peculiarities of Barnabas and the Canons, seems to underlie this version" (p. xxii.). Even a cursory examination of the readings for the short section for which alone the Latin is extant will suffice to convince any student of the truth of this remark. It is not so obvious that the recension represented by the Latin was made out of Barnabas and the Canons, and did not rather underlie them, as Dr. B. goes on to state (cf. also p. xlii. note 1): "The presence of peculiarities marking these works and distinguishing them from each other" may be accounted for as due to common inheritance as easily as and in this case more easily than as due to promiscuous borrowing. Any close examination of the mutual relations of the three documents — the Latin, Barnabas, and the Canons — will result in conclusively showing that the text underlying the Latin did not borrow from Barnabas, but *vice versa*, and that the Canons are less closely related to either than the two are to one another; in a word, in establishing a recension divergent in some important points from that preserved in the Constantinople MS., separated further into two sub-recensions, Barnabas and the Latin on the one side and the Canons on the other. This I have already had the opportunity of stating in Dr. Schaff's book (pp. 220 *sq.*). But this recension, it should be remembered, while, as used by Barnabas, it must be admitted to be the most anciently attested recension, is not on that account necessarily the purest transmission of the text. This fact can be established only by a detailed examination. On its recognition, however, the formation of a text of the Didache becomes something very different from merely copying the Bryennios edition or even the text of the Constantinople MS., which is all that any of our present editors attempt. A close examination soon establishes a considerable interpolation in the latter: i. 3, εὐλογεῖτε – ii. 1, which on internal grounds can scarcely have been part of the original text, and which fails in the whole divergent recension. But if this one interpolation has been suffered, others may have also found their way into the text, and a very careful examination is necessary before we can use its details for any purpose of history, dogmatics, or controversy. It is a mere accident that we have spoken of this very important matter in connection with the question of place where the treatise was composed. But it has its bearing on it, too; for instance, the interpolation i. 3 – ii. 1 is apparently based, in its evangelical quotations, on Tatian's "Diatessaron." But this fact will not help to prove that the treatise was written in Syria, but only that it received its present textual form there.

Our authors are agreed again — with the exception of Dr. Brown — that the Teaching was composed by a Jewish Christian. Dr. Schaff ventures to declare this to be certain; and Canon Spence is satisfied that it was sent forth into the world from such a community of Jewish Christians as were gathered together at Pella, and belongs to that Jewish Christian triolette, the Epistle of St. James, the Teaching of the Apostles, and the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, which represent the broader and more truly Christian element of the Jewish Church, — nay,

Digitized by Google

he can even conjecture that Symeon, the Lord's kinsman, may have been its writer. M. Sabatier's whole treatise is devoted to the establishment of the one proposition that the Didache is the representative of early Jewish Christianity, that its affinities are wholly Jewish, and that it can best be explained out of Jewish remains. He has so far succeeded in this task as to place the essentially Jewish Christian character of the document as a whole beyond dispute, and it is sufficient for our present purpose to set off his treatise against Dr. Brown's somewhat ill-considered statement. Indeed, the passage in which Dr. Brown denies the Jewish character of the treatise shows signs in its very structure of less careful revision than is usual in his valuable treatise. He says (p. lxxxv.): "The author evidently laid hold of Christianity not so much on its dogmatic as on its ethical side, and his book resembles, in this respect, the Epistle of James. This is the more remarkable because *there is no evidence that he was himself of Jewish origin.* This would appear to indicate DISTINCTLY a circle of Gentile Christians (individuals or communities) in which the same preponderance was given to the ethical over the dogmatic" (the emphases are ours). The passage from "it cannot be proved that he was a Jew" to "he was distinctly a Gentile" is quite a German leap.

These words of Dr. Brown suggest another important question. What right have we to assume that the writer "laid hold of Christianity not so much on the dogmatic as on the ethical side?" Any modern "Directory of Worship" is apt to contain very little doctrine. We desire to distinctly protest against the assumption that no doctrine was held or considered imperative above what was given expression in such a treatise. Dr. Brown had Zahn's protest before him, that the Teaching was not designed to be a complete description of Christianity and church life, but only a practical assistant to other sources of instruction and edification, and yet can say, "This certainly does not appear in the treatise itself; it makes the impression that the author supposed himself to be giving the substance of that which Christians need concern themselves about" (p. lxxxvi., note). On the contrary, the treatise is conspicuously a book of church order, not of the Christian faith, and has to do emphatically with practice, not belief. Does Dr. Brown really suppose that chaps. i.–vi., which, according to chap. vii., *initium*, were to be taught to the catechumens before baptism, contain all that the author of the treatise thought the catechumens needed to know before entering upon the Christian life, and not rather only the final instruction or solemn declaration to them, as they took this serious step, of the mode of life that they were to live in the gospel? Why, it is commanded that the catechumen be baptized with reference to the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. But what is baptism? On this theory, the catechumen has been taught nothing as to that. Is he to appear and be baptized without ever having heard of it? And again, who is the Son? He has not even been once mentioned in the whole catechism, where the name of Jesus does not once occur, and where the fact of his sonship is not even once in the most remote way alluded to. And who is the Holy Ghost? Except in one somewhat obscure clause, he is not alluded to in the faintest way in the whole catechism. Truly, on the theory that this catechism contains all that the author supposed Christians need concern themselves about before receiving baptism, the candidates would be in worse case than those whom Paul found in Ephesus, who had not so much as heard whether there was a Holy Ghost. These would be called upon to receive

Digitized by Google

a rite that they had never heard mentioned and the significance of which was a riddle to them, and to have names named on them in a threefold enigma which would necessarily be insoluble to them. But, by as much as it is certain that the baptismal formula implies more knowledge than is given in the preceding catechism, and that of a doctrinal kind, by so much is it certain that the preceding catechism excludes doctrine, not because it had not yet been "developed" or was not considered "essential," but because it lay outside of the purpose of the treatise, and by so much is it certain that this catechism does not represent the total training of the candidate, but something like a formal and solemn declaration to him, on the moment of baptism, of the mode of external life which this new and solemn step involved. The calling of this catechistical section by Dr. Schaff, "*The Doctrinal* or Catechistical Part," and the insertion of his chapter on "The Theology of the Didache," immediately after his discussion of it, as if it had some very close connection with it (whereas the doctrinal teaching of the treatise is actually found by him mostly in other portions), illustrate the force of the error.

The zeal to find in the Didache a "more primitive form" of Christianity than ever existed is illustrated again in the treatment which M. Sabatier gives of the Eucharist. Comparing in a very interesting and instructive way the prayers here given (chaps. ix. and x.) with certain Jewish prayers, and noting the absence from them of any reference to the death of Christ, he concludes that we have here the Christian Eucharist before it was a commemoration of the death of our Lord, — which it already was, however, when Paul wrote his Corinthian letters (57 A. D.). "In the Didache," he writes, "we have nothing like this; its Christian repast did not have as its special object to recall the death of Jesus. It seems to confirm the hypothesis proposed by M. Renan. This celebrated critic has thought that the Lord's Supper carries us back, not to a single sacramental act performed by Jesus on the eve of his death, but to the habit which He had of breaking bread with his disciples. This rite, after having obtained even during the life of Jesus a great importance, became the great symbol of Christian communion." "It was natural, no doubt," he continues, "that the last occasion when they had enjoyed this communion with their master should be vividly remembered by his followers on its repetition, and so, gradually, the feast that was at first only a symbol of communion should become first associated with and then theologically inseparable from the Lord's death. But in the Didache there is absolutely nothing of all this yet; the participation in the same bread and wine is only a reciprocal bond. And we catch in it the word *Eucharist* just at the moment when it was commencing the evolution which changed its sense. Consequently we have another proof that our treatise belongs to a time before that evolution had taken place which Paul thinks of as primeval, and which the Gospels represent to be such!" Surely, these are grave conclusions, involving much historical result. On what are they founded? A dream of M. Renan's and the assumption of the extreme antiquity of the Didache, — for outside of the Didache there is no support for them. It is no doubt true that the eucharistic prayers of our treatise are astounding — almost inexplicable — when considered as eucharistic prayers. And the position of M. Sabatier is more logical than that of say Dr. Schaff or Canon Spence or Dr. Hitchcock, who can apply these prayers to the Eucharist, properly so called, and yet assign them to an orthodox writer of about 100 A. D. It is simply impossible that

Digitized by Google

such an eucharistic service could have been held in an orthodox Christian church at that date. The key to the whole matter seems to be the phrase "after being filled," in chapter x., and the concluding verses of that chapter. Dr. Schaff discusses Zahn's remarks upon these words, but rejects his conclusions. But what right has any one to follow the Constitutions in transmuting "after being filled" into "after having partaken," especially when the invitation to the table is apparently given in ix. 6? The truth of the matter seems to be that the Lord's Supper is not to be placed at the end of chap. ix., but at the end of chap. x.; that the prayers here given are not "eucharistic" in our sense of the word, but belong to the sacred feast or *agapé*, after which the Lord's Supper was celebrated. It was, no doubt, not probably the most primitive custom to thus celebrate the Lord's Supper in marked separation from the *agapé;* but, then, this only shows that the Didache does not belong to A. D. 50 but to A. D. 100. After all said, I believe Zahn's arguments remain unanswered, and the view commended by him as yet far the most likely one. M. Sabatier's investigations are, moreover, a strong corroboration of it, inasmuch as they show that these prayers are quite the natural ones for Jewish Christians to use at their feasts, and are very strikingly paralleled by those preserved for us in Jewish literature. That the blessing of the cup precedes here the blessing of the bread follows Jewish analogies; but in the Lord's Supper the other order was followed, even according to the Didache (ix. 5). The lack of formal communication of what was said at the supper itself is characteristic of the fragmentary character of the treatise and parallel to the omission of the doctrinal teaching before baptism.

There is much else in the works before us that calls for discussion, or at least mention. It is already time, however, to close this notice. In closing, we should like to reiterate that all five of the treatises are worth the attention of the scholar. Mr. Harris gives us important palæographical material. M. Sabatier discusses the teaching of the treatise from the standpoint of the Jewish analogies with a richness of illustration that leaves little to be desired, and with a freshness and spirit that carry the reader with him, even at times against his better judgment. Canon Spence's is the most popular treatise of the number, and presents much fresh matter in a very pleasant form. Dr. Schaff's and Drs. Hitchcock and Brown's works are mutually supplementary, the latter being an edition with critical prolegomena, and the former a discussion from the point of view of the historian, with supporting documents adjoined. America may well be satisfied with her part. No edition in English can stand comparison in value with either of these. Between them choice is difficult because of their very unlikeness. Dr. Brown made a mistake in not giving place to the Greek texts of the parallels in Barnabas, the Canons and Constitutions; Dr. Schaff in not discussing the critical questions more fully. As it is, neither book is complete, and the English-speaking student should purchase both.

Benj. B. Warfield.

Western Theological Seminary, Alleghany, Pa.

American Men of Letters. Nathaniel Parker Willis. By Henry A. Beers. 16mo, pp. 365. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. New York: 11 East Seventeenth Street. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1885. $1.25. This Life is

Digitized by Google

given with a temperate, even pen, ready to be stirred to enthusiasm if it lights on anything inspiring it, but finding nothing requiring more than a placid and somewhat melancholy interest, in a highly gifted and graceful mind and character, whose epitaph might be summed up in one word, Almost. Almost lovable, almost estimable, almost a genius, almost a Christian. If not in any true sense a power, the biography sets him forth in sufficient and not excessive fullness as what he certainly was, an influence, and that for a number of years in two countries, and more, and not an influence working against good. There is, therefore, sufficient reason why his memory should be cherished with a certain tenderness by Andover, "the silver thread of whose Shawsheen" he has helped to make classic.

Charles C. Starbuck.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. The First Napoleon. A Sketch, Political and Military. By John Codman Ropes, Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, The Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, etc., etc. Crown 8vo, pp. xx., 347. 1885. $2.00; — Italian Popular Tales. By Thomas Frederick Crane, A. M., Professor of the Romance Languages in Cornell University. 8vo, pp. xxviii., 389. 1885. $2.50; — Bird-Ways. By Olive Thorne Miller. Pp. viii., 227. 1885. $1.25.

Cupples, Upham & Co. Mind-Cure on a Material Basis. By Sarah Elizabeth Titcomb, author of "Early New England People." Pp. 288. 1885.

Carl Schoenhof, Boston. Der Korrektor. Scenen aus dem Schattenspiele des Lebens vorgeführt von Heinrich Steinhausen (Verfasser von "Irmela"). Vierte Auflage. Pp. 209. Leipzig: Johannes Lehmann. 1885; — Missionsstunden. Von R. M. Dietet, Pfarrer in Mülsen St. Jacob. II. Heft, pp. 148. Leipzig: Johannes Lehmann; — Das Buch Hiob nach Luther und der Probebibel aus dem Grundtext bearbeitet und mit Bemerkungen versehen von Viktor Böttcher, Pastor in Pretzschendorf. Pp. 72. Leipzig: Johannes Lehmann.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Lyrics and other Poems. By Richard Watson Gilder. I. Lyrics and Hymns. II. Ballads. III. Sonnets. IV. Odes and Meditative Poems. V. The New Day. 12mo, pp. xii., 251. $1.75.

Benjamin F. Lacy, Philadelphia. Poems. By James Willsbro. Pp. vi., 119. 1885. $1.00.

S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago. Natural Theology; or Rational Theism. By M. Valentine, D. D., Ex-President of Pennsylvania College, and Professor of Theology in the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. Pp. iv., 270. 1885. $1.25.

The Block Publishing and Printing Company, Cincinnati. History of the Arguments for the Existence of God. By Aaron Hahn, Rabbi of the Tifereth Israel Congregation, Cleveland, Ohio. Pp. 205. 1885.

Pamphlets. In Memoriam, William Hutchison. An abstract of the Extempore Remarks by Rev. Nelson Millard, D. D., at the funeral of Professor William Hutchison, in Broadway Church, at Norwich, Conn., January 12, 1885. Pp. 35. — The Old South Leaflets. Third Series, 1885. Boston: Old South Meeting House. 1885.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
3 1858 034 703 201

Digitized by Google